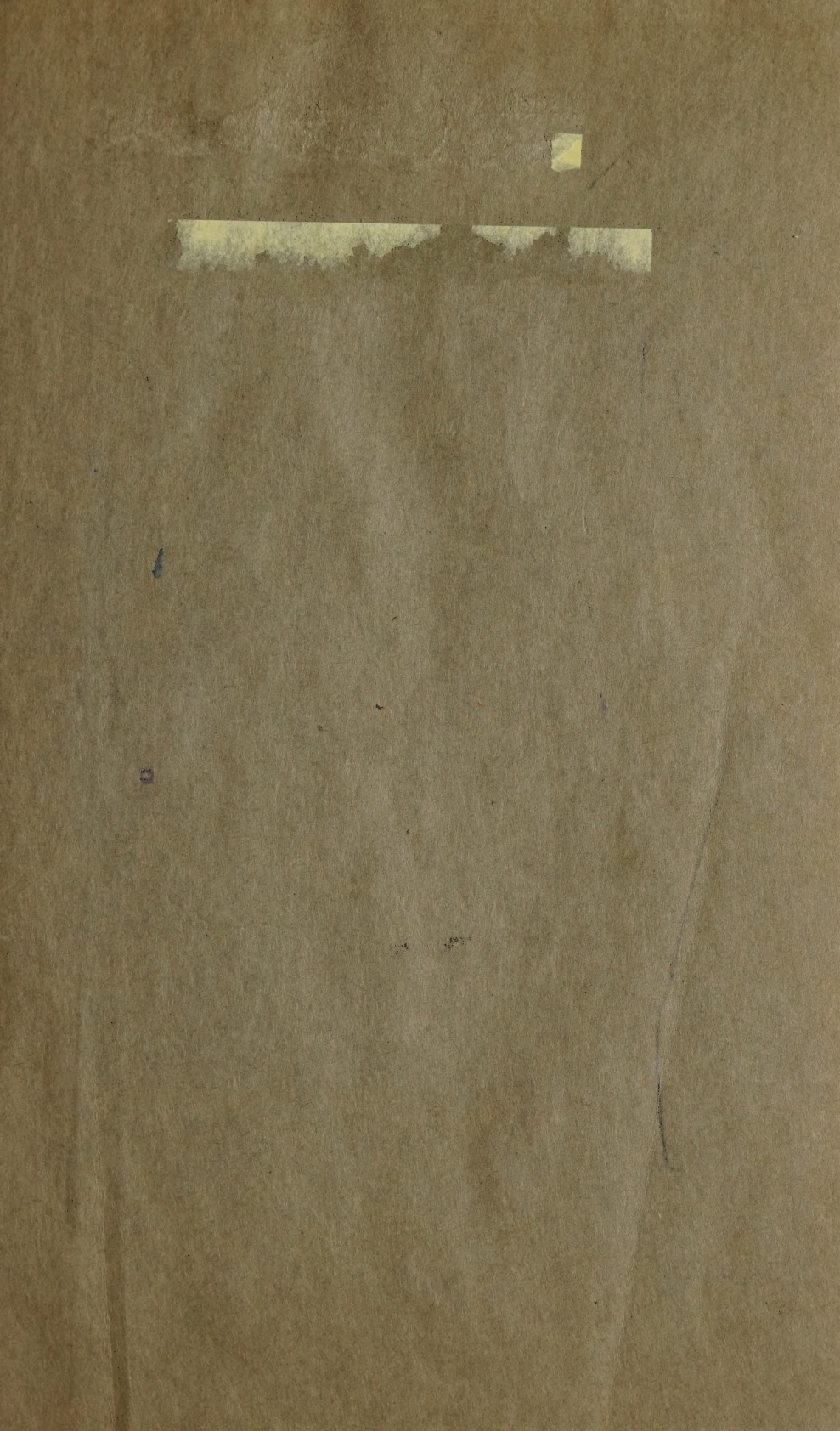


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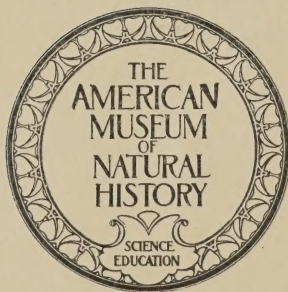
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ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
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THE AMERICAN MUSEUM
OF NATURAL HISTORY

VOL. XVI

SUN DANCE OF THE PLAINS INDIANS

EDITED BY
CLARK WISSLER



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CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT H. LOWIE

J. R. WALKER

CLARK WISSLER

PLINY EARLE GODDARD

ALANSON SKINNER

W. D. WALLIS

LESLIE SPIER

572
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DATES OF PUBLICATION.

Owing to the great length of time required for the completion of the necessary field-work, it was considered advisable to issue this volume in parts at such intervals as the progress of the work permitted. Accordingly, the following parts were issued with temporary title pages and covers:—

Part I.	Pp. 1-50.	1915.
Part II.	Pp. 51-221.	1917.
Part III.	Pp. 223-270.	1918.
Part IV.	Pp. 271-385.	1919.
Part V.	Pp. 387-431.	1919.
Part VI.	Pp. 433-450.	1921.
Part VII.	Pp. 451-527.	1921.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

The sun dance of the Plains Indian tribes is their most striking ceremonial procedure. It is the only one of their many ritualistic complexes that rises to the level of a tribal ceremony. While we usually think of these Indians as nomadic, drifting here and there in the wake of the bison herd, it is well to remember that this nomadism was limited, in the main, to the summer months. Most of the Plains tribes lived north of what is now Oklahoma, a vast stretch of open plain over which the fierce winds of the Canadian Northwest swept unchecked. The reader familiar with the winters of the Dakotas, Montana, Wyoming, Nebraska, and Kansas will doubtless agree that the life of a nomad at such times would be anything but joyful. So we may be prepared to learn that during the winter season, it was the rule that these tribes separated into their constituent bands and went into permanent winter quarters. The camping places were more or less fixed, generally along a stream, amongst the trees and brush, in spots well sheltered from the winds. Here they eked out an existence as best they could until summer returned, when, in conformity to a previous understanding, the bands of each tribe came together and went upon a grand hunt.~ Then food was plenty, feasting and social activities became the rule, as the great cavalcade shifted hither and thither with the bison. It is in the nature of things that such a grand picnic should culminate in a great ceremony, or religious festival, in which the whole group might function. This ceremony was the sun dance.

In this brief glimpse of Plains Indian culture and the setting of the sun dance, may be seen the justification for devoting a volume to its investigation. At least, no discussion of Plains culture could be considered comprehensive without due consideration to this ceremony and to its significance. Further, the Plains Indians as a culture group, when considered apart from their individual traits, stand as a type phenomenon in culture. We have, therefore, good reason to expect that the collection of the essential facts concerning this ceremonial complex and their preservation in a volume as concrete data, will be a contribution to knowledge and a source to which future investigators of such subjects will turn in lieu of direct observation, since it is one of the peculiarities of our subject that its data are in the nature of historical events and must, if preserved at all, be reduced to record. It has, therefore, been our first aim to collect the data on this ceremony from each of the tribes concerned. In this respect the accompanying volume is a companion to Volume XI of this series, dealing with the Societies of the Plains Indians,

since these organizations are no less typical of Plains culture than the sun dance itself. A glance at the distribution map for the former and then at the map for the sun dance, will suffice to show that these two complexes are of approximately equal significance in the cultures of the area. As further evidence of this we need but to note that these societies also functioned fully only when the whole tribe was assembled for the summer hunt and the celebrating of the sun dance.

We see then that the general problem is the same as in the preceding volume: viz., the consideration of the facts of distribution and historical statement to the end that the origin of the sun dance complex may be discovered and the mode and mechanism of its subsequent diffusion over the area made clear. We believe the data recorded in the succeeding pages, together with the published accounts of others, will lend themselves to such treatment as well as to many other types of investigation. As an illustration of the possibilities inherent in the data, we append to the volume a general discussion by Doctor Leslie Spier. From this study it appears that the sun dance took its present form at the hands of one or more tribes at the center of the area and was thence diffused outward. It is interesting to note, that whereas the society complex seemed to have taken its final form at the hands of the Hidatsa and Mandan tribes, (Vol. XI), the sun dance centers with the Arapaho and Cheyenne. As the map stands these two centers are widely separated, but there are not wanting indications that in the past and at a time when these ceremonies were taking form, both the Arapaho and the Cheyenne were close neighbors of the Hidatsa and Mandan. In other words, it was in the small group of centrally located tribes that these two complexes arose. Further, it is well to note that the sun dance was brought forth by the more nomadic group, whereas the highly systematized scheme of age-graded societies emerged from the more sedentary village group. On the other hand, the initial societies themselves may have arisen outside the village group among the more restless tribes, to be later fused into a system at the hands of the villagers. It is equally probable that many of the integral parts of the sun dance complex arose beyond the normal range of the Arapaho and Cheyenne, or even beyond the borders of the Plains. As to these origins, we can draw but doubtful inferences, but our data do enable us to deal with the complex in a satisfactory manner from the time when it took form at the hands of its originators down to the present, its approximate extinction, as exemplified in Dr. Spier's discussion. For the details of his method and its evaluation, the reader is referred to the final paper in this volume.

One phase of the problem not seriously considered in these studies is the approximate date of origin and the relative rate of diffusion for these complexes over the area. For one thing, it is shown, that many of the elements in each complex are older than the complex itself. Thus, the Bull society is certainly older than the age-grade system of which it is a part, but on the other hand, there is reason to believe that the age-grade system reached several tribes before they knew of this society. Again, so far as the data go, the sun dance complex seems to have been diffused independent of the torture feature, an element probably contributed later by the Siouan tribes from their older individual culture. The impression, therefore, grows that both the age-grade complex and the sun dance in their historic forms are relatively recent constructs, more recent, for example, than the origin of the separate tribal groups as herein enumerated. However, this is not the place to enter into an analysis of the data to the end that time-relations for the several parts of the complex may be discovered; these suggestions being offered solely as an example of how the data here presented may lend themselves to the solution of important problems.

Our knowledge of the sun dance may be said to begin with Catlin, though the first mention of such a ceremony, as described in this volume, appears in the writings of Charles MacKenzie (1805) under the designation "Great Festival." Doubtless there are other references of this vague character, but the use of the term "sun dance" seems to appear first in Catlin's account of a ceremony observed by him at the mouth of the Teton River in 1833, as performed by a division of the Dakota. This author's rendering of the name as "looking at the sun" dance is a good translation for the Dakota name of the ceremony. A few years later Mrs. Eastman (1849) described the ceremony under the name of sun dance, and from that time on the corresponding ceremony for each and every Plains tribe was given this convenient classificatory name, though, as the reader will see, few of these tribes followed the Dakota custom of gazing at the sun, or so much as referred to the sun in the procedure. Nevertheless, though the use of the term is thus misleading in that it implies sun worship as the basic concept in the ceremony, the name is so firmly fixed in literature and in current usage that it must be retained; and little harm will be done if the reader fixes in his mind a tribal ceremonial complex, embracing practically the whole religious activity of the group, expressing itself in a great formal celebration. While, as the several discussions in this volume show, there are several outstanding features to this procedure, no one of them so dominates as to give a

satisfactory classificatory name. So it is perhaps best as it is, that historical events have firmly attached the Dakota name to the ceremony, referring to the one element emphasized by the tribes of that group. For additional historical data the reader is referred to the accompanying papers.

Turning now to the history of this investigation, it had its inception in a systematic ethnographic survey of the Plains area, organized by the Department of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History in 1907. The data were gathered simultaneously with that upon other aspects of culture, but are presented in this segregated form for convenience of treatment and comprehension. It was assumed that any typical trait, having a primary function in Plains culture, would present a type complex upon whose investigation attention might, for the time being, be concentrated. Nevertheless, each field-worker was at the time engaged in the study of a specific tribal culture, a necessary prerequisite to the proper comprehension of the given complex. Thus, it should be understood that these papers are not isolated studies made by persons otherwise quite unfamiliar with the respective tribal culture as a whole, but are, after all, integral parts of comprehensive discussions dealing with the specific tribal cultures from which they are taken. The field-work, as projected, called for cooperative effort in that a number of investigators worked toward a common end, while at the same time each treated his specific tribal unit independently. Thus, it can scarcely be maintained that the data were gathered under an individual bias, as would have been the case had a single investigator set himself the task of solving the sun dance problem, and then visited each tribe in turn. Not only would this procedure have narrowed the culture perspective of the investigator but might easily have limited the inquiry to specific aspects of the problem. Then rather are these papers on the sun dance to be regarded as a part of our contribution to the cultures of the Indians of the Plains, to be treated under convenient topics in the several volumes of this series.

This survey noted above was entered upon systematically in 1907 and continued until 1916. During this interval the following tribes were visited, Arapaho, Assiniboin, Blackfoot, Crow, Dakota, Hidatsa-Mandan, Iowa, Kansa, Kiowa, Paiute, Plains-Cree, Plains-Ojibway, Sarsi, Shoshoni, Ute. For the sake of perspective, the work was extended to some of the border tribes, as the Beaver, Chipewyan, Eastern Cree, Menomini, Potawatomi, Saulteaux, and Winnebago. This list is not quite inclusive of all the tribes of the Plains area, for such as were

under investigation by other institutions were not visited. Among these are the Cheyenne, Kiowa, Omaha, and Osage. For these, and even many of the tribes visited, there were available the observations of earlier investigators cited in the bibliography at the end of the volume.

December, 1921

CLARK WISSLER.

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THE SUN DANCE OF THE CROW INDIANS.

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

NEW YORK:

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1915.

This paper is the first of a volume treating of the sun dance of the Plains Indians. There will follow discussions of the ceremony as performed by the Blackfoot, Hidatsa, Dakota, Plains-Cree, Plains-Ojibway, Shoshone, and perhaps other tribes. At the close of the volume there will be an analytic and comparative study of the sun dance based upon these and previous publications.

EDITOR.

THE SUN DANCE OF THE CROW.

BY ROBERT H. LOWIE.

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PREFACE.

The last Crow sun dance dates back to about forty years ago, for with the old warfare disappeared the sole *raison d'être* of the performance from the Crow point of view. The notes presented in this paper are therefore not at all based on personal observation. Moreover, as none of the main performers survived to the time when I began my inquiries in 1907, the following account is based on the statements of mere eye-witnesses and participants who played a minor part. Within the limitations thus imposed, the data seem satisfactory. I recorded independent descriptions of the entire ceremony by Gray-bull, Muskrat, Bear-gets-up, the Fire-weasel couple, Bear-crane, and others; and the accounts given in 1910 by the two informants heading this list were checked by having them repeat their narratives from beginning to end in the following summer. Ralph Saco (Bighorn District), Henry Russel (Pryor), Robert Yellowtail (Lodge Grass), and James Carpenter (Lodge Grass) are the interpreters who assisted me during this work. I am under special obligations to James Carpenter, who spared no pains in ascertaining additional facts from various native authorities and gave me the benefit of the information thus obtained by his own efforts.

I am acquainted with only two published accounts of the Crow sun dance. The earlier description by Clark in *The Indian Sign Language* (pp. 135-136) is very brief but gives a correct notion of the fundamental features. Curtis' far more detailed account in *The North American Indian* (IV, pp. 67ff.) deserves high praise. On all essential points it stands corroborated by subsequent investigation.

May, 1915.

40
1875
1915

The native name, *acki'cirûa* was said to refer to a miniature lodge such as is used by children when playing. According to several interpretations, to be sure, the significance of the term in this connection is that the lodge erected was regarded as a miniature representation of the sun's lodge. This interpretation, however, was by no means unanimous. Sharp-horn, for example, denied any connection with the sun, and several informants thought that the customary English rendering of *acki'cirûa* had been suggested by the name of a corresponding ceremony in some other tribe, such as the Dakota.

The historical relations of the Crow sun dance to that of other tribes will, of course, be clearer after the descriptive section of this paper. For a psychological understanding a word on its relation to Crow culture generally seems necessary.

The Crow sun dance being, from the main performer's point of view, nothing but a quest for revenge, we must inquire how it compares with other Crow attempts to wreak vengeance on the enemy. Now, we find that among the Crow *all* movements against hostile tribes were based on dreams or visions. These the visionary accepted as a promise of achievement that was to be made real either by himself or by the leader who had sought his aid. In the latter case the visionary equipped his disciple with some or all of his mysterious powers and objects, and the two regarded each other as "son" and "father" respectively. In the sun dance this same relationship obtained between the whistler and the doll owner, and as in the preparations for a normal war party the "son" tried to attain his end through his "father's" medicine. The only difference is that in the sun dance it was not the medicineman but the disciple that experienced a revelation, but this is hardly significant since the war captains themselves might have secondary visions specifying the exact conditions under which enemies were to be killed. The particular medicines employed in war parties varied with the visionary's revelations. From this point of view, the sun dance might be characterized as that form of war medicine ritual in which the aim was attained through the magic powers of a doll. But this would constitute a difference only in detail, not in principle, since it is not necessarily greater than that between two ordinary war medicines. Considering the method of securing a vision, we also encounter familiar features. Mortification of the flesh was the common way to arouse the compassion of the supernatural powers, who were thus induced to grant the supplicant a vision with promise of success and well-being. Here again there is nothing distinctive in the whistler's procedure: at bottom he did nothing but what any mourner in quest of revenge might do without undertaking a sun dance.

We might therefore picture the Crow sun dance as composed of two

fundamentally independent and but loosely interrelated procedures. On the one hand, there is a complex of social activities shared with other tribes, and therefore possibly of foreign origin; on the other hand, an individual's quest for supernatural aid against the enemy,— a thing likewise in no way peculiar to the Crow when taken by itself, but peculiar to them as the core of the sun dance celebration. On the one hand, we see the aged warriors recounting or acting out their deeds and the entire male population waging mock-warfare against the symbolic tree; lovers philander freely amidst the license of the period; and the virtuous are rewarded with the honor of special duties in the ceremony. But apart from the din of camp activity the whistler, assisted by the doll owner, prepares for the dance in the lodge, his mind fixed only on the consummation of his purpose.

Yet, though this picture would not be wholly wrong, it is probably no more than a rationalistic simplification of the facts. It is, indeed, likely that to the onlooker the sun dance was merely a spectacular performance on the grandest scale within the tribal comprehension. But it is hardly conceivable that the feelings of the whistler should have remained unaffected by such a display of tribal activity. This activity he could indeed wilfully disregard, but its effects could not be wiped from his consciousness. And in so far as the knowledge of it entered into and modified his consciousness the sun dance ceased to be even for him a purely personal religious quest, and his psychological attitude was transformed from that of religious exaltation to that union of social and religious factors known as ceremonialism.¹

THE VOW.

As stated in the Introduction, there was only one reason for the performance of a sun dance. A man who had lost a child or younger brother — more rarely an elder brother — killed by the enemy, might decide to show the excess of his grief by undergoing the hardest form of mourning, which would at the same time lead to a vision of retaliation, to be followed by a fulfillment of the promise involved in the vision. Such a man would not express his intentions immediately. For a while he would fast on the prairies and mourn, no one as yet knowing what he was about. After some time he would hear a herald announcing to the camp that the people were to

¹ Cf. my articles on "The Crow Sun Dance" (*Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXVII, 1914, pp. 94-96) and "Ceremonialism" (*American Anthropologist*, XII, 1914, pp. 602-631).

hunt buffalo and get meat for themselves. When he heard this proclamation, the mourner would call the first person who came near him and ask him to send for the chief. The chief came to look at the mourner, who was emaciated and would not look at the chief. "On this hunt," the mourner would say, "I want you to have the hunters keep all the tongues, do not let the children eat any; I want them all." The chief went back and issued an order through the herald who cried: "Save all tongues, he is going to cut ankles!" The pledger's name was not mentioned. Then the people knew what was going to happen. The mourner no longer stayed away after telling the chief, but returned to camp the same night.

Other informants say that the man who wished to make a sun dance, when having his hair cut for mourning, would say to the haircutter, "Leave a little hair on my head, so that I shall be able to tie a feather to it." The haircutter spread the news about camp, and thus all the people learned of the mourner's pledge.

Since it was purely optional with a mourner to pledge the sun dance, it was performed at irregular intervals. And as it involved unusual hardship, there were relatively few mourners who made the vow. Old-dog estimated the number of sun dances he had witnessed at no less than thirty, and Bear-gets-up said he had seen twenty, but these estimates are at variance with those of the oldest informants, who counted no more than thirteen.¹ From comparing different statements I have arrived at the conclusion that during the interval between 1830 and 1874 sun dances were not more frequent than once every three or four years. On the whole, the River Crow and Mountain Crow seem to have had distinct performances, but there is evidence that the two bands sometimes joined for a common ceremony.

THE COLLECTION OF BUFFALO TONGUES.

As stated in the preceding section, the mourner requested the chief to have all the buffalo tongues saved. He required the tongues both in order to compensate those who performed certain special services and also because he was expected to entertain the people at noon during the entire course of the ceremony. In an exceptional instance noted by Bear-gets-up, Big-shade, as whistler, could not get a vision until the sixth day. Accordingly, the supply of tongues was completely exhausted before the close of

¹ Young-crane, a River Crow about eighty years of age, enumerated six, and Strikes-both-ways, the oldest Crow living in 1911, recollected only five.

the dance, and he was obliged to feast his guests with *bā`rice'*, a kind of dried meat.

When the people set out on the hunt, the mourner was far ahead of them, though always afoot. He wore nothing but moccasins and a buffalo robe. Sometimes the people were lucky enough to find buffalo very soon, at other times it would take them many days. When they finally got to a herd, the young men were requested to kill the game and take only the tongues. Thus, a large number of tongues was secured.

The essential point in what followed was that the tongues obtained were collected, arranged in sets, and re-distributed among prominent warriors who were to have them sliced and dried. As to the details the accounts vary.

According to Muskrat, two men, one of whom had had his locks cut, started out with pack-horses from opposite sides of the camp circle, each accompanied by one attendant. The attendants would peep into every lodge on their way and collect the tongues, which had already been prepared for them. When the two parties met, they crossed each other's paths, turned about, talked, and marched along a diameter of the camp circle to a tent, furnished only with spreads, on which the tongues were unloaded, while two old men were singing songs of joy. The mourner had summoned his relatives to this lodge, where the tongues were strung together in tens, five on each side, and packed on the same horses that had brought them. Then the collectors retraced their steps and unloaded one set of tongues at every war captain's lodge, where the captains' wives laid them on their best blankets. Finally, the two parties again went back along the same diametrical path and unsaddled their horses, which closed this part of the proceedings.

According to Big-snake, there were eight men who gathered the tongues, two of them leading the horses and the rest actually getting the tongues from the people. When they had done collecting, they decided on the bravest men, who would number about twenty, and redistributed the tongues in sets as described above. Gray-bull says that the tongue-gathering party embraced five or six men who had accompanied the mourned-for man on the fatal war party.¹ After the collection, the men went outside the circle and stood there chatting for a while. When re-approaching the camp, they called out aloud the names of distinguished warriors, bidding them prepare by spreading robes. During this procession songs of joy were sung, and as the famous men's dwellings were passed the collectors dropped tongues on robes laid outside the lodges in obedience to their request.

¹ This is confirmed by Fire-weasel's wife.

Bear-crane's version does not specifically refer to comrades of the slain man. It makes the mourner borrow five or six horses from as many men, who led them behind the doll owner, who in turn followed the mourner on this tongue-gathering procession. The doll owner's face was painted black to symbolize in customary Crow fashion the killing of an enemy and thus express a hope for the realization of this event. He sang a glad song and shook a rattle; he also gave the mourner his straight-pipe, facing toward the camp.

A single hunt did not always suffice to secure the desired number of tongues, which some informants set at one thousand. Indeed, according to Gray-bull four successive hunts were customary, after all of which the method of procedure was identical except that the first and third time tongues were redistributed among strikers of coups, while after the second and fourth collections the tongues were given to the men who had stolen enemies' horses. Bear-crane says that it was optional with the mourner to demand a second hunt. After the first collection his opinion was asked for, and after some deliberations he would say that another hunt was, or was not, necessary. In the former case, a herald was ordered to make a corresponding announcement. Big-snake seems to think that four hunts were proper, but that it depended on circumstances whether there were two or four.

THE DOLL AND THE DOLL OWNER.

As the desired vision was secured only through a sacred doll, the mourner was obliged to enlist the services of one of the men who owned such dolls. This seems to have taken place after the collection, but before the redistribution, of the tongues. The mourner decided which doll owner to choose for master of ceremonies, and approached him with a filled straight-pipe, asking him to smoke. The medicineman accepted the office with the pipe, thereby adopting the mourner as his son. Sometimes the "son" would try to buy the doll bundle outright from his ceremonial father, but it happened very rarely that an owner consented to sell, and then only for a high price.

Bear-crane knew of six men who had owned distinct dolls, Lone-tree of five, while Young Crane named four owners: Wrinkled-face (Pretty-enemy's deceased husband); Braided-tail; I+ā'kac; and Wandering-old-man. Even apart from spurious effigies made on the basis of a merely pretended revelation (see p. 49), these dolls were not of equal efficacy. According to all Lodge Grass informants and most others, the doll owned by Wrinkled-

face took precedence not only of the rest, but of all other Crow medicines whatsoever.

The last-mentioned doll was not supposed to be handled by a woman. When an elderly Indian learned that Pretty-enemy (Wrinkled-face's widow) had unwrapped it for me, he prophesied that she herself, or some of her relatives, would die in consequence. Whether a like taboo extended to the other dolls, I do not know; the contrary is indicated in one account.

The only purpose originally served by the medicine dolls apart from the sun dance confirms the view that this ceremony was essentially a preparation for warlike achievement. Gray-bull says that the doll bundle was sometimes opened before a party set out on the warpath. The doll was then addressed in prayer, and occasionally a feather from the bundle was taken along. Birds-all-over-the-ground gave more specific information. A man going on the warpath sometimes came to a doll owner and paid him some property in order to get good luck. In such a case the owner unwrapped the doll, made a smaller imitation of it, tied the latter to a little willow hoop, and smoked it with sweetgrass incense from a charcoal fire. He also put a string over the buyer's neck (for suspension of the doll?). If the warrior struck a horse in the next battle, he gave the doll owner a horse and returned the doll to him. After he had done this four times, however, he merely gave the owner a horse, and kept the doll for himself. This method of procedure tallies exactly with that followed by a young man desirous of obtaining a reputation and approaching a tribesman renowned for his war medicines.¹ More recently old men were wont to visit Pretty-enemy, requested to see the doll, unwrapped it, and presumably addressed it in supplication.

The origin of medicine dolls is thus accounted for by Birds-all-over-the-ground.

Andicicôpc was the first discoverer of a medicine doll. He was very poor, having lost his parents while a boy. The Indians were moving toward the site of Billings. Andicicôpc went to the highest peak there, where he fasted for two days and two nights. On the third morning a little bird came to the foot of the place where he was resting, and said to him, "Look towards the west, across Mt. I'EXUXPEC." He looked and beheld seven men and one woman who was standing in front of them. Several of the men were beating drums painted with the representation of a skunk. The woman wore an elk-hide blanket and was holding a doll before her face. They began to sing. Andicicôpc could hear them plainly, and learned the songs. For a moment Andicicôpc looked round, and when he had turned back again the singers had drawn nearer, standing now on the top of a high hill. After a while he looked away again, and when he turned back, they were moving on the top of a bluff between the sites of Park City and Absaroka. Again he looked away, and did not see

¹ This series, vol. 9, *Social Life of the Crow Indians*, p. 232.

them again until he heard a noise at the foot of his bed, where the seven men and the woman suddenly appeared. The woman stood in front, holding the doll in both hands. One of the men addressed the others: "We live so far away, and have come so far to see this boy; we are tired." The woman in the elk-hide robe was the moon. They sang again. The doll was tied up in a buckskin envelope. At the end of the first song, the head of the doll suddenly popped out of its own accord. A second song was sung. The moon shook the doll at the boy, and stepped back. Then the doll came out of its cover far enough to expose its arms. At the end of the third song, it exposed its waist. After the fourth song, the woman stepped forward and then back again. The doll came out completely in the guise of a screech-owl, and sat down on the moon's hand. The boy was at this time lying straight on his back. The screech-owl flew about, and then perched on Andicicôpc's breast. Suddenly one of the men loaded and cocked a breechloader, then he stepped toward the boy and sang a song. The woman said to the screech-owl, "Now, little screech-owl, this man is going to shoot you, you must make your medicine." It stood up on its feet, and began to flap its wings. The man drew closer, and shot at the owl, which entered his breast and began to hoot inside. Andicicôpc looked towards the northeast. In the valley he saw a sun dance lodge. The seven men and moon got up, singing and beating their drums. They moved towards the lodge, making four stops on the way and singing a song each time. After the end of the fourth song, they entered the lodge. Andicicôpc looked through the lodge and saw the doll attached to a cedar tree on the north side of the lodge. At the foot of the tree he saw the whistler lying flat on his back. The seven men sang four songs again. Moon went to the whistler, and seized him by both hands. At each song she raised him slightly, then put him back to his former position, but the fourth time she pulled him up completely. Moon then stepped up to the doll and gave it to the whistler, who held it in both hands. After a short time he put it back in its place. They sang and danced, facing the medicine doll. Thus the doll was discovered, and whenever anyone wished to have a sun dance he requested the visionary to direct the ceremony. The doll represents the moon-woman, and the lodge the sun's lodge.¹

Sharp-horn gave the following fragmentary data with regard to I+ā'-kac's doll and his own (see p. 15).

The sun dance was started by a Crow named I+ā'kac. One day he went up to the highest part of the mountains near Yellowstone Park. There he fasted and abstained from drink for five or six days. Finally he saw the sun dance and the doll in it. The lodge was very large, and was painted with four black streaks extending from top to bottom. When he returned, he was very lean and weak, and his lips were sore. He told the people that if an enemy came to the lodge at night they must kill him. One day an enemy was found sitting in the lodge unarmed. The Crow killed and scalped him, and then danced and rejoiced over his death. When a person wanted to have a sun dance on account of a relative's death, he came to I+ā'kac. I+ā'kac painted his everyday lodge to represent the sun dance lodge: the upper half was painted black, and four streaks ran down to the ground, one on either side of the door, and the others more to the east and west, respectively.

¹ Bear-gets-up said the doll owner had a vision of the sun. This is interesting in view of other statements that the ceremony was not at all connected with the sun (p. 8).

The doll described on p. 15 ff. was revealed to Sharp-horn's brother, who went up a mountain after one of his brothers had been killed by the enemy. After four days he heard the beating of drums inside the mountain. Someone was calling out aloud: "Everyone, come in! They are going to have a sun dance here!" Someone came out, and took the visionary inside, where he saw the dance. Thus he became a medicineman and afterwards made a doll in accordance with what he had seen in his vision. He bequeathed it to Sharp-horn, and if there were still enemies in existence my informant would still feel entitled to make a sun dance.

Another informant¹ furnished the following statements with regard to Bear-from-above's doll.

This doll was discovered by an old woman, no one knows where or how. She made and kept it all her life, and told people that this doll had a big lodge. Being a woman, however, she could not erect a lodge. The doll entered her body and she took it out only just before her death. She made four dolls in all, which were inherited by her son. When he died, one of the dolls came into the possession of Bear-from-above's father, a brother of the former owner. Then it was inherited by Bear-from-above, who kept it until his wife's death, when he buried it with the corpse. Probably the old woman who discovered the doll was the only one that ever saw all of it. In later times, when they wished to look at the doll, they first took cedar leaves and made incense over a charcoal fire, and then unwrapped the doll, but so as not to expose anything but the head and shoulders. The face looked like that of a doll baby; it was painted yellowish and red. Bear-from-above, being a doll owner, might have conducted a sun dance, but he never did so. He placed it on the outside of his tipi, and no one touched it; there it remained so long as the Crow camped in the same locality. When Bear-from-above had dreamt to that effect, he took the doll down on the following morning, smoked it with cedar-leaf incense, spread a blanket and laid the doll on it, unwrapped it as described above, and finally replaced it. Only on such occasions did he unwrap the doll. The two owners preceding Bear-from-above had conducted sun dance ceremonies.

Of the doll figured in Fig. 1 Muskrat said that it was revealed to Little-son when he was mourning for a brother's death. Little-son passed it on to his brother, and he to Akékuc. It was inherited by Akékuc's brother, and through his death it passed into the possession of his wife, Pretty-enemy.

I have seen two dolls, the one owned by Sharp-horn, and another which I purchased of Pretty-enemy.

At Pryor, Sharp-horn showed me a buckskin doll. It was smaller than Pretty-enemy's, being probably not more than five inches in length, and seemed to be of much more recent origin. The body was triangular, tapering toward the bottom. A belt encircled the waist, and on the breast there was a rectangular cross of greenish-blue beads, two rows to each arm, which

¹ I am not sure whether this was Bear-from-above himself.

represented the morningstar. The neck was completely covered with a strip of weaselskin. The head was painted with small circles for eyes, and a mouth; the place of the nose was taken by the lower half of the vertical



Fig. 1 (50.1-4011a). Sun Dance Doll.

arm of a morningstar design precisely similar to that noted on the breast, except for its lesser size. The entire figure was almost covered out of sight with a profusion of owl feathers. Some shells and strips of skin were attached to the back. Near the center of a twisted string serving for sus-

pension, there was attached a little bag stuffed with tobacco. This bag was constricted into two fairly spherical halves, the upper and smaller of which was decorated with blue beads and from its form might have been taken for a head, though Sharp-horn did not know that it was meant for one. Sharp-horn said that the doll was stuffed with parts of herbs and roots, as well as with tobacco seeds. The bundle from which the doll was taken also contained a large globular buffalo-hide rattle. The outside of the rectangular bag containing the doll was painted on one side with the design in Fig. 2.

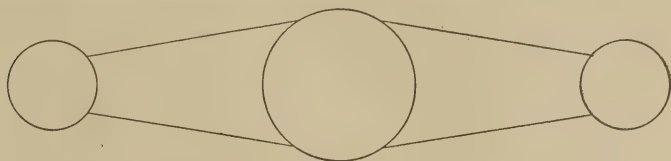


Fig. 2. Decoration on Sharp-horn's Doll Bag.

The lateral figures, according to Sharp-horn, represented persons. He did not know the meaning of the central circle; Plenty-coups suggested that it might represent a lodge.

The doll purchased for the Museum (Fig. 1) formed part of a bundle, all of which was enclosed in a rectangular rawhide bag (Fig. 3). A duplicate

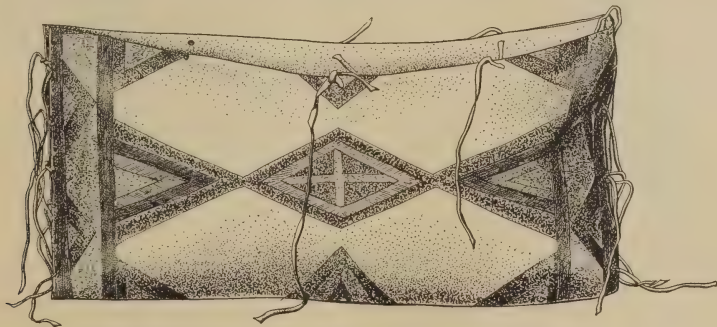


Fig. 3 (50.1-4011c). Doll Envelope, which contained the doll in Fig. 1, and all the objects shown in Figs. 4, 5, 7, 8.

of lesser value was said to have been buried with the owner's husband. Owing to the fact that Pretty-enemy, being a woman, had never even unwrapped the bundle prior to the negotiations with me, her information as to the contents of the bag was very unsatisfactory, and since the fact of the purchase was to be kept secret her statements could not be supplemented by directly questioning others. The doll was only used on two occasions,—by some braves who unwrapped it and prayed to it before setting out on a

war party, and in the sun dance, where it became a living person for those gazing at it. The lower part of the doll is covered by a piece of buffalo skin with the hairy side on the inside. Eyes and mouth are crudely marked in black; on the body, front and back, were a number of rectangular crosses (already partly faded in 1910) which represented the morningstar. The head is topped with a profusion of plumes. Pretty-enemy did not know what kind of stuffing there was, but Birds-all-over-the-ground made the general statement that sun dance dolls were stuffed with sweetgrass and white pine needles, and had their hair parted like women.



Fig. 4 *abc* (50.1-4011k, n, 1). Feathers, Skunkskin, and Hair forming Part of Contents of the Doll Envelope shown in Fig. 3.

Three strips of skunkskin (Fig. 4b) in the bundle undoubtedly represent the anklets and necklace referred to in accounts of the ceremony, the latter being placed round the pledger's neck to make him go mad (see p. 48). Of the two rawhide effigies (Fig. 5b, c), one was said to have been attached to the whistler's hair. The remaining articles include two beaded plaques (Fig. 7), fairly large bunches of feathers (Figs. 4a, 8b), hair (Fig. 4c), and an awl (Fig. 5a) mounted in a wrapped handle.

THE PRELIMINARY LODGE.

The precise relative order of the events following the (last) tongue hunt is not certain; it may be that the contradictory statements obtained reflect actual transposition of proceedings at different performances. Thus, it would appear from some accounts that after the tongue hunt, the site of the ceremony was selected, that then the entire camp set out toward it, making the trip in four stages, and that on each of the four nights of the journey a preparatory ceremony took place in the whistler's lodge. But Gray-bull makes the four preparatory ceremonies precede the journey to the

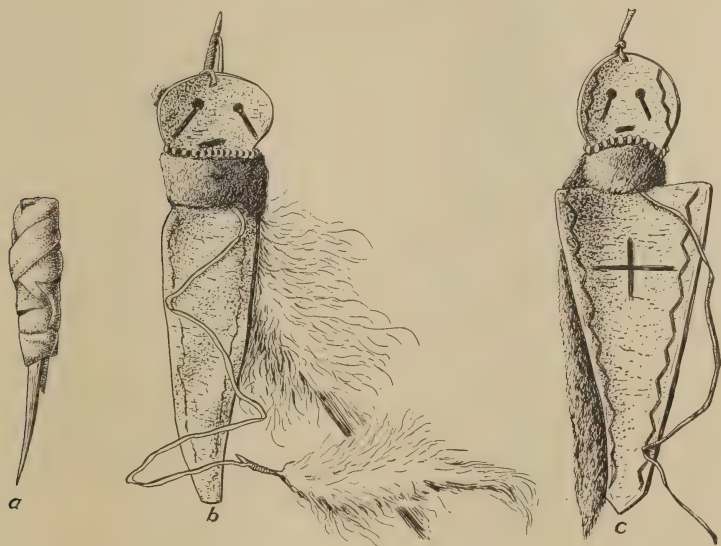


Fig. 5 *a* (50.1-4011f), *b* (50.1-4011g), *c* (50.1-4011h). Awl and Rawhide Effigies from Doll Envelope.

site; and Bear-crane puts the first performance in the preliminary lodge even before the *selection* of the site. The following account is based on Bear-crane's narrative.

After the hunt the whistler's tipi was carpeted with ground-cedar and a bed of small-leaved sagebrush was prepared in the rear. As soon as the lodge was ready, the whistler entered from the left side and went to the bed, followed by the doll owner, who seated himself on his right. Old men came in uninvited and sat down on the mourner's left without approaching close

to him. They would ask how many days he intended to dance and he might reply, "I'll dance a night and a day till the sun goes down," or specify some other time.¹ Then he would say, "Sing for me tonight, and I will dance for you." The doll owner deliberated for a while and then answered

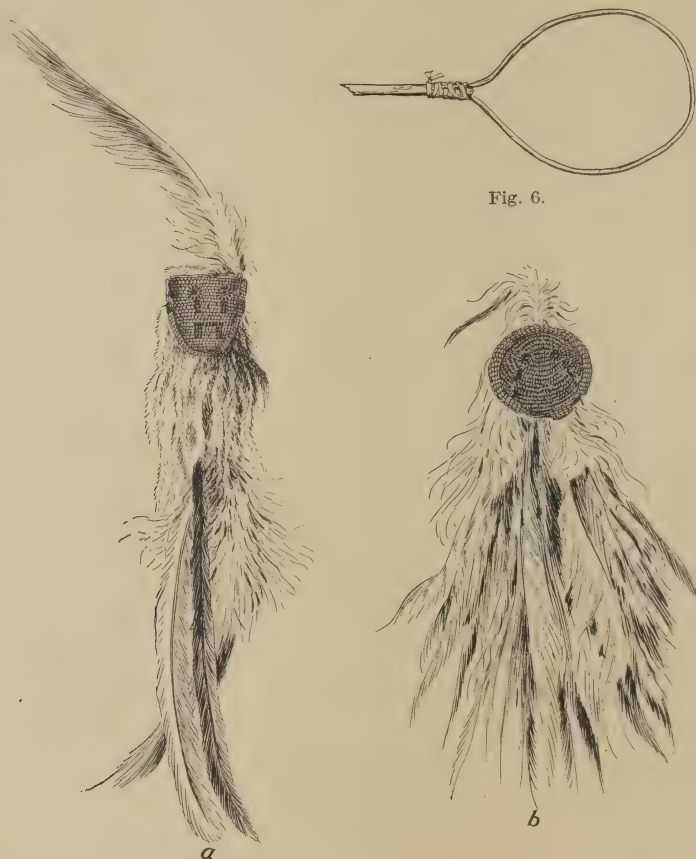


Fig. 6 (50.1-3938). Model of Hoop, within which the Doll was suspended. The real hoop was edged with feathers.

Fig. 7 *ab* (50.1-4011 e, d). Beaded Plaques with Feather Ornamentation, from Envelope shown in Fig. 3.

that he would. Then any of the old visitors might leave or stay according as they wished.

The doll owner went to his own lodge to ask his wife whether she knew

¹ But the termination of the ceremony was always dependent on the circumstances indicated on p. 49.

of any tanned deerskin. She went out and got one. Then her husband bade her take it to some virtuous woman, who accepted it, shouldered it, and took it to the doll owner's lodge. There the doll owner smoked it with ground-cedar incense, smoked himself, and also the chaste woman's body and hands. The medicineman smoked a knife, pretended three times to cut the skin, and the fourth time actually cut it. Then the virtuous woman sewed a kilt of it, with seams on the sides. Takes-the-dead did the



Fig. 8 *a b* (50.1-4011j, l). Folded Buckskin and Bunch of Feathers from Doll Envelope.

sewing when a young woman; she used buckskin thread instead of sinew and made four feints at sewing before she actually began. When done, the woman went home. The medicineman smoked the garment, wrapped it up, and put it away. Next he asked his wife to get a robe that had never been worn. She went out and brought it to her husband, who smoked it and put it away.

Then the medicineman said, "I will go over to see my son and find out

whether he has any medicine and whether he can get any." Returning to the whistler's tipi, he sat down in his customary place, smoking a pipe without saying anything till the whistler finally asked him what was up. Then the doll owner bade him try to get eagle tail-feathers. The doll owner returned at once to his own lodge, while the whistler got the feathers only from his relatives, who gave them gratis because of their pity for the whistler. A man was dispatched to present the tail to the doll owner, who bade the messenger summon a certain other man, for during the ceremony the doll owner had dictatorial powers. The messenger looked for the person named and delivered his message. When the second man appeared, the medicine-man bade him tell five or six women renowned as good workers to cut branches and leaves for the tongue lodge (dē'ēce asu'a). When this structure was completed, a herald proclaimed that the tongues distributed among distinguished warriors were to be brought to the tongue lodge.

Among the articles prepared for the whistler was a pair of plain moccasins, sewed by the wife of a man who had killed and scalped an enemy. The moccasins were blackened with charcoal to symbolize the killing of an enemy, and buffalo hair was sewed on them to represent an enemy's scalp.

When everything was ready for the first preliminary performance, the best singers were called in, including two women. The doll owner came in with his wife, who sat by him. He brought a cup of white clay. Ground-cedar, a whistle, a rattle, two feather plumes, a skunk-hide necklace, the kilt, and the robe were all brought in. The doll owner went near the whistler and brought all the articles enumerated within easy reach. No one went near the whistler, the doll owner, and the doll owner's wife. From the beginning of the sun dance preparations the whistler was not allowed to come near any other woman. The doll owner took some of the clay and sang the first song as yet sung in the ceremony, at the same time shaking the rattle. As soon as the people heard it, they all ran over to watch the performance. The doors of the whistler's lodge were wide open.

In front of the doll owner's seat was a pit with burning buffalo chips. His wife took a little ground-cedar and put it over the fire so that it burned. She sang with her husband, and smoked some ground-cedar after every song. They sang four times, alternating two distinct songs. After the fourth song, the doll owner slowly lifted the kilt, as if it were something delicate, smoked it, and put it down. The same four songs with the accompanying actions were repeated, then the medicineman took the whistler by his thumbs and raised him gently. A crier inside the lodge bade all the people keep still and listen. The whistler wore nothing but a clout. While being lifted, the whistler put his left foot over the chips to smoke it. Then he stepped into the kilt with his left foot. The doll owner's wife gently raised

the kilt into position, tied it with a leather cord serving as a belt, and tucked in the part of the kilt above the belt. The doll owner looked over the whistler, regarding his emaciated form. The singers put down their pipes and got ready to sing. Then the doll owner called for the best drum. When it had been picked out, the drummer rose, and taking care not to pass the whistler, went round by the door to hand the drum to the doll owner. The latter's wife cast more ground-cedar on the buffalo chips and turned the drum back and forth over the fire, while her husband sang. The drum was returned to the drummer, who retraced his steps to resume his seat. The medicineman smoked his rattle, and sang three times in a low voice, but the fourth time he sang out aloud, and was then joined by all the singers. Now he was ready to paint the whistler. At the first song he smoked his own hands, holding them close to the whistler's head and slowly lowering them to the ground by the end of the song, keeping time with the singing. He acted similarly during the second song, and also during the third, but when that ended he dipped his hand in the white clay. At the fourth song he put clay on the whistler from head to foot. Next he went round and similarly painted the whistler's back, then his left and right side, down to the ground. Then his wife took a sagebrush, mixed it with white clay, and now actually¹ painted the whistler with white clay all over his body. The same song was continually repeated. After the woman had done, her husband made a cross on the whistler's breast and another on his back, both representing the morningstar. Then, beginning at the space below the mourner's eyes he marked with his fingers a lightning design down his face to represent the whistler's tears, and also put a lightning mark on his forehead to represent the mode of painting used by the sun. The doll owner now took the skunk-hide, made a slit in the middle, smoked it with cedar, painted it with white clay, and put it first round the whistler's right side, then round his neck, and finally round his left side. As no one was allowed to go in front of the whistler, the doll owner himself, in putting the skunk-hide on him, passed back of him. Then he tied a plume to the top of his ward's head, and repainted with white clay the spot where paint might have been rubbed off during the process of tying. Standing back, he took a long square look at the mourner. Then he got a plume for the little finger of the right hand, painted it with clay, tied it on the whistler's finger, stepped back, and looked at him again for a long time. In the same way he tied a plume to the little finger of his "son's" left hand. During these proceedings the drummers continued singing.

Next the medicineman's wife threw cedar into the fire and smoked the

¹ This word indicates that her husband merely pretended to paint the mourner.

moccasins previously prepared on both the inside and outside. She first put the left moccasin, then the right, on the whistler's feet, for he himself assumed a passive attitude at this stage. Her husband took the robe, smoked it, and at the end of each of three songs feigned to put down the robe, actually laying it down the fourth time. Taking the whistler by the arm, he made him sit down, and put the flaps of the robe round his "son," who did not so much as touch the garment, the woman adjusting the robe for him. Taking the whistle, the doll owner smoked it with cedar incense, put clay on it, and knelt down before the whistler. Putting the whistle into his own mouth, he danced in kneeling posture, blowing his whistle and facing the whistler. This occupied the time consumed by four songs. After dancing through this period, the medicineman took the whistle from his own mouth and pretended to put it into the whistler's, which was open, ready to receive it. This was done three times, the whistle being moved closer each time, until at the fourth time the whistler took the whistle into his mouth and began forthwith to dance as his instructor had done before, to the drummer's accompaniment, who sang four songs. The whistler then took the whistle out of his mouth and shook it. The doll owner took it from him, then the whistler bent forward and the doll owner placed the whistle round his neck.

The singers ceased to sing, and smoked four times, emptying their pipe. It was now time for prominent men to enter. Four warriors came in from the left, and four from the right. All of them were equipped as though for a war expedition on foot. Wolfskins were carried as scout badges. The warriors had a rope, and each had a bundle of moccasins tied to his belt. They were not allowed to carry guns. At this time the eagle tail-feathers were still in the doll owner's tipi. The warriors remained standing after their entrance. The drummers waited for the two women singers to sing this song:—

h'ra	wacúe	rāwí'ewà,	bāsúe	hiré'rek'.
Woman-friend,	my song	sing,	my house	is here!

Then the drummers all took up the song, while the warriors clapped their mouths and shouted. The eight warriors flirted with the women. When the song had been sung four times, the warriors closest to the whistler on his left and right side said:—

ku'	kahé,	karīrī'at'bak'	dúxiwarē'k.
Well to begin that		just like this I did	when I went on warpath.

Then each told how he had brought horses from the enemy, achieving undisputed honors. The drum was beaten after every sentence. When each of the eight warriors had told of his deeds, they went out. The

drummers had another smoke, then sang again. The medicineman went through the motions of touching the whistler three times, before he finally took off the plume from his head and laid it down. His wife threw cedar on the fire, then her husband smoked the plume and laid it down. After three feigned motions he took off the skunkskin and laid it down. Next he removed the plumes from the little fingers, the whistle, and last of all the moccasins, for the kilt was not taken off. The singing continued. Then the medicineman said, "Bring in his quilts." Sagebrush and cedar were brought in two bundles, and the doll owner made a pillow of cedar, and a bed of the scented sagebrush. Taking hold of the whistler, he seated him, then gently threw him on his back and put his arms down, with the palms up. Taking the robe, he acted three times as if about to cover the whistler and the fourth time actually covered him. The whistler was obliged to remain thus on his back all night, with his feet toward the fireplace. The doll owner said: "Bring in the buffalo bull." The people then brought in a skull with the horns. The medicineman put the skull close to the whistler's head, making it face the same way as the whistler.

All singers then went out except the doll owner and his wife, who talked to each other and decided where would be the best site for the sun dance lodge, saying, "We'll move over there." The place might be about three miles away.

When their mind was made up, the man bade his wife summon the crier, who was told to notify the camp. Then the couple decided which society was to act as police, whether the Big Dogs or Muddy Hands, etc. The crier notified the camp and told the police to go early and put a wood pile on the site of the lodge. A pile of wood was raised to the height of about fifteen feet. The tongue lodge had been put up in the meantime; it belonged to the whistler. It was very close to the preparatory lodge.

The next morning the police were waiting at the site. The people came in, and the police made them form a circle round the site. The whistler's lodge (ak'ō'oce asu'ē) was moved together with the tongue lodge, which was in the form of a shade-lodge. Both were placed a little distance in from the circumference, toward the center. The whistler's lodge faced the wood pile.

Now the performance in the preparatory lodge was repeated on three nights.

THE BULL HUNT.

Before the sun dance lodge could be erected it was necessary to select and fell the lodge poles and to obtain two buffalo bull hides for tying the tops of the poles. Statements vary as to which event preceded the other. Following Bear-crane, I will first give an account of the bull hunt.

After the fourth night in the preparatory lodge, the doll owner began to think. No one was allowed to go out. People did not know where the buffalo were. The doll owner tried to find out. He thought to himself, "Where can a bull be?" Then, when he had made up his mind, he thought of the best marksman and the best butcher in the tribe. Finally, he would say, "Over yonder will be found a buffalo bull. Call So-and-so for marksman and So-and-so for butcher." Of course the medicineman had got an inspiration from some supernatural source. Then some man went out and summoned the men named. They might be far off, but came in nevertheless. "Look here!" said the doll owner to the hunter. "Yes!" "Look here! Tomorrow at dawn you shall rise, select a fast horse to take you out and another fast hunting horse, take two arrows from your quiver and go out. With one arrow you must kill a buffalo bull, and with the second arrow you must kill another. Kill a bull six, seven, eight, nine, or ten years old, but not one younger than six years." No common marksman was allowed to go out, for there were a number of taboos to be observed that severely taxed the skill of the best sharpshooter. The bull had to be killed before sunrise, without the use of a gun, and he had to be killed with the first shot. Moreover, the arrow must not pass clean through his body, for there was to be but a single hole in the hide. Sharp-horn, who had himself served as marksman on the bull hunt, said that if the arrow went clean through the body, he at once discarded the bull he had shot and looked for another.

The butcher also received his instructions. To him the doll owner said: "Make your knife as sharp as possible. Have one horse to ride, and one to pack on. Do not eat any part of the bull, not even the smallest particle. Do not taste of it, for it belongs to the sun, and the sun will watch, looking down at you all the time." Both the sharpshooter and the butcher received two plumes and a string. To the former the doll owner said: "When you shoot the first buffalo, let him die. When you shoot the second, you must tie one plume to his tail and the other between his horns, before he falls to the ground." The butcher was instructed to deal in the same way with the first bull shot. This part of the undertaking was, of course, exceedingly dangerous, and though Bear-crane said that no bull ever tried to hook the

butcher or marksman, another informant who had actually participated in these expeditions spoke of having been repeatedly put to flight by the wounded buffalo.

The hunting party set out and executed their commission in accordance with the instruction received. As soon as a bull had expired, the butcher cut him up with the utmost dispatch, though with great care. The head was severed and discarded except for the nasal cartilage and tongue. The four feet and the backbone were also left behind. All the remaining parts of the body were taken back to camp, the hide being thrown over the sharpshooter's horse, and all the meat on the pack-horse. On the return trip the marksman surrendered his knives and weapons to the butcher so as not to carry anything sharp, and rode in front of his companion.¹

While the bull-hunters were gone, the doll owner tried to think of the best two ² scouts in camp. All men in the tipi being ready to act as his servants, some were selected to call the scouts, who immediately appeared in obedience to the summons. The doll owner told them to prepare wolf-hide sashes,³ take white clay, and go out to watch for the bull-hunters. They were to act like real scouts on a war party. As soon as they saw the returning bull-hunters they were to paint themselves with the white clay, and come back to camp, howling like wolves.

On one occasion one of the scouts fell asleep and the other did not notice the returning party till they were quite close. The hunters said: "Look at those sleepy wolves." Then the scouts saw them and rushed back to camp with the utmost dispatch. Every one was amused at this incident.

When the scouts caught sight of the hunters they ran back to camp howling like coyotes or wolves. According to Gray-bull, they went straight to a four-post shade-lodge erected in the center of the camp for the deposition of the meat to be brought in later by the hunting party. Then there was a big stir, the people came out, and sang songs (according to Old-dog, in praise of the returning hunters). They took away the scouts' guns, and asked them whether they had seen anything. The scouts replied that they had seen an enemy who had no weapons and could easily be killed. Then all rejoiced and shouted. According to Gray-bull, the scouts coming back exclaimed: "The men who went out have killed some person, and are bringing the scalp and good horses!" In another version by the same informant the scouts are made to announce: *ē'k-ōn barē ra'sastsīs'e-taherā*

¹ Bear-gets-up said there were two bull-hunting parties, each comprising a sharpshooter and a butcher. They went in opposite directions and each tried to get back to camp before the rival party.

² Gray-bull speaks of three or four such men. Red-eye said the scouts were men who had fought the enemy without suffering injury.

³ The customary badge of scouts.

kā'mnem dū'ok'. hā'ma+u! (Over there not disturbing our alertness (?) some Piegan came. Wipe them out!) Red-eye says that, when the scouts appeared at the edge of the camp, the people rushed toward them, trying to count coup on them, and take their weapons. One would say, "Here I strike an enemy"; another, "Here I take a bow"; and so forth.

In preparation for the reception of the bull-hunters the flaps of the whistler's tipi were thrown up, and the whistler faced toward the incoming party. Nearly the entire camp were lined up, but left a free passageway. The doll owner had ground-cedar spread on the ground. He put on a cedar crown, blackened his face, took his rattle and slowly approached the hunters, who stood still in the center of the camp, where they packed all the meat on one horse. It was necessary that all guns, arrows, and knives should be removed from the place where the hunters and doll owner met. When the doll owner had got there, the hunter reported: "You sent me out to those two people. I got them without trouble, all their heads, etc. They are here, and you can do with them as you please." Then the doll owner, singing a song of rejoicing, led the hunter and butcher toward the whistler's tipi. No dog was allowed to get in front of him. Before the whistler's tipi two plots had been strewn with cedar. After four stops they got to the cedar plots. There three or four lucky warriors gently lifted the hunter and butcher from their horses, so that they stepped on the cedar carpet. They were made to sit on robes. The scouts who had reported their approach were seated among the crowd. The meat and hide were unloaded and spread out on the cedar leaves. Then the people examined the buffalo to see whether any part of it were lacking, and if it was all there, a crier bade the old men and women come and sit in a ring outside the lodge. The people said: "We'll eat. It is well. It is well that there is only one hole in the hide." Two lucky chiefs were selected, each to cut up the inside of one of the two buffalo, and two others sliced the meat, which was distributed among all the people there. Gray-bull says that the entrails and marrow bones were given to the old men, and the meat to the old women. One man took the first hide by the neck end, another by the tail, hairy side down, and carried it to the whistler's tipi. There the second hide was placed on top of the first with its hairy side up. According to Gray-bull, each hide was spread out, and water was poured on it. Then it was carefully folded and put away, leaving as much water on it as possible. A big lump of pounded charcoal was laid with it.

Sharp-horn's personal reminiscences indicate some variation from the proceedings as recounted above. When he came back from the bull-hunt, a certain medicineman (apparently not the doll owner) was waiting for him with blackened face, wearing a headband of cedar leaves, and holding a

rawhide rattle in his hand. No sooner had he caught sight of Sharp-horn than he began to sing sacred songs. When my informant got nearer, the medicineman seized his bridle-rein, and conducted him to the whistler's lodge. The whistler had painted his entire body with white clay, and was wearing a bone whistle round his neck. Sharp-horn remained on horseback until one of his own paternal uncles came and helped him dismount. The same uncle bade him enter the lodge, where he found the whistler and Iā'kac, the doll owner. Iā'kac asked Sharp-horn, what he had done. Sharp-horn replied, "I saw two enemies moving away from me. They did not see me. I ran toward them and killed one; the other ran away." Thereupon he was requested to smoke from a pipe, and then went home. One corner of the lodge was carpeted with ground-cedar, and over it the buffalo hide was spread. The meat was put on the skin. In the opposite corner the meat and skin obtained by another hunter were treated in the same way. The old people then came and stayed outside the lodge, where the meat was distributed among them. They feasted there, sang and enjoyed themselves, and finally went home with whatever meat was left. The skin of the buffalo remained in the lodge all day. Old men came in and smoked with the whistler and doll owner in the course of the day.

Muskrat has the whistler himself going out to meet the hunters and bring them to his lodge. He asked them, who had killed the buffalo with the first arrow, helped the marksman dismount, and had all the parts of the buffalo brought to the lodge, where they were deposited on skins. Muskrat, as cook, sat down in front of the whistler's lodge. The head end of the skin, which rested on ground-cedar, was turned northward, while the head itself was made to face south. One person inside made an offering. Then old people were invited to come there. Muskrat took a knife, cut up the buffalo meat into so many parts, and distributed these among the old people. Even the guts were divided in this way. Then the old people were sent home.

THE LODGE POLES.

After the proceedings just described the doll owner said, "Tomorrow we shall cut the lodge poles." One of the men announced this to the people and bade them rise as early as possible on the following day. A lucky warrior, or otherwise one of the policemen, was dispatched to select the best trees for lodge poles, and returned to report. The first tree (corresponding to the center tree of other tribes) was generally a cottonwood, the

rest cottonwood or pine trees according to the doll owner's vision. Early the next morning the crier roused the people, bidding the young men fetch their horses and telling the young women to paint and dress up in their best clothes. So all put on their best finery, and the men used their finest trappings, such as mountain-lion skins for saddlecloths.

Now the tail-feathers and the tongues collected for the ceremony were to be used. The doll owner bent a willow into a hoop (Fig. 6), and made a network of twelve willow sticks in the hoop, topping each with an eagle feather painted black. In the center of the hoop the doll itself was suspended, representing the sun's face. The doll owner held up the doll in the hoop and stood beside the whistler, who faced the doll owner's wife. The doll owner said to his wife: "I am holding this doll. Sing your song of joy, and then put the tongues in a kettle, and when you come back we shall all start." The woman sang the song four times, and then went to put the tongues into the kettle. She sent for fresh willows and had them sharpened and painted black. A real scalp was tied to the fork she used in cooking.

When the woman got back, the people set out to cut lodge poles. The whistler walked way ahead with the doll, behind him the doll owner and his wife, next the singers and the police, then four women who were carrying as many of the newly cooked tongues as possible. One of the policemen went ahead toward the trees selected: "It's here, come over here." Then they went to the spot, where the whistler stood still and faced eastward. The four women put down their tongues and made a small shade, under which the doll was put. The whistler sat under the doll, both he and the doll facing eastward. No one was allowed to come within a certain distance from the tree. Half of the police stayed in the rear of the camp. There was always someone on the watch. There was a big stir in the camp. The police made everyone go, except the very old men and women and the sick, who were not compelled to go if unwilling. Then the police in the rear notified the other policemen in front, and a crier proclaimed to the whole camp that all were here and were to keep still.

It was now necessary to select an absolutely virtuous woman for the office of tree-notcher,—one who had been married in the most honorable manner, that is, by purchase, and who had always remained faithful to her husband. Chastity was also a prerequisite for the office of firewood-carrier to be mentioned below (p. 35), but in this latter case it was not necessary that the woman should have been purchased by her husband. According to Biricé-rútsic (Takes-the-dead), even eligible women would decline to serve as tree-notcher because anyone who had filled the position thereby forfeited the right to re-marry if her husband died. It was for this reason

probably that my informant herself had at first declined to serve, saying, "Not yet, I shall wait till I am an older woman." She remained virtuous, however, though she was often courted by young men, and in order to avoid their advances she refrained from dressing in an attractive way, so finally they let her alone. At one time her son (grandson?), No-horse, was almost dead, and then she vowed that if he recovered and she were asked again she would consent to serve as tree-notcher. He was restored to health, and she carried out her vow, praying at the same time that her husband might live for a long time. Thereafter she was greatly respected and received the first share in the distribution of food.

Takes-the-dead says that the whistler himself, painted white, and leading the doll owner and men volunteering to fast during the sun dance, chose the virtuous woman. According to Bear-crane, the doll owner ordered the police to bring her, but first of all the four tongue-bearers opened their bags, selected the best tongue, and gave it to the police. One of these took it and, followed by his associates, went to a woman reported to be of irreproachable character, and handed her the tongue. If, in spite of her reputation, she was not perfectly chaste, she would openly confess her deficiency, being afraid to deceive the people, for her acceptance bore the character of an oath, and deception would bring bad luck on the camp. The formula of refusal on the ground of unchastity was: "*masa'pê hupik*." ("My moccasin has a hole in it"). According to Curtis' narrator, a woman who consented to fill the office was led through the camp and the young men were expected to challenge her oath if they truthfully could. This informant mentioned a particular case where a woman who had been challenged was at once ignominiously dismissed and ever after taunted by her joking-relatives with reference to her public disgrace.¹

The tree-notcher who accepted the office handed the tongue to her husband, who rejoiced over the honor conferred on his wife. She was taken to the whistler, who had remained under the shade with the doll owner and his wife.

The doll owner next sent the police for a berdache. The berdaches were hiding, but at last one was discovered and brought to the spot amidst the laughter of the crowd. Being ashamed, he would cover his face. He was made to stand next to the tree-notcher with an ax in his hand.

The berdache received a tongue as his fee.

A crier next announced that one thing remained to be done,—the selection of a captive (*dā'tse*), apparently of the tribe that had killed the whistler's relative and thus occasioned the sun dance. This captive seems

¹ Curtis, *op. cit.*, 69.

from Crane-bear's account to have been a woman.¹ She also received a tongue in compensation for her services; but if she had a child, the child got the fee instead of the mother. The herald now announced that everything was ready and that all the people should come close to the tree.

The captive greased her hands and blackened them with charcoal. The virtuous woman was holding a stone maul or ax and the prong of an elk antler, chipped into a fine awl-like point and blackened at the top. She faced west, the captive east, the berdache north. The doll owner and his wife stood behind the virtuous woman, the man having a rattle in his hand and holding the tree-notcher by the shoulders. The doll owner began to sing and shake his rattle. At the close of his song he pushed the tree-notcher a little and she touched the tree with the prong and pretended to drive it in with the maul (or ax). While pointing her prong at the tree, she would think to herself, "I'll stick this in his eye," meaning the enemy. At the same time the captive and berdache also made corresponding motions of pretense. The people who had gathered around hallooed. The second song was sung by the doll owner amidst growing excitement on the part of the bystanders, the men getting ready to discharge their guns at the tree. At the close of the song the woman again pretended to drive in her wedge. A third song was sung with similar concluding actions on the part of the tree-notcher. At the close of the fourth song the tree-notcher actually tapped the horn without driving it in, the berdache touched the tree with his ax, and the captive painted a black ² ring round it by rubbing his blackened hands round the trunk. Gray-bull said that the captive was expected to address the tree as follows: "May the poor Indians have a good war the next time, may they kill a Dakota and take captives!" As soon as the captive had done her work, she and the tree-notcher stepped back and the berdache began to chop down the tree. All the people began to shout and shoot at the tree, regarding it as an enemy.³ The young men shot at its limbs and struck it with their coup sticks. After felling the tree, the berdache hid in the crowd, being ashamed. According to Bear-crane, this first tree was not used in the construction of the sun dance lodge, but was allowed to remain where it fell. The performance in connection with the tree was called *ĩ'tsia õ'waxùä*, "pole-notching," while the chaste woman was designated as *ak'ĩ'tsi+õ'waxè*, *ak'* being a prefix denoting the actor; *ĩ'tsia* is the term applied to one of the first four poles put up in the erection of a lodge.

¹ This does not appear from other versions to have been necessarily the case.

² Some said the ring was red, but the majority expressed the opinion stated in the text. Black, it was explained, always symbolized the killing of an enemy and was thus appropriate for the occasion.

³ Old-dog said it represented the enemy who was to be killed as a result of the ceremony.

Twenty poles had been selected for the lodge. The young women rode double with their sweethearts, chopped the trees and dragged the logs toward camp, where they were placed together in a row.

The police went round to count the trees chopped down, and when twenty had been cut they gave orders to cease and bade all the people go to the flat. The police kept watch on the outside of the crowd to prevent the people from getting away, for now twenty young warriors were to be selected to sit on the logs, and as this involved an obligation on the first four chosen¹ never to retreat from the enemy, the young men tried to run away and hide in avoidance of the dangerous honor. The police — or, in other versions, the whistler's relatives — rode fast horses in pursuit of the young men. When seized, the fugitives cried out four times and sometimes resisted capture, so that they had to be pulled by the hair and brought in by main force. In the meantime the whistler was seated with doll and hoop, awaiting the pursuers' return; he was painted white all over his body and wore a robe. When the horsemen came back with the captives, the whistler, walking slowly because of his weakness, approached them, carrying his hoops, with which he touched the captives. This act at once broke their resistance and made them utter a cry of distress and sit down each on the edge of one of the logs. Each captive received a tongue. According to Red-eye, the whistler put white clay on the young men's faces and with the doll brushed their bodies from head to foot. A crier announced "So-and-so has been touched by the sun's feathers." After the first four who were "made to die"² had been selected — the first one, according to Bear-crane, by the whistler, the other three by the police —, sixteen men were chosen by the police because of their wealth. Though they cried out, "I am poor," they were forcibly seized and made to straddle the remaining logs without being touched by the whistler. The relatives of all the captives brought robes, beadwork, horses, and other property, and deposited them before the young men straddling the logs. Instead of actually bringing a horse, a little stick was laid down to symbolize such a gift; sometimes as many as fifty horses were thus pledged. All this property was appropriated by the doll owner, but after reserving the bulk of it for himself he distributed the rest among those who aided in the performance of the dance.³

Muskrat sets the number of poles, and accordingly of captured warriors, at ten, and adds some details. Each of the warriors had a relative raise the pole before he sat down on it. When all were seated, a herald announced

¹ From other accounts, the duty was incumbent on all the twenty men.

² The same term, *ce'k'uk'*, is applied to them and to the officers of military societies with corresponding duties.

³ But compare p. 38.

that they were ready. Then girls came running, and tied strings round the poles, each girl then sitting down behind the corresponding warrior. This indicated that she was to ride behind him, when he should drag the pole to the site of the Lodge.¹ There the ten poles were arranged like the spokes of a wheel, the place of the hub being taken by a free circular area.

Gray-bull said that a man captured by the police in order to sit on one of the logs would lift the end of the pole. If he said, "My pole is heavy for me, I will sit down," this meant his willingness to serve the whistler. If he lifted it with ease, he was absolved from duty, and a substitute was obtained. When the girls had taken their places on the horses' backs behind the young men, a young woman whose brother sat on one of the first four logs would ask her sweetheart to haul her brother's pole before the others. A rope was attached to the logs, and they were dragged to the site. The first man to untie a log had the privilege of leading the others in an expedition for willows to shade the sun dance lodge.

All started as though for a race. The girls cut the willow twigs, then the young men approached them, made them ride double, and dragged the willows to camp. They went out twice for willows, then different societies, such as the Foxes and Lumpwoods, went round on opposite sides of the camp and wherever they met they laid the willows in a ring round the lodge poles. Then it was about evening, and everyone went home. During the night the societies met and sang in front of different lodges, accompanied by a few young women.

The tongues were returned to the tongue lodge, and the whistler returned to his tipi. People were careful not to pass him from the side whence the wind blew; they were also afraid of menstruating women. The whistler had not eaten or drunk for six (?) days and nights now and was not even able to expectorate and barely able to look about. The doll owner had also abstained largely, though not entirely, from food since the beginning of the ceremony, so he was also lean by this time. People came in and out of the whistler's tipi. Only the whistler and the doll owner were allowed to smoke a straight pipe, indeed the former was not permitted to touch any other though the doll owner might do so when outside. The doll owner instructed the whistler, but in so low a tone of voice that no one else could hear what he said. The visitors dropped out one by one till only the whistler and the doll owner couple remained. The woman had her husband announce that the lodge was to be erected on the next day. Her husband planted a cedar

¹ A Reno informant, on the other hand, said that the men sitting on the logs were not required to help drag the poles. One-horn said that the first four poles were taken straight way to the site in front of the woodpile, the others being placed symmetrically on each side of them.

behind the buffalo skull, tied the doll hoop to the tree, and secured another buffalo skull,— the two skulls representing those of the two bulls killed and butchered by the sharpshooters' parties. Finally the doll owner took off his son's ceremonial raiment, smoked him, and retired with his wife.

¹ERECTION OF THE LODGE.

At dawn the crier told the people to rise since the lodge was to be erected. The people rose and got ready. At breakfast the young men saddled their horses, and all the young women assembled in one place. The young men rode horses and invited partners from among the young women to ride behind them. Then they went to the timber and got firewood, partners assisting each other. They tied together what wood they had. The police, after a consultation among themselves, went among the women to look for a leader. If the one they sought was there, they would go to her camp and hand her one tongue. They asked her whether she had ever had a paramour. If not, she accepted the tongue and gave it to her husband. Then she was brought to the assembled party of young men and women, was put on horseback and took a bundle of brushwood, which she put in front of her saddle. Then the police went among the renowned young men, selected one and gave him a tongue, as a token that he was to lead the chaste woman. Then all went to the camp in single file. The leader was called *ak'birūbasā'ane* (the one who goes first for firewood). They circled round the inside of the camp, then went straight to the site of the lodge and deposited the brushwood; there was a big pile of it. The members of this party then scattered to their respective homes and for a time did as they pleased.¹

Muskrat's version is slightly different. The girls, according to her, dressed up as neatly as possible, and sat down in a circle, each keeping before her some wood. The young men approached singing, and stopped in front of the girls. They said nothing for a while, then each drew closer, and asked some girl to ride with him. The wood was tied to the front of the saddle, and they mounted, the girls riding in front and the man behind. They went through the camp looking for an absolutely virtuous woman to lead the procession. If a young man was able to say of a candidate for the honor, "She has a hole in her moccasin," some other girl had to be chosen.

¹ According to others, the clay expedition (p. 42) preceded that for firewood, but the order given in the text is that given by Crane-bear, Muskrat, and Fire-weasel's wife.

One informant said that if an unchaste woman attempted to lead, someone would shout, "You are crazy! You have done so-and-so!" When a proper leader had been chosen, she and her following set out to collect brushwood, and piled it up outside the lodge. Both this leader and the young man who got the clay received a cooked tongue. Red-eye said that the virtuous woman walked afoot during this expedition, leading the horse of the bravest warrior.

Then the men were told to prepare some outer tipi poles (those regulating the smoke-vent). All the young men got some, paired them off, and tied each pair together. Three of the poles for the sun dance lodge were joined and laid on top of the pile at the site and the remaining poles were laid down, as were the willows.

The doll owner prepared ground-cedar and smoked the two buffalo hides brought by the hunting party. The first hide was laid in line with one lodge pole. The ground was chipped, and on it was laid the first hide. Then the whistler was brought to sit on the ground-cedar in front of the tipi. The doll owner painted him with charcoal, and then painted with the same substance the fleshy side of one of the hides. The second hide had to be handled with care. He turned the hide outside where it had been hit by the arrow and first painted part of the hide down to the back, then carefully took up the other half of the hide. Before painting the buffalo hides, the shaman sang four times. One of the whistler's female relatives brought a sharp knife, a whetstone, and a hoe; these she handed to the doll owner, who sharpened the knife. The doll owner had his chin, forehead and cheeks blackened; he wore a cedar crown and moccasins like those worn by the whistler. The blackening of the hide symbolized vengeance on the enemy. People flocked round to look on while the police were joining and tying the first three poles with a bundle of willows.

The shaman gave the knife to his wife. A man renowned for horse-stealing was sent out to cut willows and brought them in. These willows were about two feet long. Two other men, renowned horse-stealers, were picked out to tell of their deeds, and began to make the sticks sharp-pointed. The woman painted the willows with charcoal. The knife is likewise blackened. She sang four times, then began to cut the buffalo hide. Ground cedar had already been put wherever the shaman had to step. He motioned toward the four quarters, then he cut one foreleg. Then he made four motions and cut the hind leg. He did the same with the other side of the first hide, and repeated the same performance with the second. After learning how many pins there were for fastening the hides, he began to make perforations along the edge equal to one-half the number of sticks prepared for this purpose and did the same with the other skin. The hides were taken

up by two parties of renowned men respectively and rubbed under one of the lodge poles without being made to touch the ground. The heads of both hides were made to face east. The willowstick pins were run through the peripheral holes to unite the two hides. Other hides were soaked in water and cut into strips at this time to be tied to the lodge poles so that voluntary self-torturers might suspend themselves therefrom.

The three or four main poles of the lodge ¹ were raised at one end so as to rest on the woodpile heaped up to mark the site, and their point of intersection was wrapped with willows. Then the ends of the poles were pushed through the perforations of the hides, which were twisted so that the poles could be run through several times; and the sharpened pegs were run through the hides so as to hold them together. Together with a wrapping of willow-sticks and ground-cedar, these hides represented an eyrie. The next step was for the police to get some man who had a bird ² for his medicine and bid him hasten to sit in the nest.

The bird man wrapped himself in a robe pinned with a wing-feather, painted his face according to his vision, tied his medicine objects to the back of his head, took an eagle feather fan in each hand, and began to whistle bird-fashion in his lodge. He approached the site, making four stops on the way. No one, not even a dog, was permitted to pass in front of him by the police. If he heard a dog bark, he would go right back to his lodge. He continued to imitate the actions of a bird. At every halting place he sang a song. He walked toward the pole against which the hides had been rubbed, and when he got there he again began to sing. At the end of the fourth song he walked up the pole, flapping his "wings," and sat or knelt down in the nest. Then all the people shouted and raised the main poles with the aid of the coupled tipi-poles that had been prepared. The main poles were lifted a short distance, perhaps a foot, then they were lowered again. The bird man whistled. The poles were lifted and lowered three times, and the fourth time they were raised to the proper height. At this point, one witness states, the bird man stood up and faced successively toward the west, north, east, and south. Holes were dug and the butt-ends of the poles were made to rest in them. The man in the nest continued to impersonate a big bird, pretending to fly and to raise the big poles as they were being hoisted into position. The remaining lodge poles were lifted by the same device of coupled tipi poles as if to push the nestling down, but

¹ Fire-weasel's wife, Muskrat, and Crane-bear give the number as three, One-horn, Gray-bull, and Sharp-horn as four.

² Crane-bear specifies that it was a spotted eagle. When the Crow speak of a "bird" in this connection, they usually mean an eagle. Muskrat was the only informant who said that the man's medicine was the sun.

he managed to get out of the way, and with a rope thrown to him he succeeded in tying together the main and additional poles. The willows and brush collected by the parties of young men and women were now employed in the construction of a cover. The willows were tied between poles from the ground to the height of a person's breast, where a space was left free to permit looking in. Thence the covering was continued to the top. On a windy day the lower part of the screen was supplanted with sheeting. Sometimes rawhide was used to cover the upper space. Muskrat said the sun dance was sometimes held in the winter, in which case the willow railing



Fig. 9. Frame of Crow Tobacco Adoption Lodge, resembling in structure that of the Crow Sun Dance Lodge.

was constructed as usual, but the upper part of the lodge was covered with buffalo hides. According to Gray-bull, however, the ceremony took place only in the summer.

The woodpile marking the site was removed, and the bird man slid to the ground as fast as possible and ran home. According to Gray-bull, he was entitled to all the gifts deposited by the log-straddlers' relatives, while others say he received only four choice articles from the lot.¹ On descending

¹ However, compare the statement on p. 33, that the doll owner appropriated all these goods.

to the ground the bird man announced a consolatory vision in the whistler's behalf, such as: "I have seen a person killed. A short distance off in the prairie I saw a person lying down dead already."

In view of the type of sun dance lodge found among the Dakota and other Plains tribes, it is necessary to emphasize the difference between them and the Crow structure. The latter was unanimously declared to resemble the tobacco adoption lodge (Fig. 9), except that it was larger, having twenty instead of ten poles. It is further worthy of note that the general plan of structure of, say, the Arapaho sun dance lodge is not unknown to the Crow, for they use a somewhat similarly constructed shade lodge in the summer (Fig. 10). The distinctive type of sun dance lodge used by the Crow is all



Fig. 10. Frame of Crow Shade Lodge, resembling Structure of Sun Dance Lodge of other Tribes.

the more remarkable. A model constructed by Red-eye (from Pryor) is illustrated in Fig. 11.

The time had now arrived for the *birā'retarisûa*, No-fire dance, also called "Animal Dance." Crane-bear said this performance had been instituted by the morningstar, who had asked the sun to sanction its introduction. The police gave notice to the people, who came scurrying to the screen and got ready to look on.

The No-Fire dance consisted of the entrance of war leaders with their respective followers for the purpose of possibly seeing a vision in the as yet not

quite completed structure. The war parties took turns, each being headed by a scout, while the captain, carrying a pipe with a scalp tied to it, came last. These performers had prepared during the last part of the lodge-raising procedure and now came out of the captains' tipis, to the singing and drumming of musicians seated within the lodge. The young women



Fig. 11 (50.1-4012). Model of Crow Sun Dance Lodge, made by Red-eye. The nest and the ropes for the self-torturers are represented.

clapped their hands to their mouths, and the people shouted, "The war leaders are ready to come now!" Then the captains and warriors ran to the lodge, making four stops; some dragging ropes, others carrying whips, and all acting as though in a fight. The first party entered, swung about to the right, circled round, and then faced the door (i. e., east). While making their circuit they were looking up at the nest in quest of a vision. Then

the captain might announce that he saw nothing, or perchance he might proclaim that he had seen a Sioux killed, whereupon he and his men made their exit on the side so as to avoid collision with the second group of warriors at the main entrance. They hurried to their tipi to change clothes and rush back to the lodge to watch the next party perform. Possibly as many as ten war parties made their successive appearance in the lodge, all repeating practically the same procedure, which consumed several hours altogether. Finally, the people went home and the singers adjourned to the whistler's lodge, where they sang throughout the evening. No one was allowed to enter the sun dance lodge. A herald went through the camp announcing that the people must rise early the next day since one more thing remained to be done. That night the whistler was already almost dead with exhaustion though he had undergone but a small part of the suffering that was to fall to his lot.

A characteristic story of a war captain's vision was told by Lone-tree, who had previously experienced revelations from the Dipper and the bald-headed eagle: —

As I was sitting in front of my tent, watching the people build the (sun dance) lodge, the widow of the slain Crow for whom the ceremony was undertaken came crying through the camp and looking for me. When she saw me, she laid her hand on my head. I was considered the best medicineman. She begged me to help her and come in to make medicine for her. My medicine was the bald-headed eagle. I promised to do the best I could, and bade my wife summon six men, for with them I should make seven, and there are seven stars in the Dipper (i'g'e sá'pue = seven stars). The men came clad in buffalo robes. We all painted our faces yellow, and put red paint below our eyes and on the forehead. We carried ground-cedar branches in our hands and a shell on the braid in the back of our hair to represent the brightness of the Dipper. I wore a whistle and carried a bald-headed eagle, of which I had reddened the nose. When we were ready, I got up, and we smoked outside my tent. Then we walked a short distance, halted and smoked, then proceeded again until at the fourth stop we came to the lodge. The singers were in there waiting, and a crowd had gathered outside, but the whistler was not yet there. My party went in, and I entered last of all. We came in on the left side. I stood there and began to whistle near the fire, looking up toward the sky. I sang the bald-headed eagle song: when doing this I was wont to close my eyes and could then see everything about me. While whistling, I beheld a body hanging, head foremost, from the intersection of the poles, with blood all over the body. I ceased whistling, looked up again, and saw nothing. The widow was standing outside waiting for me. I told her what I had seen in my vision, and she thanked me. Since there was so much blood I thought that it represented three enemies. Four days later three enemies were killed.

Muskrat told of another instance, when a captain walked backward instead of forward, stopped, whistled, and looked at the nest. The singers called to the party to stop as their captain had seen something. Then the captain, standing in the center, said: "I saw a man lying down, I saw his

yellow foot. There are many medicinemen here, but not one of you has seen him." That same night a Piegan was killed by the Crow.

The day after the war captains' performance the crier announced again that the young people were to get white clay. Then all the young women dressed and assembled in one spot, the police looking into every lodge to see that the female inmates joined the gathering. The young men also went there, and selected partners with whom to ride double. The police took a tongue and began looking for a virtuous young man to act as leader of the expedition. It must be a man who had never taken liberties with any woman but his own wife, in particular, one who was not *ak'bī'arūsace*¹ and had never played with his sisters-in-law. Anyone who had transgressed these rules of sexual decorum would decline office, saying, "I made a hole in my moccasin." If a pretender attempted to serve, some one of his sisters-in-law would cry out: "You played with me!" "You touched my breasts!" "isa'pe' it'bū'retk', bitā' xīere! (His moccasin is soleless, cast him aside!)

At last a suitable man was found, and he led the procession to a spot where there was good clay. He picked up some of it before any of his following, but before so doing he said, "Because I never did such and such a thing, I wish you to kill an enemy and have a good time." Then he put the clay into a cloth, all the rest following suit. On the return trip the virtuous man went afoot, leading the horse of the best-looking woman round the camp so that everyone might see them. He and the rider got a tongue each. Finally he laid the clay down in a big pile by the place where the whistler's bed was to be arranged, i. e., in the rear of the lodge. The police came in, and a man who had been with a party that made a captive told of the deed, whereupon the police chipped and smoothed the rectangular site of the whistler's bed, where the clay was then put on in the form of a little ridge.

THE WHISTLER'S ENTRANCE.

In the meantime a crier had gone out to summon good singers to take drums and go to the whistler's tipi. While the police were fixing the clay, these musicians were with the whistler. The cedar tree was carried out of the whistler's tipi to the sun dance lodge by two men, two others carried the buffalo skulls one apiece, and the doll owner and his wife followed in the

¹ *ak*, one who; *bī'a*, woman; *rūsace*, kneads (?). The term is applied to one who sneaks to a lodge at night, lifts the cover where a woman is lying, and takes certain liberties with her. See *Social Life of the Crow*, p. 221.

rear. The doll owner adjusted the cedar and the skulls in their proper position in the lodge, and sprinkled charcoal on the fireplace, while his wife brought in some fat from a buffalo's neck and painted the bottom of the cedar with greased charcoal. The whistler, who had already been painted up with the same ceremony as on the first preparatory day, remained in his tipi. He wore a skunkskin necklace and skunkskin anklets; a plume was tied to the solitary lock of hair on his head, and another to each of his little fingers. Gray-bull says that the whistler wore a buckskin shirt sewed by the leader of the firewood expedition, while others speak of his wearing nothing but a deerskin round his waist or buckskin knee-leggings.

As soon as the doll owner and his wife had returned, they and the musicians commenced to sing and the whistler began to dance, blowing an eagle-bone whistle suspended from his neck, and holding the hoop enclosing the doll. The people were lined up in two long rows to watch his exit, but left a passageway for the procession. The whistler took a few steps towards the door. At the close of the first song he thrust his hoop outside and pretended to go out, but stepped back. At the close of the second song he put the hoop outside so as to expose a little more of the feathers, but also his head and bust. At the close of the fourth song he came outside, and walked a short distance, followed by the singers. Then he halted and danced, looking at the doll. He proceeded toward the lodge, making four stops altogether before he reached the entrance. Then he went in, putting the feathers in front of him and walked up to the cedar, followed by the doll owner couple. The husband took the hoop and tied it to the cedar, which was behind the bed, like the buffalo skull. The doll was arranged so as to be on a level with the whistler's face when he stood up. The musicians entered on the right side and formed a circle. When the whistler had entered, all the spectators ran to the lodge to watch the performance from the outside. The men allowed the women to get ahead and lean against the railing, then came up and hugged them from behind.

In a rectangular space in the center of the lodge a fire was built and maintained by the fire-tenders (*ak'birā'aptse*), who were members of the slain Crow's war party. Some say they sat on the right side of the door for one entering, but Fire-weasel's wife, whose statement is supported by Crane-bear's diagram, says they sat on the left. On each side of the fire a pole was stuck into the ground, and from a crosspiece connecting them kettles were suspended. The women acting as cooks wore ground-cedar head-bands and carried forks painted with charcoal and decorated with scalps at the upper end.¹ They brought in tongues and cooked them. In

¹ Red-eye says the forks were painted with black stripes.

the meantime the musicians were resting and smoking. The cooks were to prepare tongues every day of the ceremony.¹ Either on the night of the whistler's entrance or on the following day, young men distinguished for their war record took long poles, sharpened at one end, and painted yellow rings around them at different levels. These poles they stuck into the lodge, pointing them at the cook. If a man was really a noted warrior, those inside impaled a tongue on the stick; the warrior took it outside and presented it to his sweetheart. Another informant said that the warrior's sticks were painted red. When the young men stuck in their poles, someone first inquired, "Who is that?" If the person was not a pretender, he received a tongue. An especially eminent man, according to Bear-gets-up, would get two tongues.

During the cooking of the tongues on the first night of the whistler's entrance renowned men had their wives painted red and themselves painted according to their medicines. The women carried bundles of spoils secured by their husbands from the enemy. The distinguished men had the privilege of coming in from either side, but the first one entered on the right side. Their wives deposited guns and bows in front of their husbands and pointing toward the door. According to one version, one of the warriors would represent his exploits in battle, selecting four or five men to impersonate his own party and several others to play the part of the enemy. Then he ran round the lodge, pretending to kill four or five enemies. Other captains followed suit. However, according to Red-eye, the warriors merely *re-cited* their deeds. He says that they were supposed to walk toward the left when in the lodge. One man transgressed the rule on one occasion, but another took a branch, slapped the offender's face with the leaves, and said, "You are going the wrong way, people are going in the opposite direction."²

About this time those who desired to torture themselves in order to obtain visions suspended themselves by the breast or shoulder from the twenty poles of the lodge. Their bodies were daubed white all over. Sometimes there were two ropes hanging from each pole, and a correspondingly greater number of would-be visionaries. Those who did not find room to suspend themselves from the poles fixed forked posts with ropes outside the lodge and underwent the same mode of torture. Medicinemen or other famous tribesmen would assist these young men in their preparations on account of their power to get visions for them. A noted warrior would tell of his own deeds. Then he would say, "This man wishes to do

¹ Fire-weasel's wife said that a certain woman who also acted as cook in the tobacco dance served in the same capacity during the sun dance.

² Crane-bear puts the warriors' pantomime at a somewhat later time (see below).

what I did," and pierce his breast for him. Some tortured themselves by dragging through the camp as many as seven buffalo skulls attached to a skewer piercing their backs until the skulls tore loose. The self-torturers would begin with mortification of their bodies in the morning and release themselves at night. Then they would retire to little four-pole structures covered with leaves and brush, outside the lodge. According to Fire-weasel's wife, they would finally proclaim their visions, saying, for example, "I shall strike a coup with a coup stick in the next battle," "I am going to steal a bay horse," etc.

The whistler never tortured himself beyond fasting and not drinking any water, the period of his complete abstention beginning with his entrance. In this he was joined not only by the self-torturers, but also by the fire-tenders and, according to Muskrat, by a party of twenty young men, who stayed behind a willow screen erected near the door. Some informants set the number of fire-tenders at ten or more and seem to suggest that this office was filled by the members of the war party that sustained the loss of the whistler's relative.

As soon as the renowned men had come into the lodge and the tongues were cooked, the musicians sang their first song: "bîmāpéciwe, dā'ciri k.ōk'. bire'xe k'andit'ā'rarawa." ("Water weeds are your lodge poles. The drum (obj.) beat ye!") The doll owner took a whistle and began to dance. At the close of the song he put the whistle into the whistler's mouth, and the whistler himself then began to dance on the clay bed, making the dirt fly and continually gazing at the doll. At the first drum-beat the self-torturers, both inside and outside, began to run round their poles.

The first song was sung four times. Then a renowned man went to the door and mimicked his deeds against the enemy, went back to his place, and told about his deed in words. After he had sat down, the song was sung again eight times. Then a second man rose and told of his deeds, and so on until all had told theirs. The first night the number of renowned men was only about six; there certainly were not so many as ten. Eight songs were continued for all the deed-tellers. When all deeds had been told, the doll owner beat a rattle and sang a song, which was taken up by the musicians. Standing behind the whistler, he removed his robe, slowly untying the belt, and laid it down, with the hairy side up. After motioning four times with his hands, he removed the whistle from the whistler's mouth, untied his skunkskin necklace, and laid both on the robe. The drums were beating, and the singing continued all the time. Next the doll owner removed the plume from the whistler's head, took off the left moccasin and laid it down by the robe, then removed and placed the right moccasin on the same side,

both toes facing the door.¹ The whistle, necklace, and plume were then picked up and tied to the doll, as was the owner's rattle to the cedar.

While being undressed, the whistler continued to stand facing the doll. The plumes were taken from his little fingers, then he was seized by the right arm and made to face the door. The doll owner took him by the thumbs, made him lie down on his bed, and covered him with a robe up to the neck. As soon as the whistler caught sight of the doll, he began again to gaze at it. At the foot of the bed a hole was dug in the ground, charcoal was put in, and ground-cedar leaves were smoked there.

Now the whistler went to sleep, and all the people went away. No one except the fasters were permitted to come near the lodge. The fasters' beds, patterned on the whistler's, were made by their relatives, of ground-cedar and scented sagebrush. The doll owner couple went home and called a crier, whom they ordered to rouse the camp before dawn.

THE CONSUMMATION OF THE CEREMONY.

Early before dawn the crier proclaimed: "Our friend has been lying on his back for a long time. Get up and eat!"² All the young people of both sexes now began to paint and dress in their best clothes. The musicians ate their breakfast and proceeded directly to the lodge, where they began to sing. The doll owner was as yet at home, bathing, resting, or combing his wife. The people were waiting for him to prepare the whistler. When he was ready, he walked slowly toward the lodge, stopped and looked round for a while, and finally slowly took a seat with his wife amidst the beating of drums. The people made a rush as soon as they noticed the doll owner's exit because they wished to watch his performance. White clay, scented sagebrush, and cedar leaves had been prepared; the clay was soaked in water and the woman laid it before her husband, who began to smoke. His wife used a buffalo shoulderblade to scoop buffalo chips into the pit at the foot of the whistler's bed. The large fire in the center had gone out, but had been renewed by a fire-tender before the doll owner's entrance that day. Now the woman built a fire in the pit, throwing in

¹ This seems inconsistent with a statement by the same informant, that the whistler wore no moccasins while dancing, and that the moccasins are put on his feet before he goes to sleep.

² In another version the old people are made to rouse the doll owner, saying, "Your comrade has been lying down for a long time." (*dī'rapā'tse kārāzapē' ā'E'k'.*)

cedar leaves for incense, while her husband was smoking a straight-pipe.¹ The doll owner put some ground-cedar branches below the whistler's feet. To the singing (of the musicians?) he smoked his hand and pretended to remove his ward's robe three times. The fourth time he actually took off the robe, smoked it, and let it lie as on the previous day. After laying down the robe, he removed the right moccasin, smoked it, removed the left moccasin, and laid both down as before.²

While the doll owner was preparing the whistler, the other fasters might do as they pleased, sit up or lie down. Those who had not torn loose might be still running round, while some who had dragged buffalo skulls attached to their backs began to come into camp.

The doll owner raised the whistler to his feet, holding him by his thumbs. The whistler tried to limber his legs, nearly fell from weakness, but was supported by the doll owner. He stepped on the ground-cedar and was then turned round to face the white clay prepared in a cup.

The singers continued to sing. The doll owner made three motions, and the fourth time put his hand into the cup. Then he made three motions toward the whistler's person, and the fourth time touched him from the top of his head down to his feet, then on the sides and back of his body as before. Dipping his hands into the clay, he daubed it all over the whistler's body. Standing back a little, he painted any spot that was not yet daubed. He made a cross on the front and back of the whistler's body. He made three motions for the head-plume, the fourth time he smoked it and put the plume and skunkskin on the whistler. Then he smoked and tied the plumes for the little fingers. Taking the whistle, he daubed it, took it into his own mouth, and danced alongside of the whistler, who did not dance at this time. Taking the whistle out of his own mouth he put it into the whistler's. Then the drumming stopped. The whistler stood still. Yells of excitement were heard: "He is going to start to dance!" Famous men who had painted up for the occasion now came in; their number was not fixed.

The doll owner sat down and smoked. On the right-hand side for one facing the rear there was a crowd, while on the left there were only a few relatives. When ready the musicians sang a song, the whistler only moving the upper part of his body and his hands. Women joined in the singing. They repeated the first song sung in the preparatory tipi. The renowned men on the right side began to have a sham battle against the warriors on the left side, one party representing the Crow, the other the enemy. Two

¹ It seems that this pipe had been deposited by the whistler's side. The whistler himself was not allowed to smoke after entering the lodge.

² This confirms the version that the whistler danced in his bare feet and had his moccasins put on when going to bed (see p. 46).

women in charge of the tongues began to cook. They wore ground-cedar crowns and a kilt made of the skin of a spring calf (*nā'xape*) with the hair side out.

At the first song the whistler only danced slowly, at the second a little faster, in the third words were sung and the whistler's heels began to move. The words were:—

“*irā'ricirīE k'arahū'k'.*” (“What you dance for, has come.”) This sentence is past in form, but prophetic in meaning.

When the fourth song was started, the whistler danced as hard as possible. He did not blow his whistle purposely, but his panting produced an automatic blowing of the whistle. The singers went on till they were tired out, then they stopped drumming and the sham battle also ceased. Three or four of the warriors told about their deeds, then they started in again. The drummers beat the drum for every sentence uttered by the deed-reciters. During the sham fight shots were fired by the mock fighters without regard to the whistler, and after their performance their fathers' clansmen sang songs of joy and received gifts of horses.

The drum only stopped four times during the day. Between the second and third, or third and fourth stops the whistler's relatives brought in robes, etc., as gifts for the doll owner and piled them up, horses being of course kept outside.

After the third song they smoked. Then came the fourth song. The whistler was expected to dance as long as the musicians continued to sing. When he was very tired, the men singers would stop, wishing to give him a rest, but the women wanted to exhaust him and sang the first song over again. Thus they forced him to go on dancing. This song was repeated twenty times. At the end of this period of singing the dancer was completely tired out. He went crazy.¹ He imagined that the doll was directly between his eyes, went out of his head, and fell back panting. The people cried: “Leave him alone! Don't touch him!” The shaman waited to see on which side the whistler was to fall and then whirled his rattle over him till the panting subsided. In the meantime the other fasters were lying down. The doll owner dragged the whistler to his bed.

In the foregoing account (as in most other versions) the assumption is made that the whistler saw a vision the day after his entrance. This, of course, was not uniformly the case. According to Crane-bear, Big-shadow fasted as long as ten days before he received the desired revelation, but Bear-gets-up says it took only six, and One-horn gave three days and two nights as the longest period of fasting he could remember. On the other

¹ One informant used the ordinary word for “demented” (*warā'axe*) in this connection; another the word for “intoxicated” (*kā'xutsēk*).

hand, a whistler tutored by Iā'kac did not have to wait for a vision because a Piegan who had entered the camp was killed on the first night of the sun dance proper (see p. 7).¹ In the absence of such unusual occurrences the whistler was under obligations to wait for a supernatural communication and was not expected to terminate the ceremony arbitrarily. This is illustrated by the story of White-spot-on-his-neck. This Crow had only danced for one night, when he became exhausted and famished from the excessive heat, tore off his sun dance paraphernalia, and rushed for water though he had not yet received a vision. This was simply due to the fact that he had not danced for a long-enough time, for the doll then used was the famous one that had never failed, which afterwards passed into the hands of Pretty-enemy and was ultimately purchased by the present writer. Accordingly, it was unjustifiable for the whistler to stop the dance. The next day the Crow moved towards the Bighorn. All had forebodings of evil. Then the Sioux came upon them, and White-spot-on-his-neck, who was chief, lost eleven young men and one woman, the loss being imputed to his actions at the sun dance.

Misfortune was also invited when a spurious doll was used, a doll, that is to say, of which the manufacture was based on a pretended revelation. In one such case, witnessed by Gray-bull and referred to by other informants, all the guns taken from the enemy had been placed in a ring. They were all supposed to be uncharged, but suddenly one gun went off. The bullet first grazed the buffalo skull, then it struck and killed the whistler's wife. From this the Indians inferred that the doll was not genuine.

Some whistlers had their vision while falling, others would go home and get a vision that very night,² one man had a vision both in the lodge and afterwards at home. The whistler did not announce his vision directly, but would say, "I think it will be well, and I shall have revenge." Most of the whistlers told of what they had seen just before starting out on the campaign of vengeance, some (though this happened rarely) made the announcement after the enemy had been killed in retaliation.

For reasons stated, no first-hand account of the vision could be obtained. During the dance the onlookers watched both the whistler and the doll. Whenever the warriors lied about their exploits, the doll winked its eyes. "We looked at the doll," said Bear-gets-up, "and as we looked at it, it changed." When a whistler saw a lot of his enemies killed in a vision, it was the doll that showed them to him as he was dancing back and forth in

¹ This was considered the greatest thing that ever happened, and Iā'kac accordingly ranked as the foremost of doll owners. (Crane-bear.)

² This seems inconsistent with the view that the ceremony terminates only with the vision.

front of it. Some saw the entire body of an enemy in front of the doll, with his scalp removed from his head. According to one informant, the whistler prayed to the doll, saying, "I am poor, I put up the lodge in order to kill an enemy soon." The dancer's trance seems to have resulted automatically in some instances, while in others special treatment by the doll owner was required. In the latter case the doll owner was approached by some of the whistler's relatives and paid to put him into the desired condition; sometimes they felt that it would be more beneficial to prolong the period of fasting and would defer this step. In attempting to induce the vision, the owner took a rattle, approached the doll, made incense of cedar leaves, and made the whistler smoke himself with it. Then he ordered him to look at the doll, while he himself took a seat at the foot of the pole to which the doll was suspended. He shook the post and looked at the whistler, who began to dance, riveting his eyes on the doll, while the owner began to chant his songs. After a while, the dancer saw the doll painting its face black, and promising that he should kill an enemy at such a season of the year and under such circumstances. Suddenly, the whistler ceased to dance, and fell down in a swoon, his eyes still fixed on the doll.

When the immediate object of the sun dance,— the whistler's vision — had been attained, each person inside the lodge received a tongue, and all went homeward, including the fasters. The doll owner smoked until all were gone, then laid down the pipe, removed all the whistler's paraphernalia, and smoked each article in turn. He smoked the whistler's robe, and put it on him, whereupon the whistler went home, sometimes supported by some relatives on account of his weakness. The gifts offered to the owner were taken to his lodge, where he distributed them. The owner took the doll from the hoop and carried it to his lodge. Later some relative of the whistler's came in, took the hoop, and offered it to the sun in some exposed place, such as the top of the lodge poles. The lodge was left standing to fall a prey to the elements.

If the self-torturers had broken loose before the time of the whistler's vision, they waited till the close of the dance before touching their ropes. Those who were still hanging were released by their respective medicinemen, who first recited one of their own deeds. Little boys would take down the ropes, and their owners took them home.

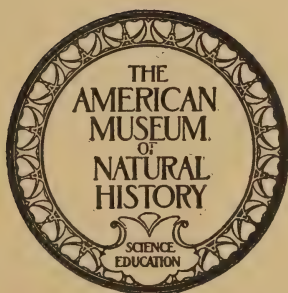
With the close of the ceremony ended the doll owner's dictatorial power. The camp chief resumed his normal functions, and the people moved toward the enemy to see the promise of the vision fulfilled.

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THE SUN DANCE AND OTHER CEREMONIES OF THE OGLALA
DIVISION OF THE TETON DAKOTA.

BY

J. R. WALKER.

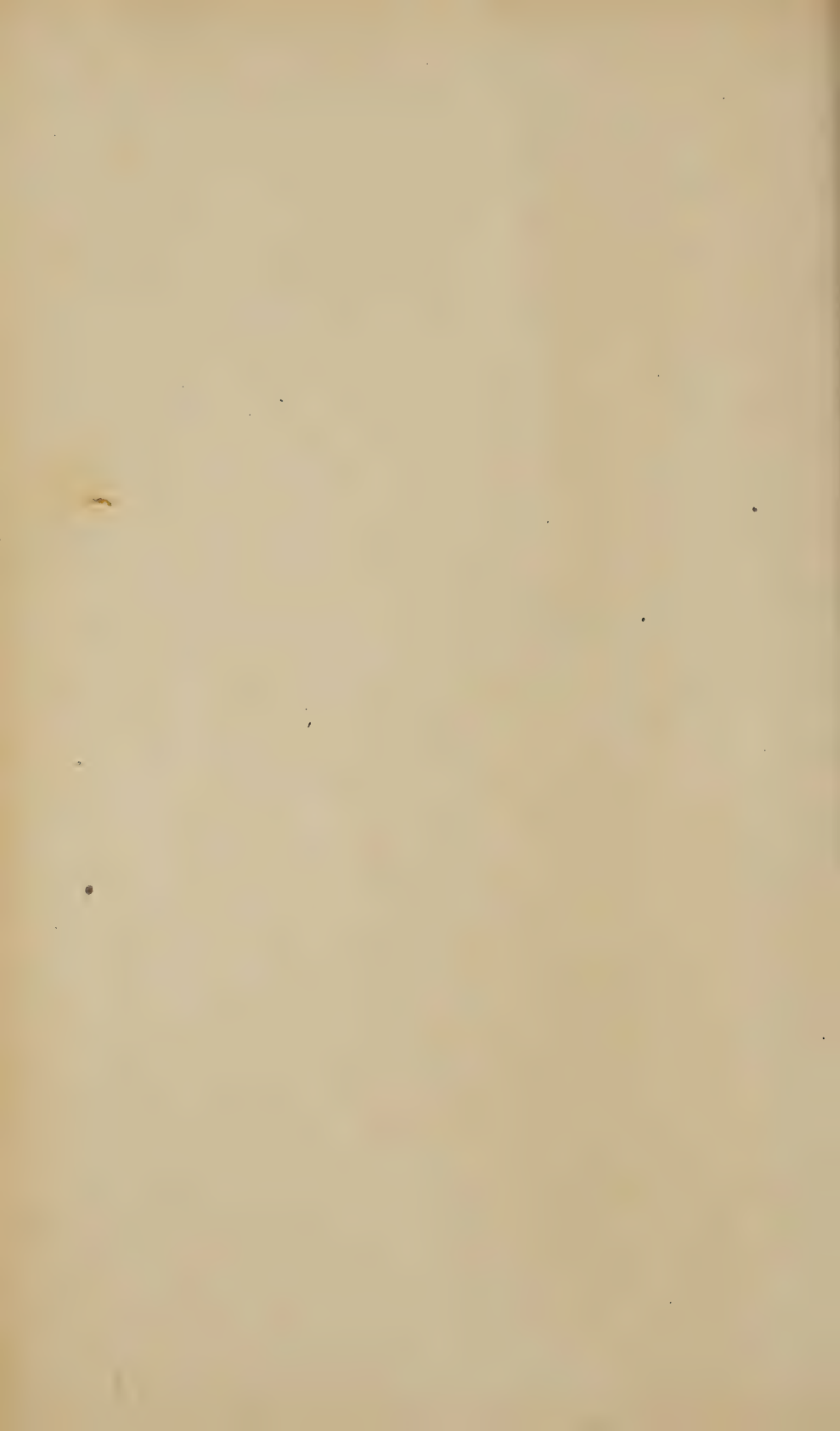


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INTRODUCTION.

The Siouan words in this paper are of the Teton dialect as it is spoken by the Oglala, the letters in them having the same values as in English, except that those in the following table represent only the sounds indicated therein:—

a	as	a	in	far
e	as	a	in	fate
i	as	e	in	me
o	as	o	in	no
u	as	o	in	move
c	as	ch	in	chin
g	as	gu	in	gull
n	as	n	in	no, when it begins a syllable
n	as	n	in	ink, when it does not begin a syllable
s	as	sh	in	she
h	as	h	in	he, when it begins a word
h	as	a		guttural aspirate, vocalized, when it does not begin a word

The capitalization, other than that required by English, is to indicate that the things capitalized were considered sacred by the Oglala.

During many years, the vocation of the author brought him into intimate relation with the Oglala, and during that time, for his personal gratification, he gathered all the information he could get, relative to the aboriginal state of the Lakota, receiving it from many persons, at times and places far apart. He cultivated the friendship of the shamans, and became a shaman, thus receiving information that it was impossible to get otherwise. The notes taken at these times are largely fragmentary and contain much repetition and irrelevant matter, but their substantial agreement indicates the authenticity of the information and that the subjects had been formalized for a sufficient length of time to eliminate incongruities. In this paper the author has tried to arrange the information he secured relative to the Sun Dance and other special ceremonies, as conducted according to the point of view of an Oglala Shaman, giving the reasons why and the manner in which the successive steps in the ceremonies should be performed, as well as expressing the concepts of the informants as the author understood them. The chief aim is to present a full account of the Oglala Sun Dance, giving the information as it was received, as nearly as may be, when irrelevant matter is eliminated and it is systematized. The principal informants were old Oglala who professed to have participated in the ceremony, some of

whom were Shamans who claimed to have conducted the Sun dance ceremony in its fullest form. These informants are now all dead.

The Shamans were the custodians of the mythological and ceremonial lore of the Lakota and they hid much of this in an esoteric language, revealing it only to one who was to become a Shaman. Consequently, the people now know but little of this lore and have abandoned the Shamans and their doctrines. The remaining Shamans are all old men, so that there are now but few who know the ancient mythology and ceremonials. Even many of the names of their ancient deities have been forgotten by the people. These names, as given in this paper, are those used in the ceremonial language of the Shamans.

While the Shamans recognized a scheme in their mythology and a system in their ceremonials, they had never formulated them into a single whole. No one Shaman was found who could give them in a comprehensive or sequential manner. Aided by the Shamans, the scheme of their mythology was formulated and this was approved by every informant to whom it was submitted. In the same manner, the system of the ceremonials was formulated and approved. In former times, the Oglala had ceremonies that pertained to almost every act of their lives. The simplest was the passing of the pipe and the most complex, the Sun Dance. In performing these ceremonies every word or movement is a formal rite that has reference to the mythology. Therefore, to understand the ceremonies, one must know the rites and something of the mythology. The Oglala did not worship their deities and their ceremonials were not devotional. They considered their Gods as merely superhuman, whose aid could be invoked, or who could be pleased so that they would grant favors, or who could be displeased so that they would punish.

The professional story-tellers were of material assistance in getting information. They were important constituents of the social organization of the Lakota winter camp, for they were the custodians of the legendary lore and told the legends, both for entertainment and instruction. Usually these story-tellers were Shamans. A few of these legends that deal with the mythology are appended to this paper.

The greatest difficulty encountered in gathering information was due to the misinterpretation of the concepts expressed by the informants. This difficulty is apt to occur to anyone who attempts to get information from the old Lakota, because, owing to the paucity of the old Lakota vocabulary, it is often necessary to express widely varying concepts by the same word or phrase, the comprehension of the concept depending on the association of correct ideas with the expression. The phrases were conventional, but not fixed, for they could be modified by the addition, subtraction, or inter-

jection of words. When the white people heard these phrases they assumed that they were words and wrote them as such. In translating English into Lakota, there was often no Lakota word equivalent to the English word and in such cases a Lakota word was used to express a concept that was foreign to it. Thus, in written Lakota, the phrases became fixed as words and insusceptible to modification so that many words were given new meanings. Thus was brought about a marked transition of the language, both in structure and meaning, so that there are now both old and modern forms of speech. Thus, influenced by education received from white people, the younger generation of the Oglala adopted the modern form of the language, and abandoned the Shamans and their ceremonials, and nearly all the customs of the old Lakota. Yet, the old people when speaking in a formal manner, or of formal things, still use the old forms of speech. Naturally, the interpreters, who are of the younger generation, do not understand all of the modified phrases peculiar to the old forms of speech and are apt to give erroneous and misleading interpretations. The Lakota term *Wakan Tanka*, and the English term Great Spirit illustrate these difficulties. In modern Lakota *Wakantanka* is one word, correctly interpreted as the Great Spirit, for, as now used, it designates Jehova, the God of Christians. In old Lakota *Wakan Tanka*, is two words, and designates a class of Gods, and through them all the Gods. It is never used to designate a single God; but the interpreters invariably interpret the term *Wakan Tanka* as the Great Spirit.

Again, my informants used the term *Nagi Tanka* and it was also interpreted as the Great Spirit, the interpreters asserting that *Wakan Tanka* and *Nagi Tanka* were synonymous terms; but upon inquiry, it appeared that the informants had only asserted that *Nagi Tanka* was one of the *Wakan Tanka*. Then some informants used the terms *Tokan*, *Skan*, and *Taku Skanskan* to designate Gods. These were interpreted as the Sky, the Moving, and What Moves. The information given with these interpretations was confusing and often contradictory. Other informants used the terms *Wikan*, *Makakan*, and *Inyankan* to designate Gods, and they were interpreted as the Sun, the Earth, and the Rock. It developed that *Wikan* was the shamanistic term for *Wakan Tanka Wi* and this term was interpreted as the Great Spirit, the Sun. With these misinterpretations, the mythology and ceremonials of the Lakota appeared to be indefinite, vague, and puzzling. But after some years, it was found the *Tokan*, *Skan*, and *Taku Skanskan* were appellatives of *Nagi Tanka*, the Great Spirit, according to that God's attributes, and that *Wakan Tanka* designated the Gods, *Wi Skan*, *Maka*, and *Inyan*, considered as a whole, and through them including all other Benevolent Gods. The Shamans also used the term *Tob-tob* as if to designate a God. This term was interpreted as Four-four, but it puzzled

us until it was learned that the term *Tob-tob* differs from the term *Wakan Tanka* only in that it considers all the Benevolent Gods, each of four classes and four in each class, as one whole. Now, when these basic conceptions were comprehended, investigation relative to ceremonials and mythology was easy.

The Oglala make a wide distinction between the ceremony of the Sun Dance and the sun dance itself, for the dance is but a culminating rite of the ceremony.¹ The ceremony is graduated according to the purposes of the dancers, each grade having all the rites of the grade below it and additional rites. The highest grade is performed for a dancer who dances for the purpose of becoming a Shaman. It is not necessary to dance in the Sun Dance to become a Shaman, but those who do so are most highly esteemed, and only they can possess a Fetish with the potency of *Wakan Tanka*. As should be expected of a people who had no literature, no ceremony was invariable, but it was required that in each ceremony each rite should be performed always in the same manner as nearly as the circumstances would permit. In any ceremony, a Shaman could perform additional rites according to his will. The ceremony of the Sun Dance was given for the benefit of both the dancer and the people and could not be carried out without the participation of the latter.

The author is indebted to many Oglala for information, especially to Little-wound, American-horse, Bad-wound, Short-bull, No-flesh, Ringing-shield, Tyon, and Sword. Little-wound was the first to agree to tell the secret lore of the Shamans, but he died before he could do so. American-horse gave much information relative to the war customs of the Lakota. Bad-wound, No-flesh, and Ringing-shield gave information relative to the doctrines of the Oglala. Short-bull gave information and painted two large pictures of the ceremonial camp for the Sun dance in which each detail is significant. Tyon spoke and wrote in English poorly, but he was the most valuable interpreter, for he knew of the old customs, ceremonials, and lan-

¹ This account of the Sun Dance is based exclusively upon original data and not in any way influenced by previous writers. The published accounts so far available are as follows:—

Alice C. Fletcher, *The Sun Dance of the Ogalalla Sioux* (*Proceedings, American Association for the Advancement of Science, thirty-first meeting*, pp. 580–584, Salem, 1883).

Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian*, vol. 3. Cambridge, 1908.

Gideon H. Pond, *Dakota Superstitions* (*Collections, Minnesota Historical Society*, vol. 2, pp. 215–255, St. Paul, 1889).

J. Owen Dorsey, *A Study of Siouan Cults* (*Eleventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1894).

None of these present so complete an outline of the ceremony as is to be found in the succeeding pages. So far we have noted no important contradiction in the several accounts. For this reason, and since the presentation here is from the point of view of the native conductor of the ceremony rather than from that of an onlooker, all specific references to parallels in the earlier accounts will be omitted.— *Editor*.

guage of the Lakota, and could comprehend most of the information given by the Shamans. For the benefit of the author, he wrote many Lakota texts upon which parts of this paper are based. He was a professional story-teller and had a large fund of Lakota legends.

Sword was a man of marked ability with a philosophical trend far beyond the average Oglala. He could neither write nor speak English, but wrote much in old Lakota and the translations of his texts have been used in the preparation of this paper. As but few Oglala can, he was able to talk interestingly of the former habits and conduct of his people, so as to give distinct ideas of their daily lives. He began an autobiography which promised to be of historical value, but died before completing it.

A few days before the author left the Oglala he interviewed Finger, an old Shaman, who at that time gave information which clearly indicates that the Shaman's concept of the God *Skan*, or the Great Spirit, is a vague concept of force, or energy. We had no opportunity for verifying this information. The notes taken at this interview are appended to this paper.

J. R. WALKER, M. D.

December, 1916.

THE SUN DANCE.

One desiring to dance the Sun Dance according to the customs of the Oglala as they were practised before contact with white people should choose an instructor to prepare him for the ceremony, who should teach him, in substance, as follows:—

The Sun Dance of the Oglala is a sacred ceremony which may be undertaken by any one of mankind, provided he or she:—

1. Undertakes it for a proper purpose.
2. Complies with the essentials for the ceremony.
3. Conforms to the customs of the Oglala.
4. Accepts the mythology of the Lakota.

The proper purposes for undertaking the Sun Dance are:—

1. To fulfill a vow.
2. To secure supernatural aid for another.
3. To secure supernatural aid for self.
4. To secure supernatural powers for self.

The essentials for the ceremony are:—

1. The constituents.
2. The conditions.
3. The stages.
4. The time.

The constituents are:—

1. The dancers.
2. The Mentors.
3. The assistants.
4. The people.

The conditions are:—

1. Provision for the ceremony.
2. Preparation of the dancers.
3. Consecration of the equipment.
4. Establishment of a ceremonial camp

The stages are:—

1. Announcement of the candidacy.
2. Instruction of the Candidate.
3. Occupation of the ceremonial camp.
4. Dancing the Sun Dance.

The time is:—

1. When the buffalo are fat.
2. When new sprouts of sage are a span long.
3. When chokecherries are ripening.
4. When the Moon is rising as the Sun is going down.

Before beginning to dance the Sun Dance during the ceremony the Candidate must make an acceptable offering to the Sun and have a wound that will cause his blood to flow while he dances. If he dances the Sun Dance to its completion, he may expect a vision in which he may receive a communication from the Sun.

All the requirements and rites pertaining to this ceremony are based upon the Mythology of the Lakota and they must be supervised by a Shaman. A Shaman must control the ceremonial camp and conduct all the ceremonies pertaining to the Sun Dance that take place there, except the dance, which should be conducted by the leader of the dance. This dance may take either of the four forms, which are:—

1. Gaze-at-Sun.
2. Gaze-at-Sun Buffalo.
3. Gaze-at-Sun Staked.
4. Gaze-at-Sun Suspended.

The first is the simplest form and may be undertaken for either of the first three purposes enumerated above and performed with a scant compliance with the essentials, though the Candidate must comply with them to the best of his ability. It should be danced only when one or more of the other forms are danced. It must begin with the first song of the Sun Dance and continue during four songs, though it may continue during as many more songs as the dancer pleases. For this form, any offering may be made to the Sun, but it should be of as much value as the Candidate can afford. The wound to cause the blood to flow must not be smaller than that made by cutting away a bit of skin as large as a louse and it may be as large and deep as the Candidate wills to have it made. Women and children may dance the first form, because there are no tortures inflicted during the dance. Those who have danced the Sun Dance on a former occasion may again dance this form, provided they first make an offering to the Sun and cause the blood to flow from wounds on their persons. Such dancers may be in the dance at any time during the dance by others and may dance for as many songs as they choose.

The second, third, and fourth forms each differ from the others only in the manner of the wounds to cause the flow of blood and the torture inflicted during the dance; but the wounds and tortures for each form should be

made alike for each dancer of that form. One may undertake either of these three forms for either of the first three purposes; but one who undertakes to dance for the fourth purpose must dance the fourth form. The torture inflicted in the fourth form, may be, either figuratively or actually, suspending the dancer while he dances. If the dancer is dancing for the purpose of securing the supernatural powers that Shamans should have, he must dance the fourth form actually suspended. A dance thus performed is the Sun Dance in its fullest form which includes most of the Mythology and much of the customs of the Oglala. One who dances the Sun Dance in its fullest form establishes before the Sun, and in the presence of the people, his possession of the four great virtues, which are:—

1. Bravery.
2. Generosity.
3. Fortitude.
4. Integrity.

One who possesses these four virtues should be respected and honored by all the people. Thus, the scars made by the wounds and tortures inflicted during the Sun Dance are honorable insignia.

One who contemplates dancing the Sun Dance should know these things and carefully consider the compliance with the essentials for the performance of the ceremony, for it is done for the benefit of both the dancer and the people. He should endeavor to know whether the people deem his virtues sufficient to enable him to dance the Sun Dance to its completion or not; for, if they think he lacks in one or all of the great virtues, they probably will not become constituents, and he cannot have the ceremony performed.

The Sun Dance is a feastal ceremony and provision must be made for feasts that are rites and are to be given by the Candidate, his kindred, and his band, for all these are honored by the performance of the ceremony. Therefore, while it is expected that a Candidate will give all his possessions in making provision for the feasts, his kindred and his friends should also give liberally; indeed, the entire band should contribute for both feasts and presents. A Candidate must give presents to his Mentor and attendant and should give to all the assistants and those who take active part in the rites of the ceremony. He must provide the equipment necessary for the occasion, and make acceptable offerings to the Sun. If he cannot comply with these conditions in an abundant manner, he should undertake only the first form of the dance, and then little will be expected of him or his people. If he thinks he can make suitable provision, he may proceed.

CHOOSING THE MENTOR.

He should choose some one to be his Mentor to prepare him for the ceremony. He should make this choice according to the purpose for which he will undertake the dance, for his Mentor should be one who can fit him for that purpose. He may choose anyone, except that if he is to dance to become a Shaman he must choose a Shaman as his Mentor. This too, should be borne in mind, that to become the leader of the dance the Candidate's Mentor must be a Shaman.

When he has made his choice he should take a present, a pipe, and smoking material, and go to the tipi of the one chosen, enter it, and lay the present at the right side of the *catku*, which is the place at the rear inside the tipi, and opposite the door, the place of honor. By thus placing a present, one indicates that he has a request of importance to make. When he has placed the present, he should fill the pipe, light it, and offer it to the one chosen. On ordinary visits, the one who dwells in the tipi is first to fill the pipe and light it and then offers it to the visitor as a courtesy indicating friendship. If a visitor fills the pipe first and offers it to the host, this indicates that he esteems his host very highly and is willing to be subordinate to him. If the host refuses the pipe this indicates that he does not desire intimate relations with the one offering it. If the pipe thus offered by one who has made a choice for his Mentor is refused, he may choose another, but it would be better for him to proceed no farther in the matter because such a refusal would indicate that all his people are not willing to become constituents in a ceremony performed for him. But if the pipe is accepted, the one offering and the one accepting it, should smoke it in communion until its contents are consumed. Why they two alone should smoke this pipeful and why they should smoke until the contents of the pipe are consumed, will appear in the course of this paper.

Having smoked in communion, which is done by passing the pipe from one to the other and alternately smoking four whiffs from it, the host should ask the visitor regarding his request and the visitor should tell his desires and make his request. In case the request is for the host to become a Mentor, he should take the present and place it with his possessions and appoint a day when he will come to the tipi of the one who has chosen him, and then and there, give his answer to the request. The one who is to receive this answer should make a feast on the appointed day and invite two of his friends to the feast. On that day, the one chosen and the invited friends should go to the tipi where the feast is made and feast with the one who gives it.

After the feast, the one who is to receive the answer should fill a pipe, light it, and offer it to the one he has chosen, saying, "*Tunkansila*, smoke that all may be as we desire." The Lakota word, *tunkansila*, ordinarily means maternal grandfather, but it is often used as a term of reverence, and as used in this rite, indicates that the one using it desires the one to whom he has applied it, to become his instructor, to whom he will subordinate his thoughts, words, and deeds; that is, that he desires him to become his Mentor. The one to whom the pipe is thus offered should take it, saying "*W'ole*, I will smoke that all may be as we desire." The Lakota word, *w'ole*, means one who seeks, and as used here it means one who seeks preparation to dance the Sun Dance or, in other words, a Candidate. When the pipe has thus been offered and accepted, the four who have feasted together should smoke it in communion until its contents are consumed. By these rites the relation of Mentor and Candidate is assumed and as this relationship is considered sacred, the titles are capitalized in this paper. This relationship continues from the time it is assumed, until the dance begins in the Sun Dance Lodge. It must be assumed before the establishment of the preliminary camp and may be at any time that will permit instruction of the Candidate to fit him for the purpose of his dance. For the first form of the dance, this may be but a few days before the establishment of the preliminary camp, but for the dance in its fullest form, the relationship should be assumed not later than during the moon when water-fowls return from the south, though it is better if assumed during the time of the snows.

When the rites of assuming the relationship are completed the Mentor should appoint one of the friends present to be the attendant of the Candidate, with the proviso that if at any time he is not able to perform his duties the other friend present shall act in his place. The one so appointed should attend and serve the Candidate from the time of his appointment until the Candidate has danced the Sun Dance and returned from the Sun Dance Lodge to his own tipi. It is expected that he and the Candidate will be *kolapi*, or comrades, during the remainder of their lives. When these formalities are completed, the Mentor should rise to return to his tipi, handing his pipe and tobacco pouch to the Candidate. The Candidate should take them, and carry them, following the Mentor to his tipi. This is the public announcement by the Candidate that he is to dance the Sun Dance, and when it is made, the council of his band should assemble in the council lodge to approve of the candidacy and thereby pledge the people as constituents of the ceremony.

INVITATIONS.

This council should appoint two reputable young men as *akicita*, or messengers, to other bands. These messengers should be provided with a sufficient number of invitation wands and presents, a pipe, and sufficient tobacco. An invitation wand is made of a sprout from a plum tree, about as large as the largest quill from an eagle's wing, and four spans long. Its smaller end should be ornamented with a design of such color and material as the maker may see fit, though all for one event should be so nearly alike that there should be little choice among any of them, so as to give no cause for a thought of discrimination in the invitation. The presents may be any objects of value, but their values should be nearly alike. The usual presents are tobacco.

The messengers should clothe themselves in their gayest attire and leave so as to arrive by daylight and in an ostentatious manner, usually singing as they approach the camp. When two thus approach a Lakota camp, they are recognized as messengers and the herald should announce their approach. When such an announcement is made, the council should immediately assemble in the council lodge, and the herald should conduct the messengers to this assembly. Then one of the messengers should lay a present at the right side of the place of honor and the other should fill the pipe, light it, and offer it to the one who sits at the place of honor.

This one should be the chief of the band, but it may be either of the councilors. If the band is not inclined to friendly relations with the band that sent the invitation, the pipe will be refused; if so, the messengers should take the present and immediately leave the camp. If the pipe is accepted, all present in the lodge should smoke it in communion until its contents are consumed. Then the one who sits at the place of honor should ask of the messengers the object of their visit, and they should give the name of the Candidate and invite the band to be present at the ceremonial camp. If the band cannot accept the invitation, the reason should then be given, and in such case the messengers should take up the present and hand it to the one who sits at the place of honor, as a token of the continuation of friendship. If the council accepts the invitation, the one who sits at the place of honor should take up the present and hold it in his hands, thereby pledging the members of his band to become constituents of the ceremony. Then the messengers should give him an invitation wand which thereby becomes a token to be redeemed by those who sent it by a feast to those to whom it was sent. When these formalities are complied with, the messengers should remain for one night in the camp as the guests of the band.

invited. The messengers should in this manner visit each camp for which they have invitation wands and if they speak to other than members of the invited bands, they should verbally invite them to be present at the ceremonial camp. When the messengers have visited the camps according to their instructions, they should return and report to the council of their camp and then their appointment as *akicita* terminates.

Invitations are given in this manner to induce others to become Candidates to dance the Sun Dance and in order to estimate the probable number that will be present at the ceremonial camp, so as to make suitable provision for them. If there are Candidates in other camps, the procedure should be the same with them. The greater the number of Candidates, the greater will be the festivities, and the greater the number of presents given and received. Further, the bands which become constituents of the ceremony vie with each other in the prodigality of their feasts, offerings, and presents, and in all that pertains to making the ceremony a notable occasion. The Candidate, whose candidacy is first announced by messengers, will be the leader of the dance if his Mentor is a Shaman. Otherwise, the leader should be chosen by the Candidates when they are about to occupy the Sacred Lodge within the ceremonial camp circle.

PREPARATION OF THE CANDIDATE.

Soon after the public announcement of the relation of Mentor and Candidate, the Mentor should require the Candidate to enter a sweatlodge to *ini*, or vitalize. *Inipi*, or vitalizing, is an act of more or less ceremony to stimulate the *ni*, or vitality, so that it may increase strength and purify the body. Vitalizing may be merely a means of refreshment, a remedial measure for disease, or to purify the body for some important undertaking. It ought always to be done as a preliminary to ceremonies pertaining to the *Wakan Tanka*, or the Great Gods. In its simplest form, it is done by releasing the spirit-like of water in a confined space so that it may enter the body. This spirit-like stimulates the vitality so that it overcomes harmful things that may be in the body and the spirit-like of the water washes them out of the body and they appear upon the skin like sweat and can be washed or wiped away. Thus, the vitality is strengthened and the body purified. If the vitalizing is a remedy for disease, medicines may be added to the water so that their potency, or spirit-like, may be released and enter the body and there cause the desired effect.

The methods for vitalizing according to the customs of the Oglala are. A lodge is made by thrusting slender saplings into the ground in a circle

the diameter of which is a little longer than the height of a tall man. The tops of these saplings are bent and bound together so as to form a dome-like support for a covering. This support is covered with robes so as to confine the vapor from boiling water, this vapor being the spirit-like of the water released. At any place on the border of the covering, except toward the north, an opening that may be tightly closed, should be made large enough so that a man can crawl through it. This is the *ini ti* or vitalizing lodge. The equipment necessary for vitalizing is:—

1. Heated stones.
2. Water.
3. A pipe.
4. Smoking material.

To these can be added such other equipment as may be required by the ceremony that is to be performed while vitalizing. One who is to vitalize should strip and crawl naked into the vitalizing lodge, taking with him the pipe and tobacco. Assistants, usually women, heat the stones in a fire near the lodge and, when the occupants are within, should bring the stones and pass them through the opening, then pass the water into the lodge and tightly close the opening. Those inside should place the hot stones at the center of the lodge and at intervals pour small quantities of water on them. This releases the spirit-like of the water and as it cannot escape upward, it must enter the bodies of those exposed to it. It is propitiated with smoke from the pipe and will stimulate the vitality. When it appears again upon the surface of the body, like sweat, it will have in it the harmful things that were in the body, and it should be wiped away, or better, it should be washed away, which is best done by plunging into water. One vitalizing in the simplest manner should sing an appropriate song while pouring the water on the hot stones. The time required for vitalizing in its simplest form may be as long as is required to smoke two pipefuls. A single person may vitalize alone, but as many as can get into the lodge may vitalize together. The process of vitalizing is elaborated to the purposes for which it is done and may be a complex ceremony supervised by a Shaman, and prolonged for a day and night or even longer.

When the Mentor has required the Candidate to vitalize, the Mentor, Candidate, and attendant should occupy the vitalizing lodge and the Mentor should take into the lodge his fetish and wisps of sage and sweetgrass and the assistants should pass coals of fire so that they may burn in the lodge. While vitalizing, the Shaman should first sprinkle bits of sage on the burning coals so as to make an incense and expel the evil powers from the lodge. Then he should sprinkle bits of sweetgrass on the coals, making an incense

that will propitiate the powers for good. While doing this, he should invoke his fetish, either in song or prayer, in order that its potency may aid him in what he is about to do. Having done these things, he should require the Candidate to seek a vision and instruct him as to the manner of his doing so, as follows:—

If an Oglala contemplates an important undertaking, he ought to seek a vision, and if he has the vision he should be governed according to the interpretation of it. To seek a vision one should strip and wear only a robe, a breechclout, and moccasins. Clothed thus, he should take a pipe, smoking materials, and a knife, and go to the top of a high place where others are not likely to intrude. There he should remove every living or growing thing from a space on the ground sufficiently large for him to sit or lie upon. Then he should go to this space and remain on it until he has a vision, or until he is convinced that he will have none. When he enters the cleared space, he should invoke the Four Winds in order that they may not bring inclement weather upon him. Then he should await a vision, meditating continuously upon his quest. He may invoke the gods, verbally or mentally, either in song or prayer. He may stand, sit, or lie awake or asleep, but he must not go away from the space he has prepared. He may smoke as often as he wishes, but he must neither drink nor eat while making the quest.

The vision may come to him, either when he is awake, or when he is asleep. It may appear in the form of anything that breathes or as some inanimate thing. If it communicates with him, it may speak intelligibly to him, or it may use words that he does not understand, or speak in the language of birds or beasts. By something that it says or does it will make known to him that it is the vision he seeks. He should wait for such a vision until he receives it, or until he is so exhausted that he can wait no longer without danger of losing his life. If he should receive a vision, he should return to his tipi singing a song of victory. If one seeks a vision and it is not granted to him, he should meekly come from the quest as privately as possible. If a vision appears to one in the form of a dog, a shore lark, a swallow, a night hawk, a frog, a lizard, or a dragon fly, it has been granted by *Wakinyan*, the Winged God, for these creatures are His *akicita*, or representatives, and when either of them speaks to one in a vision the one spoken to must become *heyoka* and ever afterwards speak and act anti-natural, or as a buffoon. A Candidate to dance the Sun Dance who receives a vision from *Wakinyan* must, during the ceremony in the dance lodge, act as a clown, and in every manner attempt to make the people laugh. He must appear to enjoy the tortures inflicted during the dance and should make sport of his fellow dancers.

One who seeks a vision and receives it, ought to consult a Shaman rela-

tive to an interpretation of it, even if the communication received in the vision is apparently intelligible and easily understood. If he is a Candidate to dance the Sun Dance, he must consult his Mentor, and be guided by him. It may be that the vision prohibits the Candidate from dancing the Sun Dance, and if so, he should proceed no further in the matter.

After the Candidate's quest of a vision, his Mentor should consecrate him, his tipi, implements, utensils, and apparel, in the following manner:— The Mentor should make an altar in the tipi of the Candidate, between the fireplace, which is at the center of the tipi, and the place of honor. An Oglala Shaman makes an altar by removing everything that breathes or grows from the space where the altar is to be. This should be done because the altar is a sacred thing which should have nothing in or upon it except that which may be an offering acceptable to the Gods. Any other thing that may touch this space while it is an altar should either be destroyed or purified in an incense of sage and then in one of sweetgrass. This space must be square, for the altar must have four sides of equal length, because each side pertains to one of the Four Winds and each of these must receive equal consideration in every respect.

The sides of the altar should be toward the west, the north, the east, and the south, so that one side will be toward the tipi of each of the Four Winds. The sides should measure not less than four hand breadths, nor more than the height of a man. They may vary anywhere between these extremes. The smallest altars should be made in tipis and the largest in the Sun Dance Lodge. At each angle of this square, a pointed space should project halfway between two of the directions. These are the horns of the altar that guard it against all malevolent beings. The square space and horns should be dug to the depth of a finger length and the loosened soil removed and freed from everything. Then it should be pulverized, replaced, and made level. The one who replaces and levels the soil should utter an appropriate invocation, or sing an appropriate song, or both, for in this manner the altar is consecrated to the purposes for which it is made. The Mentor should place on the altar in the tipi of the Candidate, a buffalo skull with the horns attached, so that the nostril cavities will face towards the place of honor. He should then decorate this skull with stripes of red paint, one across the forehead and one lengthwise on each side of the skull; at the same time, he should paint a red stripe across the forehead of the Candidate. The stripes across the forehead indicate that the Buffalo God has adopted the Candidate as a *hunka*, or relative by ceremony. The red stripes on the sides of the skull indicate that the Buffalo God will give especial protection to the Candidate. The horns of the skull should be adorned with any ornaments that the Candidate may apply. Then the Mentor should

fill and light a pipe and he and the Candidate should smoke it in communion, alternately blowing the smoke into the nostril cavities of the skull, thus smoking in communion with the Buffalo God. This should be done in order that the potency of the pipe may harmonize all those communing.

When this rite is completed the Mentor should instruct the Candidate that this altar should be maintained in his tipi until he enters the Sacred Lodge in the ceremonial camp; that anything placed upon the altar must be considered an offering to the Gods; that he should so place a portion of each thing he eats or drinks in the tipi; that others may also do so; that no one should touch the altar, or anything upon it, except those whose hands are painted red; and that no one should step over the altar or pass between it and the place of honor if this can be avoided. This is because the altar is a sacred place occupied by the potency of the God, the Buffalo, and should be revered as the God is revered. Also, that if anything of any kind should otherwise come upon this altar it should be removed and be destroyed or purified in the incense of sage and then of sweetgrass.

When the altar and instructions are completed, the Mentor should prepare a meditation couch for the Candidate by making a bed of sage at the rear, outside the tipi and projecting from it, and should instruct him to occupy this bed most of the time when not with his Mentor, meditating on his preparation for the Sun Dance. This bed should be made of sage because this herb is pleasing to the Benevolent Gods and repulsive to all malevolent beings; therefore, it will keep all harmful things and thoughts from one occupying a bed made of it. When the sage bed is prepared the Mentor should place the Candidate's cedar tree, or rack. This should be of cedar because the cedar is favored by *Wakinyan*, the Winged God, and he will not visit one protected by it, nor cause such a one to act foolishly. The bark should be taken from it and its larger end should be as large as a man's leg. It should be long enough so that when fixed upright in the ground it will be as high as a man's shoulders. It should have portions of branches left on it so that they will be convenient prongs for hanging articles. The Mentor should paint it red and fix it upright in the ground at the foot of the bed of sage and instruct the Candidate to place all his implements of war and the chase on it and keep them there until after he has danced the Sun Dance. He also instructs him that if he dances the Sun Dance to its completion he will be entitled to place such a rack beside his tipi during the remainder of his life; that anything placed upon such a rack is taboo to all of mankind, except the owner of the rack; that while he is a candidate, things placed upon this rack by others thereby become offerings to the Sun and so are his property; that friends wishing to give presents to him as a Candidate should place such presents on this rack. When the rack has been placed, if the Mentor is a Shaman, he should consecrate the person of the Candidate.

If he is not a Shaman, he should employ a Shaman to do this in the following manner:—

In his tipi the Candidate should strip and sit beside the altar facing the Shaman who should sit at the place of honor. The attendant should fill and light a pipe and offer it to the Shaman, and he, the Mentor, Candidate, and Attendant smoke in communion. Then, while the attendant sounds either the drum or rattles, the Shaman should paint the Candidate's hands red, meanwhile singing an appropriate song or making an appropriate invocation. He should then instruct the Candidate that the sacred color, red, upon the hands sanctifies them so that they may handle sacred things; that while he is a Candidate his hands should be painted red; and if he dances the Sun Dance to completion he will be entitled to paint his hands red at any time during the remainder of his life. Then he should braid wisps of sweetgrass into the semblance of a scalplock, bind it with red, give it to the Candidate, and instruct him that if he dances the Sun Dance to its completion he will be entitled to attach such a braid of sweetgrass to his person or implements at any time during his life; that such a braid will insure the favor of the Feminine God to one who rightfully possesses it. Then the Shaman should paint in red on the chest of the Candidate a design which he has devised and instruct him that if he completes his undertaking, this design will become his insignum indicating that he has danced, the second, third, or fourth form of the Sun Dance to completion; and that he will be entitled to place it on his person or property and use it as his signature. When the person of the Candidate has been thus consecrated, his clothing, implements, and utensils should be incensed with sage while the Shaman utters or sings an appropriate invocation which will consecrate them. The things thus consecrated must be used by none other than the Candidate until after the Sun Dance is danced.

When these consecrations are completed, the Mentor should teach the Candidate the invariable rules that should govern a Candidate to dance the second, third, or fourth form of the Sun Dance. These are:—

1. He must subordinate himself to his Mentor.
 2. He must mediate continually upon his undertaking.
 3. He must speak little with others than his Mentor.
 4. He must use only his consecrated implements and utensils.
-
1. He must not become angry.
 2. He must not hear ribald speech.
 - ✓3. He must not go into the water.
 4. He must not have sexual intercourse.

If a Candidate disregards any of these rules, he must do such penance as his Mentor may prescribe before he can proceed with his undertaking.

INSTRUCTION OF A SHAMAN.

When these preliminary formalities have been fulfilled in this manner, the Candidate is thereby prepared to receive the instructions that should be given him to fit him to dance either of the last three forms of the Sun Dance, also for the purpose of his undertaking. If his purpose is to become a Shaman, he should be informed that as a Shaman the people will consider that he is endowed with a knowledge of the laws and customs of the Lakota and supernatural wisdom; that he can communicate with supernatural beings and interpret Their wills; that he will have supervisory authority over all ceremonies; and that if he knows the will of a supernatural being to be that any law, customs, or ceremony be altered or prohibited, he should act according to such will. He should also be informed that the people will hold him to strict account for his action as a Shaman, and if they find that he exercises his authority only to gratify his own desires, the *akicita*, or marshals of the camp, may adjudge and punish him according to his offense, even to the taking of his life. If, in the exercise of his authority or attributes as a Shaman he wrongfully injures another, the one injured may exact from him a satisfaction for the injury, which might be to take his life. After receiving this information, if he persists in his desire to become a Shaman, he should be instructed so that he may have a knowledge of the following matters before he dances:—

The Lakotapi are the original people, superior to all others of mankind, and it is a matter of grace on their part to concede rights of any kind to any other people. Long ago, they were one tribe and made their winter camp in the region of the pines near the Sacred Lake, maintaining but one council fire. Bands wandered far away, making winter camps and maintaining council fires elsewhere, thus becoming independent tribes. Seven tribes were formed in this manner, which, at one time, encamped together in a formal camp circle, each maintaining its own council fire. This time is known as "The Time of the Seven Great Council Fires," and is the beginning of an era for the Lakotapi. These tribes recognize each other as kindred peoples having like laws and customs.

According to their customs, when two or more tribes encamp together, the ranking tribe takes precedence by placing its camp at the chief place in the camp circle, which is opposite the entrance to the circle and other tribes should place their camps in the circle next from the chief place in the order of their precedence. At first, the order of precedence was according to the age of a tribe, counting from the time when it first made its council fire. Thus, the tribe that made its winter camp near the Sacred Lake had

the chief place in a camp circle of the Lakotapi. But the tribe that made its winter camp on the plains became the most powerful, usurped the chief place, and has held it. This tribe is the Teton, who are a haughty people who arrogate for themselves the name Lakota, as a distinction from the other Lakotapi. After the manner of the original seven tribes, the Teton were divided into seven subtribes, which when encamped together observe the customs that govern the formation of a camp circle of the tribes. At first, another subtribe had the precedence, but the Oglala became the most powerful and usurped it and holds it. Thus, in a formal camp circle of any or all of the Lakotapi, the Oglala would take precedence and place its camp at the chief place. For this reason, the Oglala are the chief people of the original peoples, and are superior to all mankind. Therefore, in a conflict of laws, customs, or ceremonies, those of the Oglala should prevail.

The Oglala are divided into a number of bands, each of which is called a camp, and is known by the name of its chief. An Oglala band-consists of a number of families organized so as to form a camp with a council fire as a symbol of its autonomy. When different bands encamp together, the oldest, counting from the time when it first maintained a council fire, takes precedence and maintains its council fire. The other bands place their camps in the circle according to their age, but they hold their organization in abeyance while in the circle and do not make a council fire.

A camp is organized when it has a chief, a council, a magistrate, a herald, and marshals, and maintains a council fire. It ought to have a council lodge and may have a dancing lodge. Members of the band may be members of military societies and while such are controlled as militia by the societies they must aid in maintaining the organization of the camp.

A camp may be organized by any number of any persons who erect a sufficient number of tipis so that there may be men enough to form the organization. There should not be less than seven tipis in a camp and there may be as many more as the organization will permit. Only husbanded tipis are counted when estimating the size or strength of a camp, a husbanded tipi being one in which dwells a husband and wife; if a man has more than one wife who erects a tipi, all such are counted as one tipi only. Anyone may become a member of a band by encamping with it and expressing a wish to belong to it. Thus, a popular band may have an indefinite number of members and become powerful. Anyone may withdraw from a band by simply saying he does not wish to be counted as a member. Thus, an unpopular band may dwindle until it has not enough tipis to maintain an organized camp and then it is no longer recognized as a band. The members of a band are entitled to the force of the entire band in the protection of their rights and they must obey the laws and customs of the Oglala and the edicts of their council.

Any member may present any matter for the consideration of the council, except matters authorized by a Shaman and may speak before the council relative to any matter it may have under consideration. A member may be suspended by the council when he must place his tipi outside the camp circle. When a tipi is thus placed its inhabitants are barred from all communal privileges, but are entitled to the protection of the band. When a member is expelled by the council, he must not place his tipi near the encampment of the band from which he is expelled and the inhabitants of his tipi are not entitled to protection by this band. A Shaman may give advice relative to the standing of any member of a band or relative to the exemption of any member from the operation of any edict by the council and his advice should be heeded. He may taboo anyone and relief from such taboo or ban can be had only by act of the council approved by a Shaman.

The first chief of a band is he who has sufficient following to organize a camp. His tenure of office is for life, but he may be deposed by the council. The succession of chieftainship is hereditary, but the heir may be debarred by the council. If a vacancy in the chieftainship occurs with no heir-apparent, the council should choose a chief. One who has sufficient following can usurp the chieftainship. A chief is acknowledged by the band when at a formal meeting of the council he is invited to sit at the chief place and an influential councilor fills and lights a pipe and offers it to him and he and the councilors smoke it in communion. The chief is the administrator of, and entitled to precedence in, all the communal affairs of the band, and is the commander of all that pertains to war. When on a foray he is entitled to the largest personal share of the booty and always entitled to the largest personal share of the products of a communal hunt or chase. He may command the marshals to do anything, and if the command accords with the laws or customs of the Oglala, or the edicts of the council, they should obey him, but they should judge the propriety of the command. Like any other member of the band, he is subject to judgment and punishment by the marshals. He may adopt any device he chooses as the insignum of his chieftaincy. Usually, this is made of the quills from the tail of the golden eagle. He may have such other insignia as he is entitled to, like other members of the band. A Shaman may make taboo for him anything that is a perquisite of his chieftainship and such a ban can be removed only by the council acting on the advice of a Shaman.

The council of the camp is composed of men who are accepted as councilors because they customarily assemble in formal circle about the council fire to consider matters of common interest to the band. It usually consists of the chief and elderly men of good repute, knowledge, and experience, though any renowned man may sit in the council, and if the councilors give

heed to his speeches or ask his views upon matters they are considering, he thereby becomes a councilor. Any councilor may cease to be such by not sitting in the circle about the council fire. A Shaman may taboo the councilorship for any member of the band. The duties of the council are to consider and decide upon all matters of common interest to the band; to issue such edicts as they see fit; to command the herald to make such proclamations as they desire; and to hear and decide upon appeals from the judgments of the marshals. A Shaman can act only as advisor of the council. The council must appoint the herald and the marshals of the camp, but each councilor is subject to the discipline of the marshals in the same manner as are all other members of the band. The only perquisites of the councilorship are the honors of being a councilor. An act of the council is accepted when it is not opposed by councilors who have a sufficient following of members to enforce their opposition.

The *wakiconze*, or magistrate, of the camp, is one who acts as such by common consent of the band. He should be a *mihunka*, that is, an elderly man who has the respect and confidence of the people. When the band is encamped his duties are to decide upon all disputed points in friendly controversies, contests, or games; and to give advice when such is needed or requested. The magistrate may be a Shaman, the chief, a councilor, or a marshal, and if he is either of these, when applicable, he should first act as magistrate and then in his other capacity. When the band makes a peaceful journey, the magistrate has entire command and the duties of other officers of the camp are held in abeyance from the time the tipis are taken down for the move, until they are erected in an encampment. His duties then are to appoint marshals of the movement; to select the route; to order the halts for refreshment; to select the places for temporary encampment; and to provide against surprise by an enemy during movement. It is customary for him to appoint the marshals of the camp as marshals of the movement, but he may appoint any others as such. Their duties are to enforce the customs that govern a band when making a movement and to carry out such instructions as the magistrate may give. The most important of these should be that some of the marshals shall go in advance and far at both sides of the route as scouts watching for game or an enemy, and if signs of either are seen, to signal by smoke. When such a signal is seen the magistrate should immediately order a temporary encampment and when it is made his authority ceases until the movement is again resumed. If the journey is to be to and from a place, as for instance, to a ceremony or to make a formal visit to another band, the appointments made by the magistrate do not terminate until that journey is complete, no difference how long the intervals of the movement may be.

The herald is a marshal, usually selected because his voice is full and deep-toned. His badge of office is a willow wand about four forearm lengths long, forked at its smaller end, and peeled and dried. The tips of the forks are ornamented with dangling smaller quills from the wing of a golden eagle and may be ornamented in any other manner the herald chooses. The insignum of his office is the same as that of other marshals. He may wear such other insignia as he is entitled to have. He may exercise all the duties of a marshal, but ordinarily only the duties of a herald are required of him. These are to proclaim to the camp matters of common interest, or that any member wishes to make known by the band; to summon councilors to assemble and persons to appear before the council; to supervise making and maintaining a council fire, the erection and care of a council lodge; and to herald the approach of a band or of visitors.

The appointment of a marshal is a formality that should be accomplished by the council in the following manner. The council may appoint any number of marshals for it manifests an honor regarded as little less than that of being a chief or a renowned warrior. Anyone may nominate any man who is physically fit for appointment as a marshal. The council should consider any such nomination and accept or reject it. If the nomination is accepted, the council should hold it for one or more intervals of its assemblage and consider such electioneering as the band may do. Then it may agree to reject or accept the nominee. If the council accepts the nominee it should direct the herald to summon him to appear before it to be appointed a marshal. This the herald should do by public proclamation so that the nominee may be either absent or present in his tipi when the herald goes there, for if he is then absent, it is considered that he refuses the nomination; if he is present, that he accepts it. After giving the nominee sufficient time to locate himself, the herald, accompanied by a marshal, should go to the tipi of the nominee and examine it, and if the nominee is there he should paint a perpendicular black stripe on the door flap of the tipi. Then the marshal should enter the tipi, grasp the nominee by his arm, and so conduct him into the presence of the council. In the meantime, the council should invite a Shaman to sit at the chief place in the circle. The herald should announce to the council the presence of the nominee and then the Shaman should invite the nominee to sit between the chief place and the council fire. When he is thus seated the Shaman should fill and light a pipe and offer it to the nominee who should smoke and pass it, so that he and the council men may smoke in communion. When this rite is ended, the Shaman should inform the nominee that he is about to be appointed a marshal and instruct him relative to his functions as such, in substance as follows:—

The duties of a marshal are to enforce compliance with the laws, customs, and usages of the Oglala, and the edicts of the council; they are authorized to adjudge infractions; to determine disagreements and disorders; and to inflict penalties even to that of death. They may act individually or collectively, as they choose. They are subordinate to no official and appeals from their judgments may be made only to the council which may adjudge their decisions justifiable or unjustifiable. In the exercise of his functions, a marshal is liable for misconduct or neglect, but only to the marshals, who may adjudge him and inflict such penalties as they deem proper, but the penalties should always be greater than those inflicted upon others for like offenses. Anyone may plead relative to a cause and a marshal should hear and heed such pleas. A Shaman may advise a marshal relative to his functions and such advice should be duly considered.

When the Shaman thinks the nominee understands the functions of a marshal he should inform him that he was nominated a marshal and had signified an acceptance of the nomination and that thereupon he was so appointed, as attested by the herald placing the black stripe on his door lap which he is entitled to have there while he is marshal. Then the Shaman should paint a black stripe on the marshal's right cheek, from the outer corner of the eye to the lower edge of the jaw, and inform him that a black stripe so placed on the face is the insignum of a marshal, and is recognized by the people as a sufficient warrant of office.

This ends the formality of appointing a marshal; but it is expected that the new marshal will give a feast to celebrate the occasion. The council may appoint temporary marshals without ceremony. But such are subordinate to the council, have no authority other than that of a policeman, and should be displaced by regularly appointed marshals at the earliest opportunity. The council may appoint marshals for special purposes with no ceremony other than instructions relative to these purposes. Such marshals have no functions other than those necessary for the accomplishment of that for which they were appointed; when that is accomplished and the council so informed, their appointments terminate. A Shaman may advise relative to the appointment of marshals without ceremony, but such is all that he should have to do with the acts of the council in such appointments.

A band, when encamped together, should make the formal camp circle by placing their tipis so as to enclose a circular space, leaving a small vacant space in the circle. The tipis so placed form the camp circle, the vacant space is the entrance, and the enclosed space, the area, while that part of the circle opposite the entrance is the chief place. The entrance should be at the east side of the circle and the parts of the circle that abut on it

are the horns of the camp circle. The tipis should be so placed that their doors will be toward the center of the area and in the order of precedence of their occupants. The tipi of the chief should be at the chief place and those of prominent men next to the chief place in the order of their accepted standing, except that the tipis at the horns are considered guards of the entrance and places of honor, usually those of tried warriors. The council lodge should be erected on the area with its door toward the chief place and usually is placed near the tipi of the chief. If there is a dance or ceremonial lodge or enclosure of any kind, it should be placed at the center of the area with its entrance toward the south. A society may erect its lodge on the area any place it chooses, except at the center. Structures of any kind, to be used only by their owners for purposes other than habitation, must be placed outside the camp circle, such, for instance, as menstrual lodges, vitalizing lodges, etc. The marshals may compel anyone to place his tipi outside the camp circle and this is an ostracism. A *heyoka* must place the door of his tipi so that it will not be towards the center of the area. The marshals should assign to visitors places in the circle for their tipis, relative to the chief place according to their importance. A Shaman may place his tipi where he chooses, except at the chief place, and he may determine the location of anything placed on the area. He may taboo, restricted or unlimited, any person or tipi in the circle.

When two or more bands camp together and become as one band, the tipis of the members of different bands do not intermingle, but are grouped so that members of a band may have their tipis together. If there are a number of bands so encamped that it is practicable, these groups are entire bands, placed in the circle relative to the chief place in the order of precedence of the bands. A Shaman should know this order of precedence, for he should control the establishment and organization of a ceremonial camp, as will appear when describing the establishment of a camp for dancing the Sun Dance.

SECRET INSTRUCTIONS FOR A SHAMAN.

When the Mentor is satisfied that the Candidate understands the social customs of the Oglala sufficiently well to know when a Shaman may, or may not, interfere with them, he should then instruct him relative to the doctrines and ceremonials pertaining to the Gods. Some of these are known to the people, but most of them are known only by the Shamans and they hide these in a ceremonial language known only by them. This language is made up of common words to which an esoteric meaning is given and of strange words that are known only by the Shamans. The sacred mysteries

are thus hidden from the people because they are unfitted to know them. But one who is to become a Shaman should be instructed relative to these mysteries, in substance as follows:—

The Supernatural is *Wakan Tanka*, or the Great Mystery that no one of mankind can comprehend. It may be pleased or displeased by the conduct of any one of mankind. It may be propitiated or placated by a proper ceremony correctly performed. Its aid may be secured by appropriate sacrifice. Therefore, it is the Great God.

This Great God communicates with mankind through various media and in various manners. The chosen medium is a *Wicasa Wakan*, or Shaman. Other media are called *Akicita Wakan*, or Sacred Messengers. A Sacred Messenger may be anything animate or inanimate, other than mankind, which makes itself known as such. It may be either permanent or temporary. A permanent messenger is one that is always the medium of communication from a certain God. A temporary Sacred Messenger is such only during one communication and may be the medium for any God other than those who have permanent messengers. A communication from God may be either unsolicited or solicited. An unsolicited communication is transmitted through a Shaman. Solicited communications are granted through the Sacred Messengers. These may be either intelligible or unintelligible to the recipient, and if unintelligible, they should be interpreted by a Shaman.

The Shamans should teach these doctrines to the people and exhort them to practise the four great virtues which, named in the order of their importance, are:—

1. Bravery.
2. Fortitude.
3. Generosity.
4. Fidelity.

The doctrines which only the Shamans know are these:—

Wakan Tanka is one, yet It is many who are:—

Wakan Tanka Waste, the Benevolent Gods.

Wakan Tanka Sica, the Malevolent Gods.

The Benevolent Gods are of two kinds who are:—

Wakan Kin, the Gods.

Taku Wakan, Gods Kindred.

The Gods are of two classes which are:—

Wakan Ankantu, the Superior Gods.

Wakan Kolaya, the Associate Gods.

The Gods Kindred are of two classes which are: —

Wakan Kuya, the Subordinate Gods.

Wakanlapi, the Gods-like.

Each of these four classes consists of four individuals as follows: —

The individuals of the Superior Gods: —

Wi, the Sun, the Chief of the Gods.

Skan, the Sky, the Great Spirit.

Maka, the Earth, the All-mother.

Inyan, the Rock, the All-father.

The individuals of the Associate Gods: —

Hanvi, the Moon, the Associate of *Wi*.

Tate, the Wind, the Associate of *Skan*.

Wohpe, the Feminine, the Associate of *Maka*.

Wakinyan, the Winged God, the Associate of *Inyan*.

The individuals of the Subordinate Gods: —

Tatanka, the Buffalo God.

Hunonpa, the Bear God.

Tatetob, the Four Winds.

Yumni, the Whirlwind.

The individuals of the Gods-like: —

Nagi, the Spirit.

Niya, the Ghost.

Nagila, the Spirit-like.

Sicun, the imparted Supernatural Potency.

The following are four individuals, but they should be considered as only one, the Chief God: —

The Sun.

The Moon.

The Buffalo.

The Spirit.

The following are four individuals, but they should be considered as only one, the Great Spirit: —

The Sky.

The Wind.

The Bear.

The Ghost.

The following are four individuals, but they should be considered as only one, the Creator God: —

The Earth.

The Feminine.

The Four Winds.

The Spirit-like.

The following are four individuals, but they should be considered as only one, the Executive God: —

The Rock.
The Winged.
The Whirlwind.
The Potency.

The following are but as one, and that One is *Wakan Tanka*, the Great Mysterious: —

The Chief God.
The Great Spirit.
The Creator.
The Executive.

The individualities of the Great Mysterious have properties that may be described as follows: —

Except for the Four Winds, They had no beginning, though some were before others and some bear the relation of parent and offspring. This is *akan*, for no one of mankind can comprehend it. They will have no end.

The Sun is a material God whose substance is always visible and He ranks first among the Superior Gods, though the other three were before He was. He may be addressed as the Great God, the Revered One, or Our Father. His domain is the spirit world and the regions under the world. His will prevails though the Wind thwart his purposes. The Sky gave Him His power and can withhold it, but he is more powerful than the Sky. Daily He makes His journey above the domain of the Sky and at night He rests with His people in the regions under the world and there communes with his comrade, the Buffalo. He is the patron of the four great virtues, but is indifferent to small affairs. His favor may be secured by appropriate offerings and ceremonies and He may grant a communication to one who dances the Sun Dance. His potency abides in fire and cannot be imparted to any other thing. His symbolic color is red and because He is the Chief of the Gods, red is the sacred color.

The Sky is an immaterial God whose substance is never visible. He ranks second among the Superior Gods. His titles given by the people are *Taku Skan-skan* and *Nagi Tanka*, or the Great Spirit, and those given by the Shamans are *Skan* and *To*, or blue. The concept expressed by the term *Taku Skan-skan* is that which gives motion to anything that moves. That expressed by the Shamans by the word, *Skan*, is a vague concept of force or energy and by the word, *To*, is the immaterial blue of the sky which symbolizes the presence of the Great Spirit. His domain is all above the world beginning at the ground. He is the source of all power and motion and is the patron of directions and trails and of encampment. He imparts

to each of mankind at birth a spirit, a ghost, and a *sicun*, and at the death of each of mankind He hears the testimony of the ghost and adjudges the spirit. He may sit in judgment on other Gods. His word is unalterable, except by Himself. He only can undo that which is done. His people are the stars and the Feminine is His daughter. His potency can be imparted only to mysterious things and by much ceremony correctly performed by wise Shamans. The Fetish that has His potency can prevail in all things. Only Shamans may have such a Fetish. His symbolic color is blue.

The Earth is a material God, whose substance is always visible. She ranks third of the Superior Gods, though she existed next after the first in existence. She is most often addressed as the All-mother, for She is an ancestor of all material things, except the Rock. Her domain is the world and She is the patron of all things that grow from the ground, of drink and food, and the tipi. Her potency may be imparted to anything that has grown from the ground. Her symbolic color is green.

The Rock is a material God whose substance may always be seen. He ranks fourth of the Superior Gods, but existed first of all. He is most often addressed as the All-father, for He is the ancestor of all things and all the Gods. The All-father and the All-mother never were related as husband and wife and neither has a child by the other. The Rock is the father of *Iktomi*, whose other parent is the Winged God, and the father of *Iya*, or *Ibom*, the Great God of Evil, whose other parent is an *Unktehi*, or one of the Monsters.

The domain of the Rock is the mountains; but His authority extends through all the domain of the Earth. He is the patron of authority and vengeance, of construction and destruction, and of implements and utensils. His potency can be imparted to anything that is hard as stone. His symbolic color is yellow.

The symbolic colors of the four Superior Gods, red, blue, green, and yellow, are sacred, when applied by a Shaman with ceremony and each symbolizes the God to which it pertains. If red alone is ceremonially applied, it signifies consecration. Black is also a ceremonial color, its significance being intensity of emotion or firmness of purpose.

The Moon is a material God whose substance is visible or partly invisible, as She wills. She governs the third time, which is a moon, and combats *Anog Ite*, the double-woman, who incites contention. She has no domain and Her potency cannot be imparted to anything. She fixes the time for the more important undertakings of mankind but She is indifferent to ceremonies and cannot be influenced by them.

Tate is an immaterial God whose substance is never visible, for He is

is a Spirit. He is the father of the Four Winds whose mother is *Anog Ite*. He governs the fourth time, which is a year, and the coming and going of the four seasons. He abides at the entrance of the spirit trail and hides it from mankind. He admits or excludes spirits from this entrance, according to the judgment of the Great Spirit, *Skan*. He cannot be influenced by sacrifice or ceremony and His potency cannot be imparted to anything.

The Feminine is a material God whose substance may be visible or invisible as She wills. She is most often addressed as the Woman, the Beautiful One, or the Gracious One. She is the daughter of *Skan*, the Sky, and is of the star people. She abides in the tipi of *Okaga*, the South Wind, and is His associate. Her potency, which cannot be imparted to anything, is in the smoke of the pipe and the smoke of sweetgrass. Her functions are to harmonize and are effective when the pipe is smoked or sweetgrass burned. She is a mediator between the Gods, between the Gods and mankind, and between mankind. She is the protector of chastity and of little children and the patron of adornment and pleasure. She should be invoked in every ceremony and there has precedence over all the Gods.

Wakinyan is a material God whose substance is visible only when He so wills. His properties are *akan* and anti-natural. He abides in his lodge on the top of the mountain at the edge of the world where the Sun goes down to the regions under the world. He is many, but they are as only one; he is shapeless, but has wings with four joints each; he has no feet, yet he has huge talons; he has no head, yet has a huge beak with rows of teeth in it, like the teeth of the wolf; his voice is the thunder clap and rolling thunder caused by the beating of His wings on the clouds; he has an eye, and its glance is lightning. In a great cedar tree beside His lodge He has His nest made of dry bones, and in it is an enormous egg from which His young continuously issue. He devours His young and they each become one of His many selves. He had issue by the Rock and it was *Iktomi*, the oldest son of the Rock. He flies through all the domain of the Sky, hidden in a robe of clouds, and if one of mankind sees His substance he is thereby made a *heyoka*, and must ever afterwards speak and act clownishly in an anti-natural manner. Yet, if He so wills, He may appear to mankind in the form of a giant man, and if so, He is then the God, *Heyoka*. One who looks upon the God, *Heyoka*, is not thereby made a *heyoka*. The potency of the Winged God cannot be imparted to anything. His functions are to cleanse the world from filth and to fight the Monsters who defile the waters and to cause all increase by growth from the ground.

The acceptable manner of addressing Him is by taunt and villification, the opposite of the intent of the address. He may be visualized as a bird whose wings have four joints. His symbol is a zigzag red line forked at

each end. His *akicita* are the dog, swallow, snowbird, night hawk, lizard, frog, and dragon fly, and if either of these is seen in a vision the one to whom it appears is thereby made a *heyoka*.

The Buffalo is a material God whose substance is visible only when He so wills. His form is that of a great beast, but he may appear to mankind as a man. He abides with the buffalo people in the regions under the world, and roams throughout all the domain of the Earth. He is the patron of sexual relations, generosity, industry, fecundity, and ceremonies. He is the protector of maidens and of the very old. He is the comrade of the Sun and in ceremonies pertaining to the Sun, His potency prevails. He controls the chase and gives or withholds success to hunters. His potency abides in the skull of the animal buffalo and can be imparted to anything that has been a part of a buffalo.

The Bear is a material God, whose substance is invisible at His will. He may appear to mankind as a huge bear, or as a very old man. He is the patron of wisdom, medicine, and magic. Those who would know the lore of the Lakota should have His aid. His potency can be imparted to anything that is strange or unusual.

The Four Winds is an immaterial God, whose substance is never visible. He is *akan* and therefore no one of mankind can comprehend him. While He is one God, He is four individuals:—

He may be addressed as the Four, or, the Four Quarters, or, as the Wind of the Four Directions, or as the Sons. They are the sons of *Tate* and their mother is *Anog Ite*. They were born at one birth, but *Yata* came first. *Eya*, the second-born, displaced *Yata* and holds the birthright of the first-born. *Yanpa* was third born and *Okaga* the last-born son. They have their tipis at the edge of the world, that of *Eya* on the mountain beside the lodge of the Winged God; that of *Yata* under the stars that never come down to the edge of the world; that of *Yanpa* where the Sun begins His daily journey over the world; that of *Okaga* is under where the Sun pauses at midday when His journey is half done. They do not abide in these tipis, for they are continually traveling on the trail that circles the edge of the world, and where they are, or whence they may come, no man can tell. In ceremonies, they should be addressed as the one God, the Four Winds, and have precedence over all the Gods, except *Wohpe*, the Feminine. They are jealous of their precedence and of that among themselves. In every ceremony of importance they should be invoked after the Feminine, in the following manner:—

1. *Eya*, the West Wind.
2. *Yata*, the North Wind.
3. *Yanpa*, the East Wind.
4. *Okaga*, the South Wind.

The lighted pipe should be elevated with its mouthpiece toward the tipi of *Eya* and carried so that the mouthpiece, pointing toward the edge of the world, circles until it points toward the tipi of *Yata*, where it should be held for an instant, then carried in the same manner until it points toward the tipi of *Yanpa*, and held there an instant; then it should be carried in the same manner and held an instant toward the tipi of *Okaga*; thence in the same manner until it returns toward the tipi of *Yata*. Thus, the potency of the Feminine is tendered in the proper order of precedence to each and all of the Four Winds. While the Four travels continually on the trail around the edge of the world, when He comes on the world, that individual of himself that prevails will give the direction from which He comes. As the four sons of *Tate*, the Wind, they established the four directions on the world and then, by the decree of Their father, were to travel forever on the trail around at the edge of the world. Each such completion from beginning to end is the fourth time, or, a year. Therefore, a circle is an emblem of all four of the units of time, each of which, day, night, moon, and year, goes in a circle. While they are one as a God, as the sons of *Tate*, they are four individuals. The personality of these individuals differs each from the other. *Eya* is a burly, boisterous God. He is the associate of the Winged God and accompanies Him when He flies through the domain of the Sky and aids Him in cleansing the world. *Eya* is reckless and often does His work harshly, when He prevails and sweeps the world. His *akicita* is the hawk. *Yata* is a strong, cold, and surly God. He is forever contesting with *Okaga*, because He desired to have *Wohpe*, the Feminine, as His own, but *Okaga* won Her as His companion. Because of His surly selfishness He was deposed from the birthright of the first-born son and it was given to *Eya*. His *akicita* is the magpie. *Yanpa* is an indolent God whose *akicita* is the crow. *Okaga* is a pleasing God and when He prevails all things rejoice. The Feminine, *Wohpe*, dwells in His tipi and is His companion, often traveling with Him. The little son of *Tate*, the Whirlwind, also dwells in the tipi of *Okaga*, and comes forth only when *Okaga* prevails, for He fears *Yata*. The *akicita* of *Okaga* are all the waterfowls. The functions of the God, the Four Winds, are to be the messengers of *Skan*, the Great Spirit, and of *Tate*, their father, and to control the weather.

Yumni is a merry God. He is the little son of *Tate* and his mother is *Anog Ite*, but because of a curse placed upon her, he was not born as other children are, and for this reason He remains little, and is not counted with the other sons of *Tate*, who are counted as His four sons and *Yumni* as His little son. *Wohpe* taught *Yumni* all the sports and games and gave him control over them, so that He is the patron of all gambling, friendly contests, sports, games, and courtship. He has no *akicita* and never appears

in a vision. His potency may be imparted to any implements for sport or games and to philters by *wicasa hmunga*, or wizards.

The *Wakanlapi* are immaterial Gods that abide or have abided in material things. While there are four kinds there are many of each kind. But all of each kind should be considered as only one when considering them as Gods.

Nagi, the Spirit, is an immaterial God whose substance may be visible at its will and who can communicate with mankind, directly or through the medium of a Shaman. *Skan* imparts a spirit to each of mankind at birth. It abides with its recipient until death, controlling the disposition and actions of the person. At death, it leaves the body, but lingers near the haunts of the person, awaiting its endowment for the spirit world. When it is thus endowed it appears before *Skan* for judgment, and, if adjudged worthy, *Tate* admits it through the entrance to the spirit trail, on which it travels to the spirit world. When it is there it is allotted a place according to its endowment and then it becomes the Spirit.

A spirit is endowed with the *nagila*, or spirit-like, of things in the following manner: — One who wishes to contribute to the endowment abandons the thing to be contributed, in the name of the deceased, when the spirit-like of the thing becomes the possession of the spirit. The material of the things thus abandoned is taboo to those who abandon them and becomes the property of any others who may take them. Thus, the family of a deceased man may abandon all their possessions, endowing his spirit with them, for by so doing, the spirit-like of these things is taken by his spirit to the spirit land, and if the spirits of those who contribute arrive there, they will enjoy these things in the spirit world. If the deceased has killed an enemy and taken his scalp, he has thereby gained control of the spirit of the enemy whose spirit cannot enter on the spirit trail until the one who controls it does so and even then it must serve the controlling spirit to the end of the trail. If a spirit is adjudged by *Skan* as unworthy to go on the spirit trail, it thereby becomes a *sicun*, or wandering spirit, and must wander over the world until *Tate* deems it fitted, when He may permit it to pass through the entrance. Such wandering spirits can communicate with mankind, but their communications are uncertain and not to be relied upon. They often serve *Anog Ite*, whisper malicious things to tattling women, or excite men to jealousy. They may become the familiars of the very old and do their bidding.

The *Niya* is an immaterial god whose substance is visible when It so wills. A *niya* is imparted by *Skan* to each of mankind at birth and abides with the person like a shadow until death, when it lingers with the spirit until the latter goes before *Skan* for judgment. Then it appears to testify regarding

the conduct of the spirit and upon its testimony the spirit is adjudged. When *Skan* has given judgment, the ghost returns whence it came and is no more. Its functions during the life of the person are to cause vitality, to forewarn of good and evil, and to give the power to influence others. When it departs from the body, this is death, though it may depart and return again if the spirit has not left the body.

The *Nagiya* is an immaterial God whose substance may at will be seen in any form it chooses to appear. As separate individuals they are the immaterial selves of material things other than mankind. A *nagiya* is imparted by *Skan* to each thing at its beginning, remains with it until it ceases to be, and then returns whence it came. It can be with the thing and separate from it at the same time, as for instance, when it is with the thing it may at the same time have been given in the endowment of a spirit and taken to the spirit world. It may possess any other thing; for instance, the *nagiya* of the wolf may possess a tree, when the tree will have the nature of a wolf; or, it may possess one of mankind, for example, the *nagiya* of a bear may possess a man when the man will have the nature of a bear. By proper ceremony, its potency can be imparted to inanimate things, as, the potency of the *nagiya* of a poison herb may be imparted to powdered clay, or, the potency of a medicinal thing may be imparted to one of mankind. A thing may be caused by its *nagiya* to speak or act in a supernatural manner and to communicate with mankind.

The *Sicun* is an immaterial God whose substance is never visible. It is the potency of mankind and the emitted potency of the Gods. Considered relative to mankind It is many, but apart from mankind It is one. *Skan* imparts a *sicun* to each of mankind at birth. It remains with the person until death, when it returns whence it came. Its functions are to enable its possessor to do those things which the beasts cannot do and to give courage and fortitude. It may be pleased or displeased with its possessor and may be operative or inoperative according to its pleasure. It may be invoked by ceremony or prayer, but it cannot be imparted to any other person or thing. Most of the Gods can emit their potencies and when so emitted their potencies become *sicunpi*. Such a *sicun* can be imparted to material things by a proper ceremony correctly performed by a Shaman.

A *sicun* so imparted must be clothed by proper wrappings about the material It pervades. The wrappings may be in the form of a pouch, bag, bundle, or any receptacle that will cover and hide the material. The wrapping, the material, and the *sicun*, all together make a *wasicun*. A *sicun* is operative only when It is a part of a *wasicun*. The Oglala concept of a *wasicun* is most nearly expressed in English by the word Fetish, and this word will be so used hereinafter. While a Fetish may be operative

independent of the source of its potency It must be treated with the veneration due to the God that emits its *Sicun*, for in all Its properties It is as that God. Thus, while the *sicun* ranks lowest among the Gods, a Fetish may have the potency of any God, except that of *Skan*, the Great Spirit, and of the Sun, the Chief of the Gods. A Fetish whose *sicun* is a *nagila*, or spirit-like, is potent only to remedy wounds or diseases, or to impose disorders on mankind. Such a Fetish is called *piyaha*, or a medicine bag. The contents of a medicine bag may be either the material, the spirit-like of which is the potency, or material to which potency has been imparted.

Any Oglala who is eligible for conducting a ceremony may choose and have a Shaman prepare for him a Fetish whose potency is commensurable with the ceremonies he may perform. As only Shamans should undertake to conduct ceremonies that pertain to the Superior Gods, so should they only choose Fetishes having the higher potencies. If the potency of any God abides in anything that thing should be the material enclosed in the wrapping of the Fetish pertaining to that God. As the potency of the Sun abides in fire and cannot be imparted to any other thing and as fire cannot be clothed with wrappings, a Fetish having the potency of the Sun cannot be prepared. As the Great Spirit is the source of all power, a Fetish having His potency is not permissible to mankind. The functions of a Fetish are to serve Its possessor with Its supernatural powers which are effective when properly invoked. When preparing a Fetish, the Shaman devises a formula which must be repeated to invoke Its powers.

Other *sicun* are the dissociated spirits that wander over the world; but they are classed with the Malevolent Gods. The Malevolent Gods are dissociated, but rank as follows:—

Iya or *Ibom* is a material God whose substance is visible only at his will. His form is that of an enormous giant man and his predominant property is his appetite. He is the last born son of the Rock and his mother is an *Unktehi* or monster. He has no abiding place and wanders over the world seeking to devour all that he gets into his power. He can swallow at one gulp a host of people or a herd of animals. His breath is a miasma and the cause of many diseases. He is stupid and frequently the butt of pranks by his older brother, *Iktomi*. As *Iya*, he is Lord over other Malevolent Gods and shares in the evils that they devise; as *Ibom* he is a destructive cyclone. He abhors ceremony, fears fire, and flies from an incense of sage or sweetgrass. The smoke of the pipe is repugnant to him.

Gnaski, the Demon, is a material God, whose substance is visible at his will. His form is that of the bull buffalo, like that of the Buffalo God. The people call him the crazy buffalo. He is fierce and cruel, but he may appear as if he were the Buffalo God and thus for the purpose of inciting to

crime or cruelty. He may possess a person and if he controls the spirit, the person is insane; or, if he controls the ghost, the person is paralyzed. He may be exorcised by the incense of sage and sweetgrass and can be controlled by the Fetish of a Shaman.

The *Unktehi* or Monsters, are material gods, whose substance is visible, but they hide under the deep waters. Their forms are those of huge reptiles with horns that can be projected to the clouds and tails that beat down forests. They tear the ground with their claws and make deep ravines; they defile waters and make then unfit for use by mankind; they lurk near shore to capture children, and in deep waters to take adults. These they hold in bondage under the waters or transmogrify them to water animals. The Winged God is forever at war with them and in battle with them they gore the ground making the bad lands, where may be seen the bones of *Unktehi* that were slain. A Shaman whose fetish is of the highest potency can subdue the *Unktehi* and drive them away and can undo their magic deeds.

The *Mini Watu* or Water Sprites are material beings whose substance is visible, except when too small to be seen. Their form is that of maggots and they cause things to rot. They ever seek entrance into the bodies of mankind and lurk in the waters to do so. When in the body they pinch the bowels, or pull the cords of the joints, or beat upon the brain, for they delight in the suffering of mankind. They ever war against the *niya*, or ghost, and if they prevail, the ghost leaves the body. But they may be exorcised in a vitalizing lodge by a Shaman or a medicineman.

The *Can Oti* or Forest Dwellers are elves who wander in lonely places and bewilder mankind so that directions and locations are not recognized. These elves can assume the forms of beasts or birds for the purpose of enticing mankind into their power. The smoke of the pipe or the potency of the Four Winds, can defeat their purposes.

The *Ungla* are goblins who haunt deserted places and lurk at night near tipis where they may appear like gibbering ghosts. They frighten timid people and children and cause distressing dreams. They fear the potency of the Sun and fly from it as it is shown in the light from a fire.

The *Gica* are cunning and malicious manikins who are visible or invisible at their will. They cause accidents and mishaps and prowl at night to do mysterious provoking things. The potency of the Buffalo, or of the Bear, can ward off their activities.

The *nagilapi* of noxious things are classed with the Malevolent Gods.

The potency of a Malignant God can be imparted to a material by a *wicasa hmunga*, or wizard. The material thing is thereby made potent to do that which the God can do and is subservient to its possessor. A Sha-

man can invoke the potency of either, or of all the Malevolent Gods, and make it operative or impotent. The being other than the Gods, with whom a Shaman may have to deal and whose activities the powers of a Fetish can control are as follows:—

Iktomi, the first-born son of the Rock was a God until the Great Spirit dissociated him from the Gods and condemned him to wander forever over the world without friend or associate. He is a material being whose substance is visible or invisible at his will. Because his other parent is the shapeless Winged God, his normal shape is queer, but he may appear as a handsome young man. He has the potencies of a God, but is a misanthropic being, and delights in making others the butts of ridicule. He is crafty and cruel, but is often the victim of his own schemes. He invented languages and gave common names to all things. He can converse with mankind and with the *nagilapi*, but he talks more often with other things. He is often with *Iya*, his younger brother, and then he exercises his birthright of the first-born son, demands obedience of *Iya* and causes him to do ridiculous things. If *Iktomi* is present during a ceremony, he will scheme to make it ridiculous and an offense to the Gods, for he is an imp of mischief. In whatsoever form he may appear, a Shaman can detect him and by the aid of the Fetish restore him to his normal shape and drive him away.

Waziya is the Old Man, the Wizard, who received from *Iktomi* the potencies of a God; because of this the Great Spirit decreed that his ghost should remain with him forever and that he should dwell alone on the world. He is the husband of *Kanka* and the father of *Anog Ite*, and thus the grandfather of the Four Winds. His tipi is the same as that of *Yata*, the North Wind, but *Yata* does not abide in it. He is always seen coming from the direction of his tipi and can enter a tipi or lodge only when the door opens toward the north. In summer and winter he is heavily clothed with furs, for he is cold and his presence causes chilliness. His presence at a ceremony will chill the rites and make the Gods indifferent to them. He is an irascible being and quick to vent his anger, but he may be kind and helpful to one who pleases him. The wandering spirits are his familiars and they do his bidding. He is the adversary of the Shamans and interferes with their works. Sage is repugnant to him and he will not come near it and will leave whenever incense is made of it.

Wakanka is the Old Woman, the Witch, the wife of *Wazi*, and the mother of *Anog Ite*, and so, the grandmother of the Four Winds. She is a seer and because of this she induced her husband to purloin the potency of a God and incited her daughter to profane the disposition of the Sun. She schemed with *Iktomi* to accomplish these things. Because of this the Great Spirit doomed her forever to dwell alone in the world. Her tipi is old, smoky,

and ragged, and is where she places it. She appears to young men and young women as a decrepit woman in want of something, and begs of them for what she wants. According to the disposition that they manifest in their treatment of her, she foretells their good or evil fortune, and may give that which will make her prediction true. If her purposes be evil, a Shaman by the aid of his fetish can thwart her.

Anog Ité is the daughter of *Wazi* and *Kanka*. She was the wife of *Tate* and gave Him four sons at one birth. She was the most beautiful of woman-kind, but was vain. When she was again with child she was incited by the scheming of her mother and *Iktomi*, to attempt an intrigue with the Sun; and thus desecrated the seat of the Moon and brought shame upon *Tate*. Because of this the Great Spirit doomed her to abide on the world forever and to have two faces, one enticingly beautiful, the other so horrible that one seeing it would either flee from her or go mad; to give forth her child without birth, so that it would always be little; and that her children should know her no more as a mother. Having sat in the seat of a God she thereby gained occult powers and so abides on the world. She became ruthless and vindictive and vents her spite on mankind. With her beautiful face she seduces men to embrace her and then shows them her horrid features and drives them to distraction. She foments scandal and jealousies and torments pregnant women; she plagues babes with pains and fears; she promotes illicit love affairs and adultery; she is afraid of old men and old women and abhors the bark and twigs of the cottonwood, for they will fend against her scheming. The Shamans should oppose her, for with the aid of their Fetishes they can overcome her and her works.

The Stars are a supernatural people, the people of the Sky. They are indifferent to the affairs of mankind, but they may come down to the world and mingle with the people, and some of them have married among the Lakota. They are beyond the province of a Shaman, for they are the people of the Great Spirit, who controls them.

The Buffalo People are those who dwell in the regions under the world, and are the people of the Sun. *Waziya* was their chief, but when he was deposed they chose the Buffalo God to be their chief and He is so. They have the power to transmogrify and may appear on the world as animals or as of mankind, and may mingle with the Lakota and become their spouses. They can transmogrify their spouses and take them to the regions under the world.

The offspring of a buffalo person and a Lakota has the powers of its buffalo parent and controls its other parent. A Lakota espoused to a buffalo person, or having buffalo children, can be freed from their control only by a Shaman whose fetish has the potency of the Buffalo God.

A very old man, or a very old woman, because of age and experience may have supernatural powers which they can use for good or evil, and only a Shaman can defeat their harmful purposes.

A woman, during her menstrual flow, is susceptible to control by *Gnaski* and *Anog Ite* and is an easy dupe of *Iktomi*. During this time she should live alone and a Shaman should not permit her presence during a ceremony.

To have game animals submit to their fate and become food for mankind, a Shaman should explain to a captured one that this is its destiny, then decorate it as a mark of friendship, and, freeing it, bid it tell its kind what he said and did to it. A man may so offend game animals that they will escape from hunters, and if so a Shaman should penalize the offending one by making taboo to him some portion of the offended animals.

A Shaman should receive an honorarium for whatsoever he says or does for the benefit of others. The practices of a Shaman must be learned by association with other Shamans.

REGALIA OF THE CANDIDATE.

The Mentor should instruct until he is satisfied that the Candidate understands what the authority, powers, functions, and emoluments of a Shaman are and then he should make sure that the Candidate is provided with the required regalia, which are:—

- A red skirt made of soft tanned deerskin.
- A cape made of otterskin tanned with the fur on.
- Two armlets made of hair shed from a buffalo.
- Two anklets made of rabbitskin tanned with the fur on.
- A whistle made from the ulnar bone of an eagle wing.
- A hoop made of a willow withe.

The Candidate should not be permitted to enter the Sacred Lodge in the ceremonial camp without these regalia, which may be ornamented in any manner the Mentor may permit. The Candidate may also provide himself with such insignia as he is entitled to wear, take them with him into the Sacred Lodge, and wear them while dancing the Sun Dance. He should also be provided with a pipe and sufficient tobacco to last through four days, from the time he enters the Sacred Lodge until the completion of the dance.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CEREMONY.

When these provisions are made, the Mentor should instruct the Candidate relative to his conduct while in the Sacred Lodge, as follows:—

Before entering the Sacred Lodge a Candidate should strip and wear

only a breechclout and moccasins. While in the Lodge he must wear no other clothing, though his attendant may provide him with a robe to wrap about himself to lie upon. After entering the Lodge, he should not leave it until he goes on the trail of the Sun. His attendant should provide the food and drink that he will be permitted to take and should care for his other necessities. While in the lodge he should converse with no one other than the occupants of the lodge, the Mentors, and attendants. He should meditate continually on his undertaking and talk little of other things. He may smoke the pipe and make incense with sage or sweetgrass as often as he pleases. While he is in the Sacred Lodge is a fit time for him to compose a song that will be known as his song. Then, if he becomes a person of distinction the women will sing his song to honor him. He must fast and take no drink from the beginning of the last day he occupies the Sacred Lodge until he has danced the Sun Dance. Only a Shaman can release him from any of the requirements for his conduct while in the Sacred Lodge.

The Mentor, having instructed the Candidate relative to his correct behavior in the Sacred Lodge, should then inform him of the tortures inflicted as part of the rites of the Sun Dance. Such torture should cause the blood to flow, for when the blood flows as a token, it is the surest guarantee of sincerity, and without such a guarantee the people or the Sun may doubt the professed purposes of the dancer. They should cause pain, for to endure pain willingly for the accomplishment of a purpose proves fortitude, the greatest virtue that he must manifest when in the presence of the people he appears before the face of the Sun. The first great virtue, bravery, is made most manifest by enduring the greatest flow of blood and the most suffering that the rites of the Sun Dance demand.

A dancer should endure the torture of gazing at the Sun while dancing, so that no one can say that he did not dare to look into the face of the Sun when making a request of Him. One who endures the tortures to the uttermost of the demands of the rites of the ceremony performs his part in a manner acceptable to the Gods and can expect a communication from them. He is thereby fitted for the accomplishment of the purposes of his dance. These instructions should be continued until the Candidate becomes a dancer in the Dance Lodge, when his formal relation with his Mentor ceases.

DUTIES OF THE PEOPLE.

In the meantime, the people should do their part of the first condition for the ceremony. In addition to providing for the feasts, offerings, and presents, they should provide the necessary equipment. Thus, there should

be provided for each Candidate who is to dance the second, third, or fourth form of the dance:—

A robe.

A dried buffalo tail attached to a long wooden handle.

Two or four strong thongs.

Two or four sharp-pointed sticks made of ash.

The thongs and sticks should be such as will sustain the weight of the Candidate. There should also be provided:—

A new tipi and new poles.

A dried untanned buffalo skin with the hair on.

A portion of dried untanned buffalo skin with the hair removed.

A dried buffalo penis.

A sufficient supply of buffalo chips.

A sufficient supply of red, blue, green, and yellow paints.

A sufficient supply of fat from the loins and heart of a buffalo.

A chopper.

A wooden digging implement.

A red banner.

A drum and drumsticks.

Two or more rattles.

Sixteen stakes of peeled ash.

A head of a buffalo recently taken from the carcass.

As many heads of buffalo recently taken from the carcasses as there are candidates to dance the second form.

The material necessary for the erection of the Sun Dance lodge.

The articles of the equipment may be provided at any time before they are required for use. When they are provided they may be consecrated by Shamans with such ceremony as they deem proper. An article thus consecrated is thereby made taboo to the one who provides it and becomes the property of the first who takes it.

THE JOURNEY OF THE BANDS TO THE SUN DANCE SITE.

The location of the ceremonial camp circle is selected by common consent. The requisites are proximity to water, growing cottonwood, and sufficient wood. The site for the circle should be nearly level so that there will be no obstructions to the rites. It should be chosen and announced in time for all bands that are to attend the ceremony to journey to it in a leisurely fashion.

Each band should canvas this journey so that the magistrate may know its pleasure in regard to the movement. He should appoint the marshals and scouts of the movement and the day for the beginning of the journey,

so that it will be completed not less than four days before the ceremonial camp ought to be established. From the time this journey begins, until the band locates its camp after leaving the place where the ceremony is performed, each day is a holiday for the band. Then the potency of the Whirlwind pervades the movements and encampments and all are bent on pleasure. The people jest and have sports that all may be merry; the old men sound their rattles to ward against *Iktomi* and his pranks; the young men woo; and the old women make incense of twigs or bark of cottonwood to foil *Anog Ite*.

Before beginning each day's journey, the magistrate, the marshals of movement, and the scouts should go apart from the people, and the magistrate should offer smoke to the Four Winds and pray to him for good weather; and to the Sky and pray for His care while the band is moving. When all are ready, the magistrate should send the scouts ahead on the route he has chosen and the marshals of the movement back to the people. Then the ordinary organization of the camp is in abeyance until the people are again encamped. The magistrate should lead the movement of the band and the marshals should maintain compliance with the Oglala customs that govern such movements. The movement of the band should not be faster than the slowest member of the band can travel and it may be as leisurely as the distance will permit. At the end of each fourth of the distance to be traveled in a day the magistrate should sit and light his pipe. This is the signal for all to unburden for rest and refreshment. When the fourth signal is given the people should encamp. When the tipis are set up, the ordinary organization of the camp is resumed.

The band should journey in this manner each day until it arrives at the place for the ceremonial camp. If two bands come together on their journey they should coalesce, according to the customs of the Oglala; but as bands, they may each contend with the other in friendly contests and games.

During the journey and until they enter the Sacred Lodge, the Candidates should keep aloof from the people and have no part in their levities. All who intend to participate in the ceremony should complete this journey so as to coalesce with the other bands on the day when the Moon is four bands' breadth above the edge of the world, when the Sun goes down out of sight, for on that day the preliminary Sun Dance camp should be established, its council lodge erected, and a council fire built. The preliminary camp is for the purpose of completing the organization to take effect at dawn of the day when the ceremonial camp is to be established. The duration of the preliminary camp should be four days preceding the establishment of the ceremonial camp and during these four days the people

may spend their time in social intercourse and merry-making. Then young women should seek spears of grama grass that bear four heads, for their possession insures good luck in love affairs.

THE FIRST DAY'S CEREMONY.

On the first day, soon after the council fire is made, the Mentors and Candidates should assemble in the council lodge and the Mentor of the Candidate who first announced his candidacy should fill and light a pipe and all should smoke in communion. When all have been thus harmonized, the seat at the place of honor in the lodge should be occupied in the following manner:—

If the Mentor of the Candidate who first announced his candidacy is a Shaman he should occupy this seat. If he is not a Shaman, or declines to occupy the seat, then the Mentors should choose a Shaman, one of the Mentors if practicable, to occupy the seat. The one who occupies this seat thereby becomes the Superior of the ceremony and as the head of the organization for the ceremonial camp will have supervision over all that occurs in that camp.

The other Mentors are the councilors of the camp. The Superior should appoint all who are to participate in the ceremonies to be performed in the Dance Lodge other than those who are entitled to so participate. At this assembly he should appoint a herald and marshals of the ceremony and paint on the cheek of each, the insignum of his office with an additional red stripe to indicate that he is an officer of a sacred ceremony. Then the assembly may discuss matters pertaining to the ceremony and adjourn. This completes the formalities for the first day of the preliminary camp.

THE SECOND DAY.

Early on the second day the council of the Bear God should assemble at the council lodge. This council is composed of the Superior, the Mentors, the Candidates, and such Shamans, chiefs, and councilors as may wish to take part in their deliberations. The Superior should fill and light a pipe, offer it to the Four Winds and ask a blue day of Him, and then to the Bear God and pray Him for wisdom to control the deliberations of the council. Then he should again fill and light the pipe and pass it so that all may smoke in communion. While they are smoking he should incense with sweetgrass. When all are thus harmonized and the potency of the Mediator made

effective, the mothers who wish to have their babes' ears pierced should announce the fact and the names of those they have chosen to fulfil this rite. Next, the parents who wish to place their children in the procession to the Sacred Tree should announce their names. Then the maidens who wish to be appointed as female attendants for the dancers should announce their desires. Then the women who wish to chop the Sacred Tree should announce the reasons for their eligibility. Then anyone may propose another appointment to any of these offices. When these matters have been placed before the council it should deliberate upon them. Then the council should partake of the Feast of the Bear God which should be provided by the women who appeared before the council. The principal food of this feast should be the flesh of the dog. This feast completes the formalities of the second day of the preliminary camp. The red-striped marshals should urge that every article of the equipment for the performance of the ceremony be provided before the establishment of the ceremonial camp.

THE THIRD DAY.

Early on the third day the herald of the camp should proclaim that the Superior is about to announce the names of those appointed as the hunter (scout), the digger, the escort, and the musicians. The people should assemble about the council lodge, where the Superior should make these announcements. As each announcement is made, the red-striped herald should loudly proclaim it and the one so appointed should present himself so that the Superior may apply the insignum of his office. For the hunter, there should be a circle of red paint around his right eye; for the digger, a stripe of red paint horizontally applied to his right cheek and red paint applied to the palms of his hands; for the musicians, a circle of red paint applied around the mouth; for the escort, a horizontal stripe of red paint applied across the forehead. The functions of the hunter are to find and mark the Sacred Tree; of the digger, to dig the hole for the erection of the Sacred Pole and the space for the altar in the Dance Lodge. There should be four drummers, four rattlers, and a choir of as many men and women as the Superior sees fit to appoint. The escort should be as many reputable brave men as the Superior chooses to appoint; preferably, they should be members of the various societies represented in the camp. Their functions are to escort the Superior and Mentors when they go in procession to perform rites pertaining to the ceremony and to lead in the battles against the Malevolent Gods and beings to be fought on the site of the ceremonial camp.

When these appointments have been made the Superior, in the presence of the people, decorates the buffalo head, and invokes the potency of the Buffalo God to prevail in the ceremonial camp. He should do this in the following manner:—

The buffalo head which was previously provided should be placed near the council lodge so that it faces the Sun. A fire of buffalo chips should be made beside it. The Superior should sit before it while the Mentors sit in a circle around it. The women who color the parting of their hair red to signify that they have had the Buffalo Ceremony performed for their benefit should sit in a circle about the Mentors and the people should form the outer circle. The Superior should fill and light a pipe from the fire of chips and blow smoke into the nostrils of the buffalo head and then, with the fire of chips, he should make an incense of sweetgrass and while it smokes the women seated in the circle should contribute ornaments. The Superior should attach these ornaments to the horns of the buffalo head and then address the potency of the Buffalo God that abides in the head, telling it that the ornaments are tokens of the esteem of the people for the Buffalo God and praying it to pervade the ceremonial camp. When he has made this address he should give the buffalo head into the keeping of the red-striped marshals and instruct them to produce it when the Sacred Lodge is erected.

Then the herald of the camp should proclaim that the feast of buffalo tongues is ready to be served and invite all to partake of it. This feast should be provided by the bands of the Candidates, each band vying to produce the most abundant supply of fresh or dried buffalo tongues. The feast should be prepared and served by the women of the bands that make the provision. It should be served so that each one present may have at least a bit of buffalo tongue, for the feast is in honor of and a propitiation to the Buffalo God who is the patron of generosity and hospitality. This is the last feast that the Candidates should be permitted to attend until after they have danced the Sun Dance and therefore they should be served with an abundance of food, not less than an entire buffalo tongue for each. This feast completes the formalities of the third day of the ceremonial camp and may be prolonged far in the night.

THE FOURTH DAY.

Early in the morning of the fourth day the marshal of the camp should summon the people to assemble and hear the will of the Superior. When the people are assembled, the Superior should announce the names of the

women appointed to chop the Sacred Tree and the name of the woman who to fell it. These women should be mothers noted for their industry and hospitality, preferably such as have had kindred slain in war. To be appointed to chop the Sacred Tree is a lasting honor and to fell it entitles the woman to wear a stripe of red paint across her forehead, for she thereby becomes, *Ina*, or *Mama*, to all the *hunkaya* of the people. The *hunkaya* are those who are held in such esteem that they are addressed as adopted relatives. The functions of these women are to chop the Sacred Tree until it is about to fall and then the one who is to fell it should strike the last blows that cut it down. When the announcement of the appointment of these women is made, the camp herald should loudly proclaim it so that all may hear.

Then the Superior should announce the names of female relatives of the Candidates who will be permitted in the Dance Lodge to sing and shout encouragement to the dancers and to give them such assistance or relief as will be permitted. These names the herald should loudly proclaim. When these appointments are made the maidens to be appointed as female attendants should be tested. The Superior should sit with the maidens desiring appointment in a circle around him and the people should assemble about this circle. Then the herald should loudly call the name of each maiden who when called should stand and declare that she has never had carnal intercourse with a man. Anyone may challenge her declaration. If she is challenged and remains silent, it is considered that she is not a maiden. But she may stand and repeat the declaration and bite a snakeskin, or the rattle of a snake. If her challenger is then silent, her declaration is considered true. If the challenge is repeated, the challenger must also bite the snake, but if he does not, it is considered that his challenge is a slander. If he does, then a decision should be held in abeyance until a snake decides by biting the one who gave false testimony, as a snake will surely do.

When the maidens have made their declarations, the Superior should appoint as female attendants of the dancers those whose declarations have not been challenged, or who have freed themselves from accusation by biting the snake. The names of those thus appointed should be loudly proclaimed by the camp marshal. Then the feast of the maidens should be given by the relatives and friends of the appointees. Only women should partake of this feast, but when it is over, the women's dance may be danced; each woman who dances chooses a man to dance beside her. This festivity should cease when the setting Sun is a hand's breadth above the edge of the world. Then the Superior and the Mentors should go together to the top of a nearby hill and there the Superior should fill and light a pipe, and offer it to the Four Winds and pray Him to give blue days for the ceremony. Then, as the Sun

disappears from sight he should extend the mouthpiece of the pipe toward Him, and pray Him to look with favor on the ceremonial camp, so that the people may be happy and perform their part of the ceremony in an acceptable manner.

At dusk that day all should retire to their tipis and there should be no games or merry-making. That night no one other than the marshals should go abroad in the camp; but those whose faces are painted black may go outside the camp and on the hills wail songs to the spirits of those they mourn.

THE SECOND FOUR DAY PERIOD.

The next four days, when the final ceremonial camp should be maintained, are the four holy days of midsummer, when it is meet to perform ceremonies that pertain to the Gods. Then the Earth has caused the ground to bring forth the grass to fatten the buffalo and the fruits for the benefit of mankind and all things that grow from the ground. The Winged God has caused these things to grow and ripen. *Skan*, *Tate*, and *Okaga* pervade all above the world, and *Wi* smiles upon all. Therefore, the Oglala should rejoice and show happiness by having ceremonies in honor of the Gods.

When the first holy day dawns, the red herald should proclaim through the preliminary camp that the Superior has authority over all, and that one who will not submit to his authority should take no further part in the Sun Dance ceremony. He should also proclaim that one knowing himself to be unworthy to appear before the face of the Sun should not enter the ceremonial camp circle, because if such a one appears in the ceremonial camp the Sun will hide His face with a veil of clouds until the offending one withdraws, or until the Winged God sweeps or washes away the offense.

When the red herald has made these proclamations the people should quickly prepare for the rites to be performed on this day and the Superior, Mentors, and Candidates should go in procession so as to be on top of a nearby hill when the Sun begins His daily journey. If His face is hidden they should return to the people and the red herald should proclaim the command of the Superior that the unworthy withdraw from the camp. The red marshals should seek the cause of offense and if they find it, they should expel it from the camp. Then the Superior should offer the lighted pipe to the Four Winds and pray Him to give a blue day, that is, a day of sunshine that is neither too cold nor too hot for comfort. When this is done all should wait until the Sun shows His face. When He does so, the Superior in the presence of the Mentors and the Candidates should extend the mouthpiece of a lighted pipe toward Him, and pray the *Wakan Tanka*

through Their chief, the Sun, to be gracious and grant the people Their favor, and an effectual performance of the Sun Dance to the Candidates.

When this rite is over the Superior should command the escort to fight the Malevolent Gods and beings and drive them from the site of the ceremonial camp. Then the escort and such others as wish to aid them should charge upon the site as if against an enemy, and shouting war cries, strike, thrust, and shoot arrows as if fighting a visible foe. This they should do back and forth, all about the site, and the evil ones will be driven from it. When this rite is completed, the red herald should proclaim the site freed from harmful things and that the Superior will then locate the Sacred Spot. Then the Superior, Mentors, and Candidates should form a procession, accompanied by the escort, and followed by the people. This procession should circle the site, spirally approaching the center, and as they near it, the Superior with his Fetish in hand should scan the ground for an indication of the Sacred Spot, and when he sees it he should extend his Fetish which will draw his hands to the spot. The digger should drive a stake in the ground at the Sacred Spot to mark its location. The Superior should make a great smoke from buffalo chips, as an incense to propitiate the Buffalo God. When this is done the red herald should proclaim that the Sacred Spot is located and the site made ready to be occupied. Then the people should shout and sing joyfully, the women ululate, and all should hasten to erect their tipis in the ceremonial camp circle that should have the Sacred Spot for its center, and its entrance toward the east. The tipi of the Superior should be placed at the chief place of the circle and the council lodge on the area near it.

While the people are establishing the ceremonial camp circle the Superior should locate the Sacred Lodge in the following manner. He should begin at the Sacred Spot and walk four paces toward the entrance of the camp circle and there pause. The digger should drive into the ground where the Superior paused one of the stakes provided with the equipment. Then the Superior should go four paces in the same direction, and again pause. There the digger should drive another stake. This should be repeated until the digger has driven all sixteen of the stakes provided with the equipment, so that they will be on a straight line from the Sacred Spot to the entrance. These stakes mark the Sun Trail of the camp. When the trail is so marked no one should walk on or across it, except when necessary in the performance of duties. The last stake driven locates the door of the Sacred Lodge which should open toward the south.

SACRED LODGE ERECTED.

When this location is established the Sacred Lodge should be erected in the following manner. It should be the new tipi and poles provided with the equipment. The women who are to chop the Sacred Tree should erect these poles and then the Superior should paint a dab of red on the inner side of each pole and paint red on the ears and door flap of the covering. When this is done the women should place and pin the covering.

When this lodge is thus erected the mentors should prepare it for occupation by the Candidates by each making a bed of sage in it for his Candidate and the Superior should prepare in it an altar between the fireplace and the place of honor. Then he should place beside the altar the ornamented buffalo head, so that it will face toward the place of honor.

When the Sacred Lodge is thus prepared the Candidates should enter it. They should be conducted through the door and to their beds by their Mentors. The first to enter the lodge should be the one who first announced his candidacy, but if he has declined this honor the Candidates should choose another to take it. The first who enters should be conducted to the place of honor and seated there. He is thereby made the leader of the Sun Dance. When all the Candidates have entered the Sacred Lodge, the Superior should fill and light a pipe, and pass it so that all in the lodge may smoke in communion. When all have been thus harmonized, the Mentors should give such instructions as they deem necessary, and then depart. After this, the attendants may come and go into the Sacred Lodge as the wants of the Candidates may demand; but only the Mentors and the attendants should come near the Sacred Lodge or attempt to talk with its occupants. Soon after the Candidates occupy the lodge the attendants should bring them the robes that have been provided.

SCOUTING FOR THE TREE.

During the erection of the Sacred Lodge, the Superior should order the hunter, or scout, to go and search for game, and if he should see signs of an enemy, to return and report to him. The hunter should go, prepared as if for hunting, and when he comes to growing cottonwood, he should select a growing cottonwood tree, the butt of which should not be less than two spans in circumference. The tree should be straight, and forked at a height of about four times the distance from hand to hand when the arms are outstretched. He should mark this tree with circles of red paint, on

the west, north, east, and south sides. This tree is thereby made the Sacred Tree and its *nagila* endowed with extraordinary potency so that it can bring disaster on anyone who profanes it by treating it as other trees are treated. Having so marked this tree, the hunter should return to the camp and privately report to the Superior that he has found an enemy near the camp.

BUILDING THE SUN LODGE.

As soon as the tipis are set up to form the ceremonial camp circle, the bands should detail a number of men as workmen who should immediately begin the erection of the Dance Lodge and work at it continuously until it is completed, which should be not later than midday of the third holy day. The people should bring the material provided for the erection of the Dance Lodge and help the workmen. The red marshals should supervise the erection of the lodge and have it made large enough to accommodate all who may participate in the ceremonies to be performed in it. It should be circular in form with the Sacred Spot as its center. It should enclose a covered space that surrounds an uncovered space with an uncovered entrance toward the south.

The covered space should be made by placing two rows of forked posts upright in the ground, the rows four arms' length apart and the posts so placed that poles can be laid from the fork of one to the fork of another and so that the poles on the outer row of posts will be as high as a short man can reach and the poles on the inner row as high as a tall man can reach. Poles should be laid from post to post and other poles on these, so as to form a support for leafy branches that should be placed so as to form a sheltering cover. Poles should be tied from post to post of the outer row, so as to make a support for leafy branches that should be attached so as to form an outer wall for the lodge.

While the workmen erect the Dance Lodge, the digger should dig the Sacred Spot with his wooden digging implement and there make a hole in which the Sacred Pole should be erected. Then he should make a large altar near this hole, between it and the place of honor in the Dance Lodge.

During the time of the erection and preparation of the Dance Lodge, no one should loiter in or about it.

The various societies represented in the ceremonial camp may erect their lodges anywhere on the area, except at the entrance, the chief place, or the places for the Sacred and Dance Lodges.

THE BUFFALO FEAST.

When the Candidates have occupied the Sacred Lodge, the Superior should order the red herald to proclaim that the buffalo procession will be formed. It should be formed near the council lodge with the Superior and Mentors at the head, followed by the escort, and then by all the people who are not otherwise occupied in preparation for the ceremony. The procession should move four times around the inside of the camp circle. This is to propitiate the Buffalo God and the Whirlwind God, for it is meet to please these Gods on the first holy day, because They are the patrons of domestic affairs and of love-making. Therefore, families march together in this procession, though young men and young women may walk side by side. The people should shout and sing in praise of these Gods and call aloud sentiments appropriate to the occasion. The young men and young women may make love and if one of them has a four-headed spear of grama grass it should be openly shown while marching. When the procession arrives at the council lodge the fourth time it should disperse.

Then the women should hasten to prepare food for the buffalo feast and when it is ready the red herald should proclaim an invitation for the old, the poor, and the needy to partake of it. These should assemble in a circle on the area, with the people about them. The women should place the food in the midst of the guests. A Shaman should dance the buffalo dance and in the meantime he should dedicate the food in each vessel with his Fetish, to the God of generosity, the Buffalo God. Then the women should select titbits which the attendants carry to the Candidates; next, they should serve the guests, that is, the old, the poor, and the needy; and finally, they should serve the people.

The festivities may be prolonged until the Sun is about half a hand breadth above the edge of the world, when all should solemnly wait while the Superior and Mentors go to the top of a nearby hill, and there, as the Sun disappears from sight, offer Him smoke, and pray Him to heed the words of the Buffalo which He will speak that night in commendation of the people.

At dusk the young men may sound the flute and young women go to trysting places, while the old men shake their rattles and the old women make incense of the bark or twigs of cottonwood. When it is dark the Superior and Mentors carrying their Fetishes should go around outside the camp circle and drive away such evil beings as may lurk near the camp. Then they should visit the Candidates to instruct or admonish them. This concludes the formalities of the first holy day.

Far into the night there may be social gatherings on the area and in the tipis. Men and women should treat each other on terms of equality and with friendly hilarity.

GREETING THE SUN.

When the second holy day dawns the red herald should proclaim that *Anp*, the forerunner of the Sun announces that it will be a blue day, or if the dawn indicates that clouds will hide the face of the Sun when He begins His daily journey, then the herald should proclaim that the forerunner, *Anp*, tells that the Sun will hide His face because of some offense in the camp. Then the escort, and such others as wish to join them, should immediately do battle on the area and about the tipis against the *Can Oti*, *Ungla*, and *Gica*, and other malevolent beings that may chance to lurk in or about the camp. While they are doing so the Superior and Mentors, each carrying his Fetish in his hand, should march in procession, accompanied by the red herald and red marshals, around inside the camp circle, and each should invoke his Fetish to remove from the camp all causes of offense to the Sun. The herald should proclaim that if anyone knows himself to be unworthy to appear before the Sun, he must withdraw from the camp. If the marshals know of one whose reputation is such as to be offensive to the Sun they should expel him from the camp. These things should be done each morning of the holy days. When they are done all should await the pleasure of the Sun which He will manifest by showing His face. If on any day He should not show His face then that day is not counted as a holy day, but enough days are so counted as to make four. Each holy day when the Sun first shows His face the Superior and Mentors should formally greet Him and beg His favor for that day.

CAPTURE OF THE TREE.

On the second holy day, after the escort has driven evil beings from the camp and the Superior has formally greeted the Sun, the red herald should proclaim that the people form for the procession of the Bear God. Then a procession should form and march as on the previous day, but it should be done without levity. When the procession disperses, the Superior should command the red herald to proclaim that the hunter has reported that an enemy is near the camp. He then should command the escort to go in search of the enemy and if found take him captive. The escort, and those who wish to join them, should search all about in the vicinity of the camp,

as if looking for signs of an enemy. Soon they should return and report to the Superior that no signs of an enemy have been found. The Superior should command them to go and search again, and they should do as before. This is repeated until the fourth time, when the escort finds the Sacred Tree. They should surround it, jeering and taunting it, and then rush upon it, strike it, and bind a thong about it.

When they have done this they should return to the camp singing a victory song and shouting like victorious returning warriors. The people should greet their return with songs and shouts of joy and the women should ululate shrilly. The escort should report to the Superior that the enemy has been found and made captive and the herald should proclaim this to the people who should rejoice and shout and sing warrior songs. The Superior should then command the red herald to proclaim the formation of the procession that is to bring the enemy into the camp. The procession should be formed with the Superior and Mentors leading, followed by the escort, the mothers bearing babes whose ears are to be pierced, the children whose parents wish thus to honor them, the women who are to chop the Sacred Tree, and finally, the people. The procession should go, if practicable, so as to cross running water at its second pause. At about one fourth the distance to the Sacred Tree, the Superior should halt and light a pipe and all should wait until he has smoked a few whiffs. Then the procession should move on until one half the distance is covered; there again the Superior should halt as before, and if there is running water there he should strike it four times with his Fetish, to drive from it the *Mini Watu*, or evil water creatures that can infect the people. Again, at three fourths the distance all should halt as before. Then the procession should go to the tree and surround it. Now the Superior may harangue the people and should proclaim aloud four times the name of some reputable man, preferably one who is renowned for war deeds. The one so named should come forward and take the chopper and may recite the deeds that make him eligible to strike the Sacred Tree. When he has done so, he should strike the Sacred Tree on the west side four times with the chopper, and if he can do so, leave the chopper sticking in the tree. This should be repeated until four men have struck the tree, each four times, first on the west, then the north, then the east, and then on the south. The *nagila* of the tree is thus subdued and made subservient to the people.

When this is done, the children who are to be honored are placed in line, and the herald, beginning at one end of the line should call the names of the children successively as they stand, and when a name is so called those wishing to honor the child should come forward and give it presents. When this is done, the Superior should command that the Sacred Tree be felled. Then the women appointed to chop the Sacred Tree should do so, relieving

each other so that all may have a chance. When the tree is about to fall the woman chosen to fell it should strike the last blows that cut it down. As the tree falls, the people should sing and shout and ululate for joy because it is now their servant. To ululate one should utter a prolonged sound in high or falsetto key, patting the lips with the fingers while doing so. This is an expression of intensity of emotion.

When the tree is down it should be trimmed and the bark peeled from it to its smaller end. The bark should be left on the fork at the smaller end. This is the Sacred Pole. Pregnant women, and women who have young babes will eagerly gather the twigs that are trimmed from the tree, for they are powerfully effective against *Anog Ite*.

After the Superior pronounces the pole Sacred, it should not be touched by hands that are not painted red. Then it should be carried to the camp in the following manner:— A sufficient number of carrying sticks should be placed under it and the carriers should lift it on these without touching it with their hands and carry it, butt forward, toward the camp. When about one fourth the distance to be carried, the carriers should halt and lay the Sacred Pole on the ground. Then they should howl like wolves, for this is the cry of returning warriors who come bringing a captive. Then another relay of carriers should lift and carry the pole in the same manner to half the distance, where they should lay it down and howl as did the first relay. Then another relay should carry it in the same manner as before, to three fourths the distance, where they should lay it down and howl.

Then the messenger race should be run in this manner:— The young men who desire to run this race should stand side by side in a line at the Sacred Pole, and starting at a signal should race for the Sacred Spot. The first to place his hand on the Sacred Spot; or in the hole for the erection of the Sacred Pole is thereby entitled to carry a red coup stick, or a banner of feathers. A runner in this race should obstruct his competitors in any manner he can. Thus a runner in this race may be seriously injured by a blow or a fall.

After the race of the messengers the fourth relay of carriers should lift and carry the pole as before, taking it through the entrance to the camp circle and into the Dance Lodge, where they should lay it down with the forked end toward the east and the butt at the hole prepared for its erection. It should be so placed that when it is erected it will follow the course of the Sun. When the Sacred Pole is laid in the Dance Lodge the people may disperse, but the Superior and Mentors should then mix the paints and fats supplied with the equipment, and they, or others, whose hands are painted red, should paint the Sacred Pole, so that its west side will be red, its north blue, its east green, and its south side yellow.

The fork of the pole should not be painted and the paint should be so

applied to the body of the pole that when erect the opening of the fork will be toward the west and east. While others are painting the Sacred Pole one of the Mentors should cut from the dried buffalo skins without hair, provided with the equipment, the figures of a bull buffalo and of a man, each with exaggerated genitals, and painted black. When the Sacred Pole is painted, all but the Superior, Mentors, and Shamans should be excluded from the Dance Lodge. Those remaining should sit in a circle around the black images, and by incantation, impart to the image of a man the potency of *Iya*, the patron God of libertinism, and to the image of the buffalo the potency of *Gnaski*, the Crazy Buffalo, the patron God of licentiousness. When thus prepared, these images should be carefully wrapped and bound so as to restrain them until they are elevated.

When the people disperse from the Dance Lodge the societies may give feasts, one or more at the same time, but all should unite in feasting. During this feast, each society should be grouped, and each served by its women folks before the people are served. After feasting, each society may dance its dances and such others as the regulations of the society will permit, may dance with them. These festivities may continue far into the night, but they should cease while the Superior greets the Sun as He disappears from sight.

When it is dark that night the Superior and Mentors should again go in procession about the camp for the same purposes as on the previous night, and then visit the Candidates in the Sacred Lodge. This completes the formalities of the second holy day.

THE PROCESSION OF SEX.

From dawn on the third holy day until the Sun shows His face, the same rites should be performed as on the preceding day. Then the herald should call the people to form the procession of sex in which children take no part. It should form near the council lodge, the women in front and the men behind, with an interval between the sexes. This procession should march around inside the camp circle four times, the women with song and speech lauding the Earth and the Feminine, while the men in the same manner laud the Sky and the Wind. When this procession returns to the starting place the fourth time, it should disperse, and then the Superior and Mentors should go to the Sacred Lodge, and remind the Candidates that they may drink, but take no food on that day.

RAISING THE SUN POLE.

They should then go in procession on the Sun Trail to the Dance Lodge and enter it. There the Superior should prepare the Fetish of the Sun Dance, making it of four times four wands of chokecherry wood and enclosing in it a wisp of sage, one of sweetgrass, and a tuft of shed buffalo hair. He may also enclose in it such trinkets or ornaments as the people give for that purpose. When this bundle is securely bound, the Superior, assisted by such Shamans as he may select, should, with the aid of his Fetish and by proper ceremony, impart to it the potency of the Buffalo God so that when it is elevated the Buffalo God will prevail in the camp.

Then he should securely bind this Fetish to one fork of the Sacred Pole. When he has done this, he should prepare the banner of the Shamans, making it of some red material that will wave. It should be four arms' length long and four hands' breadth wide, with a wand at one end to keep it spread. This end of the banner should be securely fastened to the fork of the Sacred Pole other than that to which the Fetish is bound. The Fetish and banner should be so securely fastened that they will not be loosened by blows or shooting with arrows.

While the Superior is preparing the Fetish and banner, men whose hands are painted red should prepare the Sacred Pole for erection by tying to it thongs with which to pull it erect. Then a *heyoka* to whom the Winged God has granted a communication should loosely tie to each fork of the Sacred Pole the black images of a man and a buffalo, so that when the pole is erect they will be above the Fetish and the banner, and so that they can be brought down by blows or shooting with arrows.

Then at the command of the Superior the men with red hands should lift the Sacred Pole to about one fourth the distance to the perpendicular and pause, holding it there while the herald proclaims that the Sacred Pole is going up. The people should assemble about the Dance Lodge, men and women grouped apart. At the command of the Superior the men with red hands should lift the pole half way to the perpendicular and pause. During this pause those who wish to do so should make offerings to the Earth by placing the articles offered in the hole at the Sacred Spot. When these offerings are made the Superior should again command the red-handed men to lift the pole and they should raise it to about three-fourths of perpendicular and there pause. Then the herald should proclaim that the Gods elevated on the Sacred Pole must prevail in the camp. Then the Superior should command the men to raise the Sacred Pole erect and they should lift and pull it so with its butt in the hole at the Sacred Spot. When the pole

is erect the digger should replace the dirt taken from the hole and tamp it about the pole so that it will stand firmly when bearing the weight of a struggling man.

Then the people may shout the names of *Iya* and *Gnaski* and protest that these Gods prevail in the camp. Immediately, men and women commingle and then follows a period of license when they banter each other and jest of sexual things. At that time a man or a woman may be familiar with one of the opposite sex in a manner that would be an indignity at other times, and the ribald merriment may become boisterous.

When the Superior sees fit, he should command the herald to proclaim that the escort and the warriors come and dance the war dance and drive the obscene Gods from the camp. Those thus called should equip themselves as if for battle and come into the Dance Lodge. There they should dance the war dance on the uncovered space, hooting the obscene Gods hung on the Sacred Pole and shooting and throwing and striking at them until they fall. When these obscene Gods fall, the warriors should strike and trample them as they dance the victory dance and the women should shout their approval and ululate for joy. The Superior should quickly make an incense of buffalo chips on the altar, to appease the elevated Fetish and when the chips have burned to coals he should scorch the fallen images on these coals and thereby destroy their potency for evil. Then he should lean the dried buffalo penis against the Sacred Pole with a pipe beside it, thus making effective the potency of the Fetish to maintain decency in the camp. He should then sprinkle a covering of cedar leaves and twigs over the altar, for these are potent to ward against the anti-natural conduct of the Winged God and of the *heyoka*. The warriors should continue to dance the victory dance, stamping and striking uneven places on the uncovered space until it is made sufficiently level to dance upon easily.

In the meantime, the Mentors and attendants should prepare the Dance Lodge for the forms of the Sun Dance that their Candidates are to dance. For those who are to dance the second form, the buffalo heads should be placed beside the Sacred Pole; for those to dance the third form, the stakes should be fixed upright firmly in the ground of the uncovered space; for those to dance the fourth form, the thongs should be fixed to the Sacred Pole, and for those to dance the fourth form actually suspended, the thongs should be passed through the fork of the Sacred Pole.

When the warriors stop dancing they should leave the Dance Lodge. Then the musicians should bring a dance drum and fix it on its supports not far from the entrance on the covered space at the left of the Dance Lodge, and they should place four or eight rattles beside the drum. The attendants should bring the dried buffalo hide with the hair on and the

buffalo tails attached to handles, and place them next to the drum toward the honor place in the lodge. The mothers who intend to have their babes' ears pierced should make a bed of sage for each babe, placing them at the inner edge of the covered space, between the articles already placed and the uncovered space.

When these things are done, the Dance Lodge is prepared for the Sun Dance and all should go from it and none enter it until after the Candidates enter to dance. In the meantime, the women should prepare the feast of the Shamans and when all come from the Dance Lodge it should be served, first to the Shamans, who should sit near the council lodge and then to the people, who should sit about the Shamans. During this feast the Shamans may intone addresses to the Gods, or either of Them, but all others should eat in silence. As the Sun is almost disappearing from sight the Shamans should first offer smoke to the Four Winds and then to the Sun and invoke His approbation of what has been done and what is to be done and the people should respond by shouting, "*Nunwe*," which means, "May it be so."

At dusk all the people should go to their tipis and remain quietly there until the morrow. When it is dark the Superior and Mentors should go in procession to drive away the evil beings, as they did on the previous night. Then they should visit the Candidates to give them the last aid and instructions they will receive in the Sacred Lodge. This will complete the formalities of the third holy day.

GREETING THE SUN ON THE FOURTH, OR MID-YEAR DAY.

The Oglala regard the fourth holy day above all other days, for it is the mid-year day. They anticipate a joyful time on that day, whether on their part it is devoted to ceremonies or spent as a mere holiday. Therefore, they are apt to be astir before dawn. Just before dawn, the herald should make a proclamation that the people prepare themselves to appear before the face of the Sun and all should bedeck themselves with their best attire and ornaments and wear or carry such insignia as they are entitled to have. As the Sun appears, the Shamans, Superior, and Mentors should be at the top of a nearby hill and greet Him as on previous mornings. Then a Shaman should invoke the Sky to give strength and endurance to the Candidates so that they all may dance the Sun Dance to its completion. Another Shaman should invoke the Bear God to give wisdom to the Superior and the Mentors, so that the ceremony held that day may be acceptable to the Gods.

They should then return to the camp and the Superior and Mentors

should assemble in the council lodge to deliberate relative to the proceedings on that day. While they are deliberating, the vows of the young braves should be made in the following manner:— Young men who take part in this charge thereby obligate themselves in the presence of the Sun, each to do his duty as a warrior against an enemy of the people. The braves should form in line near the chief place of the camp and at a signal run to, and four times around, the Dance Lodge. They should repeat this from the north, east, and south sides of the areas. Then the people should assemble on both sides of the Sun Trail and the Superior and Mentors should go in procession from the council lodge to the Sacred Lodge, each intoning prayers to his Fetish as he marches.

PREPARATION OF THE CANDIDATES.

When they arrive at the Sacred Lodge they should go around it four times, enter, and array the Candidates for the dance. Each Mentor should paint his candidate's feet and hands red: Then he should place the symbolic color of the Sky on him so as to indicate the form of the dance he is to do. If he is to dance the second form, a stripe of blue should be painted across his shoulders; if the third form, across his shoulders and chest; if the fourth form, across his chest and forehead. Then he should paint on the person of the Candidate the design he devised to be the Candidate's totem. Then he should fasten about the Candidate's waist the red skirt, place around his shoulders the otterskin cape, on his arms the buffalo hair armlets, around his ankles the rabbitskin anklets, and then place such insignia as the Candidate is entitled to wear. He should then place on the Candidate's head, a wreath of sage and in his right hand a wisp of sage.

When all the Candidates are arrayed, the leader should lift the ornamented buffalo head and carry it as if it were looking in the direction he moves. Then the Candidates and Mentors should come out of the Sacred Lodge, the leader first. They should form for a procession, the Superior in front, next after him the leader, and then the other Candidates and Mentors, side by side. When they come out of the Sacred Lodge, the attendants should immediately take it down, and carrying the robes of the Candidates, follow in the procession. The procession should move on the trail of the Sun, on the south side of the stakes. As they approach a stake anyone wishing to make an offering to the Sun may place it on the stake and anyone who wishes to do so may take the offering, when it becomes the property of the one who takes it. When the Superior arrives at a stake he should pause a moment and after the Candidates pass a stake the attend-

ants should immediately pull it from the ground. Thus, the Sacred Lodge and the Sun trail are demolished as soon as the Candidates have used them, so that no one can profane them. While marching on the Sun Trail the Candidates should wail as if mourning, and the Mentors should intone prayers to their Fetishes.

When the procession arrives at the Dance Lodge it should pause at the entrance and the Candidates should face the Sun and wail. Then the procession should pass four times around the Dance Lodge, pausing each time it comes to the entrance, and each time the Candidates should wail as before. Then the procession should enter the Dance Lodge and go on the left side to the place of honor. The leader should make three feints at placing the ornamented buffalo head on the altar, and at the fourth, should place it there so that it will face the Sacred Pole. The attendants should place the robes of the Candidates, that of the leader beside the place of honor, and the others toward the entrance on the left covered space.

Then the Candidates with the Mentor beside each, should recline on his robe and the Superior should seat himself at the place of honor. When the Mentors and Candidates are placed, the others who are entitled to occupy the Dance Lodge should enter and take their places; the musicians grouped about the drum; the female attendants near them; the women who chopped the Sacred Tree between them and the entrance; the mothers whose babes' ears are to be pierced beside the sage beds they have prepared.

Then such people as wish to occupy the Dance Lodge may enter and take places in the right covered space; these usually are those who have previously danced the Sun Dance; those who are to dance the first form; and men prominent in the various bands. A woman seldom occupies a place on the right covered space. If a stranger, or a very old person is seen in the Dance Lodge at any time, the red marshals should investigate him, and if he cannot satisfactorily explain his presence they should expel him from the lodge, for *Waziya*, the wizard, may thus attempt to be present. A strange young man should be treated in like manner, so that *Iktomi* may not play his tricks during the ceremony.

INSTALLATION OF THE DANCERS.

When the Dance Lodge is occupied, the Superior may harangue concerning the Sun Dance and then he should fill and light a pipe and pass it so that all in the lodge may smoke in communion, and while doing so, the attendants should make a fire of buffalo chips on the altar. The Superior should make an abundant incense of sweetgrass on this fire. Thus, all

will be harmonized with the potency of the Buffalo God that should prevail during the ceremony. Then the Superior should command the Candidates to stand and be made dancers. They should stand, and the Mentors should each give the whistle to his Candidate and tell him that when he is dancing he must continually sound the whistle and gaze at the Sun. If the Candidate is to dance the fourth form for the purpose of becoming a Shaman, his Mentor should place in his right hand a small hoop that should be bound with thongs so as to divide its enclosure into four equal parts and it may be ornamented in any manner. The Mentor should inform the Candidate in a harangue that the people can hear that this hoop is an emblem of the Sky, of the Four Winds, of time, of all things that grow, and of all things that the Lakota make that are circular; that only those who are renowned are entitled to wear, or place the hoops on their tipis; and that if he dances the Sun Dance to its completion he will be entitled to this insignum.

When these things are done the Superior should announce and the red herald should proclaim that the Candidates are now the dancers. The people ought to cheer with shouts of approbation and laud the dancers.

With this announcement the ceremonial relation of Mentor and Candidate ceases and those who were Mentors should take places with the people in the right covered space, except that the Superior continues as such and is entitled to sit at the place of honor in the Dance Lodge, but has only supervisory authority over the rites that are to be held in the lodge. From this time until the dance is completed the leader should conduct the ceremony.

THE BUFFALO DANCE.

The remaining rites are the dances, of which there must be two, though there may be others. These two are the Buffalo Dance and the Sun-Gazing Dance. These dances are divided into periods. The Buffalo Dance has four periods and the Sun-Gazing Dance must have four and may have an indefinite number of periods. A period consists of the dance proper and the intermission. The dancing must take place while the music is sounded; an intermission is the interval between the dancing. The leader should give the signal for the musicians to begin sounding the music for each period and the musicians should repeat the song for each period four times.

The Buffalo Dance should be danced only by those who are to dance the second, third, or the fourth form of the Sun Dance and by those who have danced this dance on some former occasion. It is danced as follows:—The leader should go to the altar and feign three times to lift the ornamented buffalo head; the fourth time he should lift it and place it on the uncovered

space so that the dancers can surround it. The dancers should form in a circle about this head when the leader should signal for the music to begin and when it does, the dancers should dance the step of the Buffalo Dance. This step should be synchronous with the beat of the drum, each second beat being emphatic; at the emphatic beat the feet are alternately brought to the ground with a scraping motion. This is done to imitate the pawing of a buffalo bull in rage or defiance and to manifest a defiant bravery of the dancers equal to that of the buffalo bull. During this dance those who are to dance the Sun Dance must keep the whistles in their mouths, but should not sound them. While dancing they must gaze continually at the ornamented buffalo head. The red marshals should watch them, and if one of them ceases to gaze at this head they should admonish him; and if he persists in looking away from it they should conduct him to his robe. One thus removed from this dance loses the privilege of becoming a buffalo man. Those who dance the four periods of this dance become buffalo men. The red herald should proclaim that they are buffalo men and the people should shout and sing, lauding them with such praises as these:—"You now belong to the people of the Sun; you now will not have to pay the price when you take a woman for your wife; you now will have many children who will honor you; you now may receive a communication from the Sun."

The attendants should then each give to his dancer one of the buffalo tails attached to a handle and the buffalo men should sit about the dried buffalo skin and when they sing should drum on it with the tails.

PIERCING CHILDREN'S EARS.

During the next rite the musicians should remain silent and the buffalo men should sing and drum as often and when the leader deems fit. When the Buffalo men are seated about the buffalo skin the mothers should place the babes whose ears are to be pierced on the beds of sage they have prepared, and standing, should announce the names of those they have chosen to pierce the ears. Those thus named should come and stand beside the women who have chosen them. They should each have a piercing implement and a suitable block of wood. First each should harangue, reciting the deeds he has done that make him eligible to perform this rite. During this harangue the father of the babe should come and stand beside its mother and when the speech is finished the piercer should exhort the parents, telling them that this rite obligates the parents to rear the babe so that it will conform to the laws and customs of the Oglala and that the ears thus pierced signify a loyalty to these laws and customs. He should then kneel

at the head of the babe and place the block under the lobe of one ear and quickly pierce it with his sharp-pointed implement. Then he should pierce the other ear in a like manner. The parents should not heed the cries of the babe until its ears have been pierced and then the mother should take it and comfort it. The mothers should announce the names of the piercers in rapid succession and they should come forward and begin their duties at once. Thus, this rite may be performed by a number simultaneously and the harangues, cries of the babes, and songs of the buffalo men, may make an exciting hubbub to which the people may add in their enthusiasm.

THE SUN-GAZE DANCE.

When this rite is over, the fourth intermission of the Buffalo Dance is completed and the buffalo men should return to their robes. The Sun-Gaze Dance should immediately follow. There are four acts in this dance: the capture, the torture, the captivity, and the escape, which should be performed in the order named. The leader should give the signal for the beginning of the first act, when the buffalo men should stand, and in rapid succession announce the name of those chosen to be captors. When practicable, the one so chosen should be a buffalo man and be notified in advance so that he may be prepared to do his part. When his name is announced he should stand beside the one who chose him and relate the deeds that make him eligible. Thus, at one time there may be several captors haranguing, creating or augmenting the enthusiasm of the people. When the harangues are over the captors should come together a short distance from the dancers and feign discovery of the dancers as enemies. They should shout the war cry and rush upon the dancers, each grasp his dancer about the waist, wrestle with him, throw him prone, and loudly announce that he has captured an enemy. When all the dancers are thus made captive, their captors should feign to consult together, and determine to torture the captives. This ends the first act.

In the second act, the captors should each pierce the flesh of his captive and make wounds sufficient to accomplish the form of the Sun-Gaze Dance he is to dance. If he is to dance the second form, the captor should turn his captive's body face down and then grasp the skin and flesh of his back at one side of the spine, draw them out as far as possible, and pierce cross-wise through the flesh with a sharp-pointed implement, so as to make a wound that the sharp-pointed stick provided may pass through; then the captor should make a like wound on the other side of the spine. If the captive is to dance the third form, his captor should grasp the skin and flesh

of the captive's breast, draw them out as far as possible, and pierce through the flesh, making a wound that will permit the sharp-pointed stick to pass through it; then he should make a like wound through the flesh of the captive's other breast; then he should turn the captive so that he will be face down and make like wounds on the back over each shoulder blade. If he is to dance the fourth form, the Captor should in like manner make wounds through each of the captive's breasts. When the wounds have been made, the captors should thrust through each wound one of the pointed sticks provided with the equipment and this concludes the second act. During this act, the maidens should stand beside the captives and encourage them to bear the torture without flinching and to smile and sing a song of defiance.

The maidens may wipe the blood that flows from the wounds with wisps of sweetgrass, for the incense made of sweetgrass with such blood on it is potent to insure constancy and reciprocity in love. While the tortures are inflicted, the musicians drum, rattle, and sing a war song. The female relatives of the captives should wail as in bereavement. The captors should sing victory songs and the people may shout or sing or ululate, so that the emotions may be wrought to a high pitch when the third act begins.

The act of captivity opens the Sun-Gaze Dance which begins with the binding of the captives, each according to the form he is to dance. If for the ~~first~~^{2nd} form, the captor should bind to the sticks through the wounds with strong thongs as many of the buffalo heads provided as the captives chooses; if for the third form, the captor should bind to the sticks thrust through the wounds four strong thongs securely fastened to four posts, so that the dancer will be in the midst of the posts; if for the fourth form, the captor should bind the sticks through the wounds with strong thongs that are securely fastened to the Sacred Pole; or if the dancer is to dance actually suspended, the thongs bound to the sticks should pass through the fork of the Sacred Pole so that the dancer can be drawn from the ground or lowered to it. The thongs should be those provided with the equipment and should be so securely fastened that the most violent movement of the dancers will not loosen them, for if they become loosened while the dancers are dancing it is a sign that *Iktomi* has played his tricks to make the ceremony ridiculous.

There are twenty-four songs for the Sun-Gazing Dance, each of which, except the first and last, may be repeated as often as necessary to supply music for the periods. The first is the song of the captive and should be sung in slow measure, and low plaintive tones, the drum and rattles sounding gently. The last is a song of victory that should be sung only when the

dance is completed and then in loud and joyous tones, the drum and rattles sounding vigorously.

When the captives are all bound, the leader should give the signal for the dance to begin and then the dancers who are to dance the first form should come upon the uncovered space and those who are to dance the fourth form actually suspended should be hoisted by the thongs until they cannot touch the ground with their feet. Then the leader should signal the musicians and they should sing the first song. The dancers should dance during the first period with a slow and gentle step, the captives, except those suspended, feigning to try their bonds. The female relatives may wail and ululate and the people may shout and encourage them to attempt an escape.

Each period, when the intermission begins, the dancers should sit or recline to rest, the suspended ones being lowered to the ground for this purpose. Then the attendants, the maidens, and the female attendants should give the dancers such refreshment as the rite will permit. If the dancers perspire, the attendants should wipe the perspiration away with wisps of sage. If one dances far into the night, a woman who loves him may chew a little bark of the cottonwood, and mingle it with water, and in a surreptitious manner give him of this to drink and this will be connived at by the Superior.

At the signal of the leader to begin the second period, the attendants should place the buffalo tails in the hands of the captives, and the captors should feign to discover that the captives are buffalo men whom they should befriend. Then they should rush to the captives and protest that they are friends who will help them to escape from captivity. After this they are called the friends and each should remain by his dancer while he dances and should give him such aid to free him from his bonds as the rite will permit. At the signal of the leader the musicians should begin the second song and the dancers should dance as they did during the first period, but more vigorously. But they should not attempt to free themselves from their bonds until during, or after, the fourth period. The music and dancing should increase in vigor with each period and the enthusiasm of the people will probably increase in proportion until it becomes tumultuous.

The third period should be similar to the second, and the fourth similar to the third, except that while dancing during the fourth period the dancers should pull and jerk violently against their bonds and try to tear themselves free. During each of the following periods, the dancing should be similar to that during the fourth period. During each intermission, the attendants, the maidens, and the female attendants should minister to the comfort of the dancers. A dancer should dance during each period until he escapes

captivity which is accomplished by being freed from his bonds. If he escapes by tearing the sticks from the wounds, he has danced the Sun Dance to its completion in the most effective manner. But a dancer may swoon before he escapes, and if he does so his friend should unfasten his bonds and take the sticks from his wounds, and then it is considered that he has danced the Sun Dance to its completion in the least effective manner. Or, a dancer may become so exhausted that he cannot make a strong effort to free himself; if so, his female relatives may throw weighty things on the thongs that bind him to tear them loose. If this does not do so, they may offer the friend a valuable present if he will aid the dancer to escape.

Then the friend may grasp the dancer about the waist and add his strength to the effort to tear the sticks from the wounds. If they succeed, it is considered that the dancer has danced the Sun Dance to its completion in a less effective manner than if the sticks had been torn from the wounds by the dancer unaided. It is most meritorious to dance until the sticks are torn from the wounds or until the leader announces that the Sun Dance is finished.

Each dancer escapes from captivity when he is freed from his bonds and his freedom should be celebrated by the people of his band accompanying him from the Dance Lodge to his tipi, his attendant, and a maiden supporting him as he goes there.

THE SCALP-STAFF DANCE.

During any period anyone who has danced the Sun Dance to its completion may cause blood to flow from a wound on his person, lay a suitable offering to the Sun on the altar and join the dancers, dancing the first form for as many periods as he wishes. Anyone may join the singing of the songs by the musicians. During the intermission the Superior may permit haranguing, or the performance of anything not inconsistent with the Sun Dance. During the fourth intermission the Scalp-Staff dance should be given in the following manner:—Only tried warriors should dance this dance and it should be conducted by one who carries a scalp-staff. The dancers should form side by side in line from near the entrance of the Dance Lodge, across the left side of the uncovered space toward the place of honor, with the conductor nearest the entrance. The musicians should sing a scalp song, sounding the drum and rattles in time to it, and the warriors should dance without moving from the place where they stand, except that the conductor should dance from his position and along in front of the line, waving the scalp on his staff down and up in front of each warrior and then

dance behind the line back to his position, waving the scalp up and down behind each warrior. Then each warrior who carries a scalp-staff should dance along the line in a like manner. While dancing, the warriors may utter the cry of "U-hu-hu-hu," as it is uttered to express intense satisfaction. They may utter it repeatedly. When all who carry scalp-staffs have danced along the line this dance is completed.

During an intermission the woman's dance ought to be danced in the following manner:— The women who wish to dance should form side by side in a line or lines where the warriors formed and the musicians should sing a woman's dance song, sounding the drum and rattles in unison with it. The women should dance the woman's step without moving from the place where they stand. While dancing they may sing, or utter the cry of "U-wu-wu-wu," as it is uttered by women to express pleasure. When the song is sung four times this dance is finished.

COMPLETION OF THE CEREMONY.

The Sun-Gazing dance should continue until all the captives have escaped, or until the next day has dawned, when, if they have not escaped, they should be freed from their bonds and the sticks removed from their wounds, and it will be considered that they have been rescued, which is as meritorious as an escape. When all have escaped or been rescued from captivity, the leader should stand at the entrance of the Dance Lodge and announce that the Sun Dance is finished. The red herald should proclaim this announcement throughout the camp and immediately all should come out of the Dance Lodge and the organization of the ceremonial camp is terminated and the ordinary organization of the camps revived.

The marshals of the camps should require that the tipis and lodges, except the Dance Lodge, be quickly taken down and moved from the ceremonial camp circle. They may permit the people to take such parts of the Dance Lodge as they wish, but they should not permit any one to disturb the Sacred Pole. It should be left to stand with the Fetish and banner of the Shamans at its top until the Four Winds or the Winged God cast it down. When the tipis are moved from the ceremonial camp circle, each band should go its way and resume its ordinary vocations, but the individuals who have danced the Sun Dance may expect a vision in which there will be a communication from the Sun. This may be granted at any place or time before the dispersion of the next winter camp. One who danced the Sun Dance for the purpose of becoming a Shaman should choose a Shaman for his tutor and should be that Shaman's pupil until he pro-

nounces him to be fit to have the Fetish and exercise the functions of a Shaman. Those who have danced the Sun Dance for other purposes should fit themselves for such purposes.

A Shaman may alter or forbid any rite or custom pertaining to the Sun Dance, to effect either or all of the constituents. In fact, the form of the ceremony rests with the Shamans, they being the sole authority.

THE HUNKA CEREMONY.

The Hunka ceremony is a Lakota ceremony in which two persons adopt the *Hunka* relationship toward each other and thereby both assume a more restricted relationship with all for whom the ceremony has been performed. The term, *Hunka*,¹ expresses the relationship of each of the two persons to the other, while the term, *Hunkaya*, expresses their relationship to all others for whom the ceremony has been performed. The term, *Hunkayapi*, designates the persons for whom the ceremony has been performed.

The relationship of *Hunka* is difficult to define, for it is neither of the nature of a brotherhood, nor of kindred. It binds each to his *Hunka* by ties of fidelity stronger than friendship, brotherhood, or family. The relationship of *Hunkaya* is similar to that which the members of a society bear toward each other, but the *Hunkayapi* have no organization as a society and recognize no distinction among themselves as *Hunkaya*. *Hunka* may be a relationship somewhat like that of parent and child, when one is much older or more experienced than the other. In such case, the older is *Hunka Ate* to the younger, while the younger is simply *Hunka* to the older. If a *Hunka Ate* has the confidence of the people, they, whether *Hunkayapi* or not, may title him *Mihunka*, which indicates reverential respect.

The practice of assuming the *Hunka* relationship has existed among the Lakota since ancient times. It is probable that at first there was little ceremony other than an agreement between two persons; but that when the practice became more common the Shamans assumed control, adding rites until the ceremony assumed its present form. The most common designation of the ceremony is, "They Waved Horse-tails over Each Other." This appears to fix the time when the ceremony was given its present form, for it alludes to a prominent rite of the ceremony. According to the Oglala calendar a certain year is designated as "When They Waved Horse-tails

¹ According to the late Rev. W. J. Cleveland, the term *hunka*, while conforming to Dakota phonetics appears to be a foreign word. This opinion of Rev. Cleveland deserves serious consideration because of his perfect familiarity with the language. The Oglala conception of the term is a kind of relation like that of a brother, father, mother, sister, or child and parent. The relationship is not exactly such as we consider fraternal, but was looked upon by the Dakota as approximately the same as blood kin. In fact, the *hunka* relationship often takes precedence over blood relationship. Now, if it turns out that Rev. Cleveland's theory is correct, then we may suspect that there is some relation between this term and the Pawnee term, *hako*, which has been used by Miss Fletcher as the name for a similar ceremony. As just stated, there are historical reasons for believing that the Pawnee are chiefly responsible for the introduction of this ceremony to the other tribes of the Plains.—Editor.

over Each Other." The Lakota custom was to name each year according to some event that was peculiar to, or first noticeable, during that year. Therefore, it is probable that the year "When They Waved Horse-tails over Each Other" was the year when the *Hunka* ceremony was first performed with the rite of waving horse-tails over each other, or, at least, the year when this rite was first noticeable. This year corresponds to A.D. 1805. Perhaps at that time the horse was a rare animal to the Lakota and as its tail was the most noticeable feature, the Lakota considered it sacred, with the potency of sacred things, in the same manner as they considered sacred the tail of a buffalo. The old Lakota still so consider horse-tails and wave them over others to cause an amicable influence.¹

Any two persons may become *Hunka*, provided a Shaman will perform the ceremony. This proviso makes it difficult for a white man to become a *Hunka*, for the Shamans are reluctant to perform the ceremony in such cases. Any two Oglala may become *Hunka*, provided one who is entitled to paint his hands red will perform the ceremony, but the ceremony is most esteemed when it is performed by a Shaman. One who wishes to become *Hunka* should first consult with the one with whom he desires to form that relationship; or, if he wishes to become *Hunka* with a child, he should consult with the parent, or the one who controls the child. If the consultants do not agree the matter should be abandoned. If they agree, they may proceed, and, in case one of them represents a child, he should represent it during the ceremony, except in the rite of placing the mark or badge of a *Hunka*, which should be placed on the person of the child to become a *Hunka*. Having agreed to become *Hunka* they should agree as to who shall perform the ceremony. He must be either a Shaman, or one who is entitled to paint his hands red and should know the rites and how and when to perform them.

He should be notified in sufficient time to enable him to prepare for the ceremony, or if he should refuse, to choose another. When this is done, then suitable provision for the ceremony should be made. When two adults are to become *Hunka* it is expected that they will share alike in making the provision, but if an older person desires to become *Hunka* with a child, he should provide most for the occasion. The requirements are sufficient food

¹ This ceremony is essentially the same as the Hako of the Pawnee of which we have a published account. It also appears to be a form of the ceremony known to early explorers as the "Waving the Calumet," though not necessarily identical with it. If 1805 is really the date for its introduction to the Oglala, then they can make no claims to its origination, except in so far as they may have modified the ritual to bring it into harmony with their own ceremonial concepts. Further, since an important part of the *Hunka* wand stick is the horse's tail and since the ceremony is sometimes spoken of as the "waving of horses' tails over one," we must infer that the ceremony took its present form since the introduction of the horse.— Editor.

for the feasts, articles for presents, and the material and implements used in the rites. Those who are to provide should give as liberally as is within their power, even to the extent of impoverishing themselves. Their kindred and friends should aid them, for the degree of the ceremony and the notability of the occasion is in proportion to the feasts and presents expected.

EQUIPMENT FOR THE CEREMONY.

The implements required for the rites are:—

1. To be provided by the participants:
 - 2 *Hunka* wands
 - 2 rattles
 - 1 ear of corn
 - 1 fire carrier
 - 1 counting rod
 - 1 scaffold
 - 1 drum
2. To be provided by the conductor:
 - 1 ceremonial pipe
 - 1 buffalo skull with the horns attached
 - 1 fetish, or ceremonial bag

The materials to be used in the rites are:—

1. To be supplied by the participants:
 - Meat, both fat and lean
 - Sweetgrass
 - Sage
2. To be supplied by the conductor:
 - Cansasa*, or smoking material
 - Paints, red, blue, yellow, and green

The *Hunka* wands are often called the Horse-tails. Each of them should be a wooden rod about four spans long, round and tapering from the size of a man's great toe at the larger end to the size of a man's little finger at the smaller end. About one third the length from the larger end, six quills from the tail of the golden eagle should be loosely attached by their calami and shafts in such manner that when the rod is held horizontally, the quills radiate from the wand with the webs pointing from the larger end. About one third the length of the rod from the smaller end, a bunch of hair from a horse-tail should be attached, making a tassel. A similar tassel should be attached to the smaller end by binding it to the rod with buffalo hair. The rod should be painted red and may be ornamented in any additional manner.

The rattles should be globular receptacles made of rawhide about the

size of a man's fist. They should contain something that will make a rattling noise when shaken, such as small pebbles, and should be attached to handles about a span long. Opposite each handle which should be wrapped with buffalo hair, an eagle plume should be attached. The handles and receptacles should be painted red.

The ear of corn should be perfect, with the husk removed, and should be rigidly bound to a wooden rod. The rod should be about three spans long, round, and about as thick as a man's little finger; one end to which an eagle plume should be attached, should project about a hand breadth beyond the tip of the ear of corn. The rod should be painted red and the ear of corn should be painted with four stripes, one each of red, blue, yellow, and green.

The fire-carrier should be a wooden rod about four spans long, round, and as thick as a man's great toe. It should be split at one end and the split held apart by a wooden wedge to make a fork with which burning coals can be lifted and carried. It should be painted red.

The counting rod should be a round wooden rod, about as long as the height of a short woman. It should be a little larger around than a man's thumb. One end should be curved through about a quarter of a circle a span in diameter and on the opposite side at the beginning of this curve there should be a protuberance of about a thumb breadth in height. The rod should be painted red.

The scaffold should consist of three round wooden rods, each about as large around as a man's finger. One should be about three spans in length and each of the others about two spans. The two shorter should each be pointed at one end and forked at the other, so that when thrust into the ground they may support the longer rod. All three rods should be painted red.

These are all the implements that are peculiar to the *Hunka* ceremony; all the other implements and materials have been described in the section on the Sun dance.

There are several essential rites peculiar to the *Hunka* ceremony. These consist of the formal uses of the wands, rattles, ear of corn, and scaffold to induce the *Hunkaya*, or *Hunka*, relationship. The other rites are common to other ceremonies. These rites, which have all been explained in connection with the Sun dance, are smoking the pipe in communion, making incense, offering the pipe to the Gods, and invoking the potency of the Buffalo God.

The conductor of the *Hunka* ceremony may add to the above-mentioned rites as many appropriate rites as he deems fitting for the occasion. Thus, the *Hunka* ceremony may range from a very simple affair to an elaborate event.

ORDER OF CEREMONY.

The following is a description of an elaborate performance of the ceremony observed by the author. Fortunately, the interpreter at the ceremony was Bruce Means, who was able to interpret the old forms of Lakota speech. One of those made *Hunka* at this ceremony gave the information relative to the preliminaries, thus enabling the author to give quotations. The informant desired to be *Hunka* with a much older and experienced man in order that the latter might be his *Hunka Ate*, therefore he proceeded in the following formal manner. He chose two friends, gave them a feast, and requested them to convey his proposition to the man he wished as his *Hunka*. He gave them presents which they took to the man, telling him what their friend wished. He accepted the presents which was the equivalent of an agreement with the desires of their friend. Then the young man gave a feast and invited his two friends and the older man to partake of it with him. After the feast, they sat in a tipi around a fire of burning coals and the older man, being a Shaman, filled and lighted a pipe in a formal manner, moving it in circles four times over the fire and said, "Spirit Pipe we smoke this pipe to you. Let your power come to it so that the spirit in the smoke may go to the *Taku Wakan*." First he, and then the others, smoked in communion, each before smoking, moving the pipe in a circle four times over the fire, and invoking one or another of the Four Winds to grant a good day for the *Hunka* ceremony. Then the Shaman moved the mouthpiece in a circle, first pointing towards the west, then the north, east, south, and back towards the west again, and then upwards, said, "*Tate*, we offered smoke to your sons. Command them to give us a good day for the *Hunka* ceremony." The four then agreed upon the time and place for the performance of the ceremony and chose an old Shaman to conduct it.

A short time after this, the four went to the tipi of the old Shaman and there agreed upon the following organization for the ceremony. The old Shaman, by virtue of their choice, became the *Walowan*, or Conductor. He appointed a *Wowasi*, or Assistant, a *Patapaowa*, or Register, and the four agreed upon two men to have charge of the wands, two to have charge of the rattles, one to have charge of the ear of corn, and a drummer. They discussed as to whom invitation wands should be sent and such other matters relative to the ceremony as occurred to them. Soon thereafter the younger man sent invitation wands to such as were to be considered honored guests. All who wished might attend such ceremonies and would be welcomed, but only such as had received wands would be considered invited guests. In this case, the older man had little means, so the younger man

and his kindred, supplied most of the provisions for the occasion. He borrowed old wands, rattles, rod, and scaffold, for old implements of this kind were considered more efficacious than new ones.

The day before the ceremony was to be performed the author went to the place where it was to be held and found many people already there, their tipis placed so as to form a camp circle. Others continued to arrive that day, and all placed their tipis in the circle. A festive spirit prevailed and that evening the people grouped according to their inclinations, some to talk, some to sing, and some to play games. After dark, an old woman went to the top of a hill and chanted a warning to the wolf to stay away from the camp, and tell its master, *Wazi*, to do so. Then she ululated shrilly several times.

THE CEREMONY.

At dawn of the next day the people were astir, preparing the morning meal, and for the ceremony of the day. As the sun appeared over the horizon, the Conductor faced it and chanted an invocation to *Wi*, invoking that God to speak for the people to *Taku Wakan*, the Gods of the weather. While he was doing so the people remained in a reverential attitude. Immediately after his invocation, women erected a large tipi to be used as the ceremonial lodge with its door toward the entrance of the camp circle, that is, toward the east. Near the south side of the area, with its door toward the south, they erected a smaller tipi to be used as the preparation tipi. On the previous day, the Conductor had appointed an *akicita*, or marshal, of the camp, and he now appeared, with three black stripes painted perpendicularly on his right cheek as the insignum of his office.

Soon after the Conductor returned to his tipi he began chanting and drumming in a low tone and continued so for some time. Then the people began to appear in gala attire, painted and decorated according to their fancies, and wearing such insignia as they were entitled to have: the *Hunkayapi*, with the red stripes on their foreheads; the buffalo women with their hair partings marked in red. When the Conductor came from his tipi his hands and body were painted red and his face was striped in red; red zigzag lines decorated his arms. These decorations were all symbolic, as explained in the section on the Sun dance (p. 82). His regalia as the Conductor consisted of a headdress or cap made of tanned skin, to which a small buffalo horn was attached at each side so as to stand out from the head as the horns do on a buffalo. The cap was further adorned with hawk quills and strips of white weaselskin. In his right hand he held the ceremonial pipe and in his left a hawkskin. The latter was his *wasicun*, or

ceremonial pouch. As he came forth, he chanted a song, the substance of which was that he was wise and powerful and could communicate with the Gods. He ordered the Assistant and the Recorder to prepare the ceremonial lodge. This they did by smoothing and levelling the *catku* and preparing an altar between it and the fireplace. They placed a stone beside the altar and a buffalo skull on it. Then they erected the scaffold at the south side of the altar. The father of the younger man brought meat, both fat and lean, and hung it on the scaffold. A drum was placed inside at the left by the door of the lodge.

When this was done the Conductor inspected the lodge and then brought from his tipi the wands, rattles, and counting rod, and gave them to those chosen to take charge of them, the Assistant having the fire carrier and the Recorder the counting rod. The Conductor then began chanting and marching around the area inside the camp circle, a procession forming and following him in this order: first, those who were to participate in the ceremony, then the *Hunkayapi*, and finally, the people. The procession marched four times around, some of the people soberly, and others jovially talking and laughing.

THE SYMBOLIC CAPTURE.

When the procession began, the younger man and his two friends entered the preparation tipi, pulling down and tying the flap. When the procession had gone the fourth time around the circle, the Conductor said, "My friends, we have gone around the world. *Yata* has closed the door on *Wakinyan*. *Iktomi* has gone to the home of *Iya*. *Tatanka* is in the lodge." This speech was a metaphor meaning that by the formal march in every direction immunity from lightning was secured; *Iktomi*, the imp of mischief and disturber of ceremonies, was driven away; and the Buffalo, the patron God of ceremonies, prevailed in the camp. The Conductor then went to the preparation tipi and said, "The enemy is in this tipi. Who will help me take him?" The older man who was to be made *Hunka* said, "I will."

The Conductor asked him, "Are you *Hunka*?" He replied, "I am *Hunka*." Then the Conductor cried in a loud voice, "*Hunka* must die for each other." He then said, "We will capture the enemy." He rushed to the door of the tipi, cut the strings that tied the flap, and he and the older man went in hurriedly. In a few moments, they came out leading the younger man by the arms, the Conductor singing the song of a returning warrior. They led the younger man toward the ceremonial lodge, singing as they went. The people followed them, some joining in the song. When they came to the lodge the Conductor said, "We will kill the enemy, but if

anyone will take him for *Hunka* we will not kill him." The older man said, "I will take him for my *Hunka*. Take him into the lodge." The older man conducted the younger into the lodge and sat him between the altar and the fireplace, facing the altar.

As many as the lodge would accommodate then entered it and seated themselves in the following order: the Assistant at the right of the *catku* and the Recorder at the left of it; men *Hunkayapi* on the right side of the lodge and women *Hunkayapi* on the left; the drummer beside the drum and the bearers of the rattles in front of him. At the right of the Assistant, and in front of the women, were first, the bearer of the ear of corn and next at his right the bearers of the wands. The people who could not have seats inside sat in a circle before the door of the lodge, the men together on the north side and the women on the south. While the people were arranging themselves, the Conductor stood beside the door and sang:—

"The meadow lark my cousin.
A voice is in the air."

He repeated this song four times. Like all the ceremonial songs of the shamans, this is figurative. It is explained as follows: To the Lakota, the meadow lark is the symbol of fidelity, just as among English-speaking people the dove is the symbol of peace. By claiming relationship to the lark the Shaman claimed power to influence for fidelity. By saying, "A voice is in the air," he implied that the influence for fidelity pervaded the camp. Such vague and indefinite expressions were common among the Lakota and though they are difficult of interpretation, they were comprehended by them.

INCENSE AND THE PIPE.

When the Conductor ceased singing this song he entered the lodge and sat at the *catku*. He then filled and lighted a pipe in the formal manner and handed it to the Assistant, who smoked and passed it to the younger man, who also smoked and passed the pipe. It was passed until all in the lodge had smoked in communion, the Conductor smoking last. He emptied the residuum in the pipe carefully beside the *catku* and said, "The grandfather, the father, and the sons are with us. The Earth and the Buffalo are in this lodge. We have smoked together as friends, and the spirit of the pipe has gone up to the Great Spirit. I will now make incense to drive away the evil powers." The meaning of this address is that all the Gods above the world were with them and that those on the world, the Earth and the Buffalo, were in the lodge; that the potency of the mediat-

ing God, *Wohpe*, which abides in the smoke of the pipe, had gone from all in the lodge to the Great Spirit and would propitiate Him.

The Conductor then handed the fire carrier to the Assistant and the counting rod to the Recorder, and commanded the Assistant to bring fire. He brought burning coals and placed them together on the fireplace, using the fire carrier to handle the fire. The Conductor then made incense by first sprinkling sage and then sweetgrass on the fire. While he was doing this, the Assistant arranged the buffalo skull on the altar, propping it up with the stone that had been placed beside the altar, so that it faced the *catku*. Then the Conductor filled the ceremonial pipe with *cansasa*, and the Assistant brought a burning coal on the fire carrier and held it so as to light the pipe. The ceremonial pipe is lighted in this formal manner in order that the potency of the sun, which abides in the fire, may be with the potency of the mediator, which abides in the smoke of the pipe. As the Conductor smoked the ceremonial pipe he said, "Grandmother, you have not taken the horns from this skull. The spirit of the buffalo still watches for *Anpeo*. We will honor these horns."

The Shamans usually addressed the Goddess, the Earth, as Grandmother. It was taught that when the horns fall from the dried skull of a buffalo this Goddess has taken them from it; that the spirit of the buffalo abides in the skull as long as the horns remain on it; that the spirit of the buffalo is as one with the God, the Buffalo; that the God, the Buffalo is the comrade of the God, the Sun, and is most pleased when in His light. *Anpeo* is the *akicita*, or forerunner, of the sun. It is the red aurora. With this explanation the allusive meaning of the address may be comprehended.

THE MEAT OFFERING.

While the Conductor was smoking, the Assistant arranged the meat on the scaffold, the lean meat at one end, the fat at the other. Then the Conductor addressed the skull and said, "*Hunka* of *Tatanka*, this meat was yours, but you gave it to me. If there is any part of it that you wish, tell us and we will give it to you." In this address it is assumed that the meat is the flesh and fat of a buffalo. The spirit in the skull is addressed as *Hunka* of *Tatanka*, the Buffalo God. The allusion is to the doctrine that the Buffalo God caused the spirits of the buffalo to give their meat to the Lakota; and that when a buffalo was killed for its meat, a portion should be left as an offering to propitiate the spirit.

The Conductor then sprinkled a powder on the meat and said, "My medicine is good. It will make this meat sacred." He then gave the

Assistant sweetgrass and he made incense by sprinkling it on the fire. Over this incense the Conductor prayed as follows:— "Great Spirit be with us this day; West Wind, keep the Winged God in your tipi this day; Sun, we ask that You keep *Iktomi* and *Anog Ite* from this camp this day." The doctrine is that the God, the West Wind, is the comrade of and has controlling influence over the Winged God, whose voice is thunder, and the glance of whose eye is lightning; that *Iktomi* is an imp of mischief who delights in making ceremonies of no effect and *Anog Ite* is a double, or two-faced woman who foments discord and licentiousness.

Then the Conductor addressed the people and said, "I am a Shaman. I know how to wave the horse-tails as did our grandfathers. I will do it that way now. The young people forget how to do this. Shamans will soon be cold and hungry. This young man wishes to be *Hunka*. I will make him *Hunka* as our grandfathers were made *Hunkayapi*. The Sun looks on us and the Wind is pleased. The Wolf has gone to the hills. The Earth and the Rock and the Buffalo are in this lodge. These Gods will help me make this young man *Hunka*."

It was taught that the wolf and coyote were the accomplices of *Iktomi* and *Wazi*, the wizard, and did their bidding. The allusive meaning of the latter part of the address is that the Chief of the Gods, the Sun is favorable; the principal God controlling the weather, the Wind; was propitiated; that the accomplices of the mischievous beings had fled from the camp; that the potencies of the Great God, the Earth, were in the altar, and that of the great God, the Rock in the stone on the altar, and that of the *Taku Wakan*, or Relative God, the Buffalo in the buffalo skull, were present in the lodge.

PRONOUNCING THEM HUNKA.

The Conductor then carefully emptied the ceremonial pipe on the chopping board which accompanies the ceremonial pipe and gave it to the Assistant, who put the residuum on the fire. This must be done in a formal manner whenever a ceremonial pipe is smoked, for it was considered a sacrilege to dispose of the residuum in a ceremonial pipe in such a manner that it might be trodden under foot. The Conductor then formally filled the pipe with *cansasa*, and lighted it as before, and standing in the door of the lodge, pointed the mouthpiece toward the sun, and said, "Grandfather, we will bring you a grandson this day." This alludes to the custom of the *Hunkayapi*, who often addressed the Great God, the Sun, as Grandfather, thus indicating that He is the patron God of the *Hunkaya* relationship; and the address meant that another *Hunka* would be made

that day. The Conductor then sat at the *catku* and gave sweetgrass to the Assistant who made incense with it. The Conductor then addressed the younger man, saying, "I will now make you a *Hunka*. I will teach you how to live as a *Hunka*. These men before you whose bodies are painted red are *Mihunkayapi*. They will be *Hunkayapi* to you. When they speak your ears should be open."

Then each of the seven *Mihunka* present made a speech, the substance of each speech being commendation of *Hunkaya*, or a statement of the obligation of a *Hunka* to his *Hunka* and to the *Hunkayapi*, the substance of the latter being that a *Hunka* should give preference to his *Hunka* above all others of mankind, and that they should be willing to give anything to, or do anything for, each other; that they should listen to the Shamans so that they may please all the Gods; that if the *Hunkayapi* do this it will please the Gods, and They will give success in forays against the enemy to get women or horses; that when they seek the enemy the women will sing their songs in their praise; that their offerings to the Rock will please the Earth and the Buffalo, and They will give industrious women who will bear many children; that the Great Spirit will direct their arrows, and harden their shields, and put breath in their horses when they are old; that the Buffalo will provide them with robes and moccasins, and a place of honor in their tipis and that their spirits shall not wander over the world.

An explanation of the allusive portions of these addresses is that before going on a foray each Lakota should compose a song which will be known as his song. If he does a notable thing, then the women will sing his song as a meed of praise for him; that before going on such a foray each one should make an offering to the Rock, the patron God of success in war, and this will propitiate the Earth, the patron God of fertility, and the Buffalo, the patron God of nuptials and fecundity; that the Great Spirit is the God that gives movement to anything that moves, and controls the direction of a movement, and He also gives vitality to everything that breathes. The Buffalo is also the patron God of the chase and of providing. The doctrine is, that the spirit of a man that is adjudged unworthy to go to the spirit world, is condemned to wander forever over the world.

During all these rites the people were quiet and attentive. When the *Mihunkayapi* ceased speaking there was an intermission of about half an hour, during which some of the women began preparation for the feast.

WAVING THE WANDS.

The Conductor reëntered the lodge and sitting at the *catku* sang this song: —

“Kindred sacred are coming,
They come toward me.

Kindred sacred are coming,
They come from the west.”

An interpretation of this song is that the influences of the relationship of *Hunkaya* were coming to the Shaman from the west. The doctrine is that quite all that are sacred come from the west. As he sang, most of the people resumed the places they had occupied during the preceding rites and then the Conductor filled and lighted the ceremonial pipe as before and the Assistant made incense of sweetgrass. When he had smoked and emptied the pipe the Conductor said, “The smoke of the pipe goes to our sacred brothers and they will carry it to the Buffalo God who will be pleased with the odor of the sweetgrass.” The sacred brothers here spoken of are the Four Brothers, the Four Winds, who are the messengers of the Gods.

The Conductor then bade the bearers of the wands to stand and wave them over the younger man and as they did so he said, “These horse-tails are sacred. Our grandfathers made them. The influence of the Sun is in the eagle quills and of the Great Spirit is in the horsehair attached to them. When one is made *Hunka* these tails are waved over him. Their influence will do him good. It will cause him to remember his *Hunka* and the *Hunkayapi*. It will shield him from the Winged God so that he will not be made a *Heyoka*. The South Wind gave the horse-tails and He is pleased this day. I will wave the horse-tails over you.” This address is in accordance with the doctrine that the *Hunka* ceremony is of ancient origin and has the approval of the Chief of the Gods and the Great Spirit so that They influence the relationship of *Hunkaya* and will shield a *Hunka* seeing the person of the Winged God and prevent his becoming a *heyoka* and forever after speak and act in an anti-natural manner: that the South Wind, Who is the prevailing God of good weather, shows His pleasure by granting a bright and pleasant day.

The Conductor then filled and lighted the ceremonial pipe as before, and standing between the fireplace and the altar, facing westward, he extended the mouthpiece toward the west, then holding it horizontally, he moved it in a circle until it was extended toward the north, where he paused for a moment; and in the same manner he moved the mouthpiece and extended

it towards the east, the south, and the west again. He then bowed low and held the pipe with its mouthpiece extended toward the sun and said, "Grandfather, we have offered the spirit of the smoke to Your messengers and to the West Wind by whose tipi You will go. They will tell You that we will bring You a younger son this day." This address alludes to the doctrine that the West Wind has His tipi on the top of the high mountain at the edge of the world where the Sun passes when His daily journey is done.

The Conductor then took the wands and waved them over the young man. As he did so, he sang a song and the drummer sounded the drum in unison with the singing. Some of the people joined in singing the song. The substance of the song was that the influences in the wands would pass to the younger man and make him *Hunka*. The Conductor then sat at the *catku* and addressed the younger man as follows: "My grandson, these *Mihunkayapi* are painted red to please the powerful one, the Sun. They have told you how *Hunkayapi* should live. If you will do as they have done, the women will sing your song in praise of you. The *Hunkayapi* will be as brothers to you. Your robe will be good and your moccasins new. You will know what offerings to make to the Rock when you see the red stripe on a stone. The Gods will give you eagle quills. The Buffalo will cause your women to be industrious and to bear many children. The Gods will protect you in war. They will keep your women and children from the enemy. If you listen to the Buffalo He will aid you in the chase so that you will have plenty of meat and robes and so that the wolf will be afraid of you. I sought a vision and the Bear God spoke to me. This is what I saw: — A blue horse and eagle quills; women singing in a circle; the council lodge; a large robe with a buffalo cow painted on it. This is what the Bear said to me: — 'The young man should have the horse-tails waved over him; he will provide for his women and children; he will be brave and truthful and the people will listen to him; he will have plenty and give freely; he shall never cut the nose of his woman. My grandson, I have prepared a fetish. I will give it to you. If you will be controlled by its potency, it will be thus with you. This fetish has the potency of the Bear. He told me how to make it. Then I asked the Bear what he would tell me. Standing like a man He said, '*Iya* and *Iktomi* are traveling.' I will explain this to you. If you are lazy or a coward you will sleep with the coyotes. You should not cut your woman's nose. No woman will gash her flesh for you. The buffalo will laugh at you. If you tell lies *Iktomi* will trick you. *Anog Ite* will show you both her faces. Your women will suffer and your babes will have pains in their bowels. But if you listen to the Shamans the South Wind will stay with you. If you laugh at the Shamans, *Wazi* will stay with you. I will now wave the horse-tails over you."

He waved the wands over the younger man and then over each one in the lodge. Then he took the rattles, one in each hand, and said, "These rattles are sacred. The color of the Sun is on them. The color of the Earth is on them. The influence of the Gods is in them. Their rattle calls the spirits. The plume makes them potent." He then sang a song without words, shaking the rattles in unison with the music. The drum was sounded in unison with the rattles and some of the people joined in singing. The Conductor shook the rattles, first over the younger man and then over each one in the lodge. He then sat at the *catku* and said, "The spirit of the buffalo is *Hunka* to all who are of the *Hunka* ceremony. It should now be pleased."

As are most formal speeches by the older Oglala, this address is largely figurative, so that to comprehend it one must understand something of the doctrines of the Lakota and be somewhat acquainted with their figures of speech. These doctrines hold that the color red is a symbol of both the chief of the Gods and of all things sacred and that it has in itself a potency which, when it is formally applied to anything, dedicates it to some good purpose. Applied to a person as a rite of a ceremony it devotes the person to the objects of the ceremony; applied to things connected with a ceremony it consecrates them to the ceremony. Thus, the *Mihunkayapi* whose bodies were painted red were devoted to the *Hunkaya* and their council could be relied upon. Red paint on a stone consecrates it and makes of it an altar on which may be placed offerings to the God, the Rock, which one should make when about to undertake some dangerous deed. The expression, "The Gods will give you eagle quills," alludes to the custom that if one is about to undertake some daring exploit he should provide himself with eagle quills, so that if he is successful in his undertaking, and it is such as will entitle him to wear eagle quills, he will possess them; the only way of honorably possessing eagle quills for this purpose is to pluck them from a living eagle. To do this required the aid of the Gods. These doctrines hold that Shamans are vicars of the Gods and can communicate with Them relative to any matter; that they can interpret communications from the Gods, which usually are in mystic form, and that their interpretation is authoritative.

The expression, "A blue horse and eagle quills" means a war horse with a decoration of eagle quills and it implies that if the one addressed goes to war he will have the success that will entitle him to wear eagle quills as an insignum. "Women singing in a circle" alludes to the custom of the women who stand in a circle when they sing a man's song in his praise, and implies that they will do so for the one addressed. The expression, "The council lodge" implies that the one addressed will be so honored that he will be a councilor for his band. The expression, "A large robe with a

buffalo cow painted on it" alluded to a custom of the women that when one had made an unusually large or fine robe she would seek a vision and then paint on the robe a device or figure to represent the communication she received in the vision, thereby imparting to the robe a potency agreeing with the vision. If the robe were given to another, and the secret of the communication told to the one receiving it, the potency remained operative in the robe. The figure of a buffalo cow thus painted on a robe indicates that the wearer, or the wearer's women will have offspring.

The implication is that the one addressed will be abundantly provided with clothing and his woman will bear children. The purport of the address is that the Bear God first showed to the Shaman that which indicated an honorable future and then told what must be done to attain this future, the last of which is, "He shall never cut the nose of his woman." This alludes to the Lakota custom which permitted a man to cut off the tip of the nose of his woman if she was unfaithful to him. The expression, "*Iya* and *Iktomi* are traveling" means that *Iya* the great God of evil, and *Iktomi*, the imp of mischief are continually going about seeking to incite mankind to deeds of evil or of shame. The term, "You will sleep with the coyotes" means you will be so impoverished that you will have no shelter to sleep in. "You should not cut your woman's nose" means that if you are in such a shameful condition you are not justified in shaming your woman. "No woman will gash her flesh for you" alludes to the custom of the woman who, when mourning for their dead, gashed their flesh so as to cause the blood to flow as a token of the sincerity of their mourning; hence, it means that if one is lazy and a coward, no woman will mourn for him when he dies. "The buffalo will laugh at you" means that a lazy one will have no success in hunting or the chase and will want for food. "*Iktomi* will trick you" and "*Anog Ite* will show you both her faces" mean that misfortune, shame, and despair will come upon the lazy one. "If you laugh at the Shamans, *Wazi* will stay with you" means that if one does not give due and proper respect to the Shamans that one will be accursed by the Gods.

rites of the buffalo skull.

When the Conductor had thus addressed the younger man he filled and lighted the ceremonial pipe as before, blew smoke from it into the nostril cavities of the buffalo skull on the altar, and then gave the pipe to the younger man, saying, "Smoke with the spirit of the buffalo, for you are now as its brother. He will help you that you may have plenty of meat and hides."

As the younger man smoked the pipe, the Conductor removed the skull from the stone that supported it, placed a splotch of red paint on the stone, and then said, "We will smoke with the Rock." He took the pipe and blew smoke from it against the stone. He then gave the pipe to the younger man who also blew smoke on the stone. While he was doing so the Conductor said, "You have smoked with the Rock and He will make you strong so that you will not quickly grow weary." The Shaman then took the pipe and said, "We will smoke with our Grandmother." He then blew smoke from the pipe upon the altar and gave the pipe to the younger man who did likewise. The Conductor said, "We have smoked with the Earth and She will provide us with all things."

rites of the ear of corn.

He then emptied the pipe, putting the residuum on the fire, took the ear of corn, and thrust the rod to which it was attached, into the altar so that the rod stood upright. He said, "Our Grandmother gave us this corn. She sent it to the Lakota by the Buffalo woman. The South Wind came with her. The plume is the Buffalo. These embrace the Earth and her children are many. These things the Shaman can explain to you." He then sang this song:—

"Hunka, Hunka, Hunka in the west.
The voice of Hunka, hear it."

An interpretation of this song is: the patron God of the ceremony in the west, the Buffalo, approves the performance of this ceremony, the younger man must heed that which is told to him and that the ceremony is to be continued.

PAINTING AND EXCHANGING CLOTHING.

The Conductor then removed the ear of corn from the altar, giving it to the one who had charge of it and replaced the buffalo skull on the altar. He then took red paint from his pouch and said, "This paint is sacred for I prepared it ceremonially. Its potency is benevolent." He then gave the paint to the Recorder and told him to paint the skull. The Recorder painted a red stripe on the skull, from the right eye socket to the nasal cavity and then painted red the upper part of the stone that supported the skull. The Conductor then gave him black paint with which he painted a black stripe parallel to and behind the red stripe on the skull. The Con-

ductor explained that the red stripe signified that the spirit of the buffalo was *Hunka* to all *Hunkayapi* and the black stripe signified that the spirit of the buffalo was an authority among the *Hunkayapi*.

The Assistant made incense with sweetgrass and the Conductor took the lean meat from the scaffold and cutting it into bits gave it to the younger man, telling him to give it to the people, but to keep a bit for himself. He did so, and the Conductor did the same with the fat meat. When the younger man was seated after distributing the meat the Conductor bade all to eat. When the younger man had the meat in his mouth the Conductor said, "I am hungry. Give me some meat." The younger man said, "I have no meat." The Conductor said, "You have meat in your mouth. You should take it from your mouth and divide it with me." The younger man did so. Then the Conductor said, "My moccasins are old and my feet are sore." After a pause, as if waiting, he said to the young man, "You should give me your moccasins." The younger man did so. Then the Conductor said, "My body is naked and I am cold." The younger man took off his shirt and gave it to the Conductor who said, "My leggings are old and ragged." The younger man took off his leggings and gave them to the Conductor.

The Conductor then said, "My friends, this man has done as a *Hunka* should do. He has given of all that he had. He took the food from his mouth and divided it with me. He gave me his moccasins, his shirt, and his leggings, and now he is naked and has nothing. I will put the red stripe on his face for he is *Hunka*. I put this stripe on his face so that the people may see it and know that he has given all his possessions away, and know that they should give to him. I will put the stripe on his face and on the face of his *Hunka* so that they will remember this day, and when they see one in want they will give to that one."

THE SECRET CEREMONY.

He then directed that the older man who was to be the *Hunka* of the younger sit beside the younger. He did so and the Assistant and Recorder held a robe so that it hid the older and younger man from view. The Conductor took two small globular packages wrapped in deerskin, colored red, and with them in hand went under the cover. While there, he murmured something. The interpreter said that the packages were talismans and that the Conductor was giving one to each of the *Hunka* and telling the secrets of their potency.

When the Conductor went under the cover the drummer sounded the

drum and began singing in which the people joined. When this song was sung they sang another. When they ceased singing, the Assistant and Recorder removed the covering and the Conductor went and sat at the *catku*. When the two *Hunka* were exposed they were bound together with thongs, arm to arm, side to side, and leg to leg, and each had a stripe of red paint across his right cheek from forehead to chin, the older man having an additional red stripe parallel to the other, to indicate that the *Hunka* ceremony had been performed for him on a previous occasion.

The Conductor then said to the younger man, "You are bound to your *Hunka*, and he is as yourself. When you put the red stripe on your face remember this. What you have is his. What he has he will give you if you wish it. You must help him in time of need. If one harms him you should take revenge, for it is as if you had been harmed. If you have horses, or captive women, or robes, or meat, they are his as they are yours. His children will be as your children and your children will be as his. If he is killed in war you should not be satisfied until you have provided a companion for his spirit. If he takes the sweatbath or seeks a vision, you should aid him and help to pay the Shaman. If he is sick, you should make presents to the Shamans and to the medicinemen. The *Hunkayapi* are your people. If you are a true *Hunka*, they will not let you be in want. You should heed the words of your *Hunka Ate*. You should be as his son."

The Conductor arose and standing, said, "My friends, this young man is now *Hunka*."

This concluded the ceremony. The people first went from the lodge, then the two newly-made *Hunka*, bound together as they were, went to the preparation tipi and there clothed themselves in the ordinary manner. The Conductor remained alone in the lodge and through the door he was observed to wrap the implements used during the ceremony into a bundle; then he turned the buffalo skull with the horns down and pressed them into the ground; then carefully set the stone into the ground so that the painted portion was uppermost; then he destroyed the altar, extinguished the fire, and came from the lodge.

Soon the women took down the lodge, but left the skull and stone as the Conductor had placed them. These things were done because the people believed that when a tipi had been used as a ceremonial lodge, it should be used for no other purpose until after it has been taken down and set up again.

After the ceremony, there was a "give-away" of presents, with much enthusiasm, so that probably the new *Hunka* and his friends were recompensed for all they had given in preparation for the occasion. This was followed by a feast that continued far into the night.

The author was present at another performance of the ceremony when a man adopted a boy about twelve years of age. At this time no one other than the man and the boy took part in the ceremony. It was performed in a tipi erected for that purpose, in which were the altar, the buffalo skull, and the implements for the ceremony, but no stone. All told, there were eleven persons present. The man's hands were painted red and he performed the ceremony in a much abridged manner, himself doing all the rites, except that he did not hide the boy under cover, nor give him a talisman, nor bind him with thongs. The presents given were few, and the feast, small. In this case the man became *Hunka Ate* and the boy *Hunka*.

Short-bull, a Brulé chief of prominence among the Oglala, at one time waved a horse-tail over the author and placed a stripe of red paint on the author's forehead, and, with no further ceremony, declared the author his *Hunka*, and ever afterwards addressed him as such.

THE BUFFALO CEREMONY.

According to the former doctrine and practices of the Oglala, the influences that surround a young woman during her first menstrual flow will control her after life either for good or for evil, according to the preponderance of good or evil influences at this time. The Buffalo ceremony secures for the beneficiary the special care of the Buffalo God, the patron god of chastity, fecundity, industry, and hospitality, the virtues most to be desired of a woman. Therefore, it was given for a young woman soon after her first menstrual flow in order to aid the good influences that surrounded her at that time and to announce that she had arrived at woman's estate. One for whom this ceremony was performed was called a buffalo woman and had certain prestige in ceremonial and social affairs. One made a buffalo woman by this ceremony was a very different person from a Buffalo Woman, one of the mythical people who dwell in the regions under the world.

The Buffalo ceremony is now almost obsolete among the Oglala, but certain rites relative to it are occasionally practised. It was a festal occasion similar in most details to the *Hunka* ceremony and differing from it in that a formal camp circle was not made and in the rites performed by the conductor. The father of the young woman, or, if he could not act, her nearest kinsman, supervised the preparation for the occasion and chose the one to conduct the ceremony. If he was entitled to paint his hands red he could act as Conductor; but it was preferable to have a Shaman, for the prestige of the young woman was in proportion to the notability of the ceremony and feasts. It might be either a very simple or a very elaborate occasion, depending on the ability and inclination of those having it done. The essentials of the ceremony are to invoke the spirit of the buffalo and through it secure the influence of the Buffalo God for the young woman; to impress her with the importance of resisting lasciviousness and practising hospitality. The occasion should also inculcate the virtue of liberality. The author observed the performance of this ceremony on several occasions and was permitted to be present with an interpreter and take notes at one of the more elaborate performances. The following is a description of the ceremony as it was given at that time, with explanations of some of the rites as made by the interpreter.¹

¹ In 1902 the Editor was present at a ceremony performed by a different Shaman in which there were two girls. The essential equipment for the ceremony was secured for the

The young woman had her first menstrual flow on the fourth day of June and the ceremony was performed on the fourteenth day of the same month. Ample provision had been made for the feast and invitation wands sent to many people. The day before the ceremony many guests arrived and were camped in an irregular manner near by and others continued to come until nightfall. All were in a jovial mood, and there was visiting, games, singing, and dancing until late at night. The young woman abided alone in a large new tipi. The following paraphernalia had been provided for the ceremony:—

A buffalo skull with the horns attached.

A new wooden bowl.

A fire carrier.

A drum.

Two rattles.

A supply of dried chokecherries.

A supply of dried meat.

A supply of sweetgrass.

A supply of dried cottonwood.

A clout and new dress for the young woman.

An eagle plume with the quill wrapped with skin from the head of a mallard drake having the green feathers on it.

At dawn the next morning the people were astir and as the eastern sky grew red the shaman who was to conduct the ceremony came from his tipi and facing toward the east sang this song:—

“A voice, *Anpeo*, hear it.
Speaks low, hear it.”

According to the interpreter, *Anpeo* is the red aurora, the forerunner of the sun, a God who should be invoked by song to secure a pleasant day and this song was such an invocation.

Immediately, the people busied themselves with preparation for the occasion. Before the sun was up, the mother and some other women took

Museum. In the main, the procedure was the same as stated here, but a few points of difference deserve notice. When the altar square was prepared the Shaman painted a number of red lines upon it, parallel to the north and south sides. He took up paint in his fingers and sifted it very skilfully, making a line by one movement of the hand. As he did so, he pronounced a formula; which he said signified that these were the paths of life for women. No women occupied the tipi, it being filled by men among whom the writer and his interpreter were given seats. At one point in the ceremony, the Shaman cast burrs out of the tipi, stating that thus might trouble fall these women, particularly those caused by jealousy and envy. Before the rites with the bowl and the rutting dance, the Shaman filled two handsome pipes and gave one to each girl. They left the tipi and each selected an elderly man to smoke for them. Upon their return the rutting dance and the procedure with the bowl occurred as given above. However, the girls did not remove any of their clothing and immediately upon their final withdrawal a feast of dog was brought in and served. The “canes” given the girls were painted red and tipped with buffalo wool.

down the tipi the young woman had occupied, but immediately set it up again. This was done because the tipi was to be used as a ceremonial lodge and no ceremony will be efficacious if a woman is present during her menstrual flow or if the influences that surround her at that time are present. Such influences remain about a tipi that a woman has occupied during her period until it is taken down and again set up. Therefore, this tipi was taken down and the evil influences were thus driven from it and it was fit to be immediately set up and used for the ceremony.

When the mother began to take down the tipi the young woman took the bundle in which she had wrapped her menstrual discharge and went out alone and placed it in a plum tree. This was done as an offering to the Buffalo God which should be placed in a plum tree because it is the emblem of fruitfulness and hospitality preferred by the Buffalo God; also, if any person or thing should obtain possession of any portion of a woman's first menstrual discharge such a person or thing would thereby have an influence over the woman that might be exercised to cause her to do foolish or shameful things. The bundle should be so placed in a plum tree that the coyotes cannot get it, for they are often the emissaries of *Iktomi* and try to get such bundles for him so that he may have the power to make women ridiculous. Such bundles have a potency of their own and if disturbed may cause eruptive diseases of the skin and falling of the hair, in witness of which see young men with pimply faces and many coyotes without hair. Having deposited her bundle, the young woman returned to her father's cabin and remained there until she came from it for her part in the ceremony. The women set up the tipi with its door toward the east and the father of the young woman levelled the *catku* and made an altar between it and the fireplace. He then placed the buffalo skull on the altar and spread sagebrush around it and over the *catku*. Women built a fire of the cottonwood north of, but near the tipi, and this fire was kept replenished until the close of the ceremony. Cottonwood was used for this fire because this wood is repugnant to *Anog Ite*, the double or two-faced woman who incites to bickerings and licentiousness; the fire was built on the north side to ward against the approach of *Wazi*, the wizard, who might make the ceremony of no effect. While making the fire, the mother sang this song:—

"The spirit of the dry wood.
Those coming are pleased.

The spirit of the dry wood.
Wazi is going away."

The interpreter gave this as the meaning of this song:—A spirit fire made of dry cottonwood pleases the Gods. The spirit fire so made will

drive away the wizard, *Wazi*. This song was an invocation to have these things accomplished.

As the sky grew red before the rising sun, the Shaman stood facing east and said, "*Anpeo*, I am your friend. I have prepared the red paint you like best. I have mixed it with marrow fat. Tell this to *Wi* that He may be pleased. Give your potency to this paint." When the sun was rising he said, "Grandfather, look with favor on us. Command the Gods to do as we ask of Them. We will do nothing to displease You this day. Tell the West Wind that I am His friend so that He may keep the Winged God from the sky."

Then the father placed in the lodge a pipe and smoking material, the wooden bowl, chokecherries, sweetgrass and sage, the eagle plume, and the fire carrier. He then announced to the Shaman that the lodge was ready for the ceremony. The Shaman went into his tipi and donned his regalia. This was a headdress consisting of a cap made of buffalo skin with the long shaggy hair on it and a small buffalo horn attached to each side so that it would stand out from the head as buffalo horns do; from each side hung a pendant made of white weaselskins and hawk quills. From the rear hung a strip of buffalo skin with the hair on and a buffalo tail attached to it so as to come below his knees when standing. This was the formal regalia of a buffalo medicineman. His only clothing was a breech-clout, leggings, and moccasins. His hands, body, and face were painted red, symbolizing his sacred powers as a Shaman; there were three perpendicular black stripes painted on his right cheek, this being the sign of his authority on this occasion. When he came from his tipi he held in his right hand his Fetish and two small wands, each having a small globular package wrapped in soft tanned deerskin attached near the smaller end; in his left hand he carried his ceremonial pipe and a staff made of chokecherry wood. He faced the sun and sang this song: —

"The Sun is going.
The Sun is going.
Traveling they go.

My kinsman is going.
My kinsman is going.
I do this thing."

The interpretation of this song was that the Sun on His daily journey dispersed the evil beings that lurk about at night and that on this journey He confirmed the mystic power of the Shaman to do his mystic work. As he chanted the song, the people gathered about and stood in respectful attitude and then he harangued them, lauding the young woman and her father,

and his own proficiency as a Shaman. He then announced that the ceremony would soon begin.

The people immediately assembled in and about the lodge. The father sat at the left of the *catku* with the men at his left against the wall of the lodge to the door. The mother sat at the left of the door and the women sat at her left against the wall of the lodge to the *catku*. Those who could not seat themselves thus in the lodge sat in a circle in front of the lodge door, the men together on the north side, the women on the south.

When the people had arranged themselves the Shaman walked with slow strides to the fire at the north side of the lodge and after inspecting it sprinkled sweetgrass on it. This he did to add the potency of sweetgrass to that of the cottonwood fire in order to still further please the Gods.

He then entered the lodge and passed slowly around on the south side, deliberately scanning each woman to discover if any were present during the menstrual flow. If he had found one such he would have ordered her to retire from the lodge. He returned to the door as he came from it, so as not to pass between the altar and the *catku*, for it is a sacrilege to pass between an altar and the *catku* of the lodge. He then carefully scanned the men on the north side and if he had found one unworthy he would have ordered him to retire from the lodge. He then sat at the *catku* and gave the fire carrier to the father, who brought burning coals from the cottonwood fire and placed them at the north side of the altar, making the spirit fire there.

While he was doing this, the Shaman arranged the sagebrush around the *catku* and altar, meanwhile intoning something in a low voice. It was explained that he did this to ward off evil beings and influences. He then filled his pipe in the ceremonial manner and lighted it with a coal from the spirit fire. He blew smoke from the pipe into the nostril cavities of the buffalo skull and then passed the pipe to the father, who smoked and passed it. The pipe was passed until all in the lodge had smoked in communion. While the people were smoking, the Shaman painted the right side of the forehead of the buffalo skull red and then painted a red stripe from the occiput to the middle of the forehead. This is the symbol of the Buffalo ceremony. He then placed the skull on the altar with its nostril cavities towards the fireplace and then on each side of it thrust upright into the latter, one of the small wands he had brought into the lodge. Then he made incense by sprinkling sweetgrass on the spirit fire and in a formal manner filled his ceremonial pipe and lighted it with a coal from the spirit fire. He then invoked the God, the Four Winds, by pointing the mouth-piece of the pipe first toward the west, and carrying it horizontally in a circle, pausing a moment at the north, east, and south. This was done

because in any ceremony pertaining to the Gods, after the smoke in communion and the incense of sweetgrass, the Four Winds have precedence before all other Gods and they should be so recognized in order to propitiate them.

The Shaman then said, "My friends, we have smoked with the spirit of the buffalo, and the influence of the Buffalo God will be in this lodge." He then sang this song:—

"Buffalo bull in the west lowing.
Buffalo bull in the west lowing.
Lowing he speaks."

The explanation of this song was: The Lakota designate the rutting time of the buffalo by the term, "The buffalo bull is lowing in the west" and that the ceremony represents the buffalo during the rutting time. The Shaman then laid a bit of cloth on the skull and said, "My oldest sister, I make an offering of this robe to you."

He then directed that the young woman be brought into the lodge. Her mother led her in and seated her between the altar and the fireplace. She sat with her legs crossed, as children and men sit. The Conductor, the Shaman, then sprinkled sage on the spirit fire and said, "*Iya*, go away from this place so that this may not be a lazy woman." Sprinkling more sage on the fire he said, "*Iktomi*, go away from this place so that this young woman may not do foolish things." Again sprinkling sage on the fire he said, "*Anog Ite* go away from this place so that this young woman may not do shameful things." The fourth time he sprinkled sage on the fire and said, "*Hohnogica* go away from this place so that this young woman may not be troubled when she is a mother." He then made incense with sweetgrass on the spirit fire and said, "Bull buffalo I have painted your woman's forehead red and have given her a red robe. Her potency is in her horns. Command her to give her influence to this young woman so that she may be a true buffalo woman and bear many children." He then said to the young woman, "You have abided alone for the first time. The influence of the lower Gods has possessed you. You are now a woman and should be ashamed to sit as a child. You should sit as a woman sits." The young woman's mother then came and arranged the young woman so that she sat with her feet and limbs together, sidewise, as women sit.

The Conductor then said to her, "You should always sit as women sit. If you sit as men sit, your mother will be ashamed of you. Young men will say that a coyote has taken your bundle." The explanation given of this address is: if an Oglala woman sits with her legs crossed as men sit, this indicates that she is a lewd woman; and if it is said of a woman that a coyote has taken her bundle, it is equivalent to saying that she is considered

a lewd woman. The Conductor then arose and walked slowly four times around the young woman, scanning her closely. Then he sat at the *catku* and said, "I sought a vision and saw the messenger of the white buffalo cow. I sang this song:—

The messenger of the buffalo in the west.
The messenger of the buffalo in the west.
I will give you a robe."

"Then the messenger said: 'A spider; a turtle; the voice of a lark; a brave man; children; a tipi smoking.' I have spoken with the Gods and I will tell you what these things mean. The spider is an industrious woman. She builds a tipi for her children. She gives them plenty of food. The turtle is a wise woman. She hears many things and says nothing. Her skin is a shield. An arrow cannot wound her. The lark is a cheerful woman. She brings pleasant weather. She does not scold. She is always happy. If a brave man takes you for his woman you may sing his scalp song and you may dance his scalp dance. He will kill plenty of game. You will have plenty of meat and skins. You will bear him many children and you will be happy. There will always be a fire in your tipi and you will have food for your people. If you are industrious like the spider; if you are wise like the turtle; if you are cheerful like the lark, then you will be chosen by a brave man, and you will have plenty and never be ashamed. These things I saw in the vision: A coyote; worn moccasins; and I heard a voice in mourning. The Buffalo God sends this message to you. If you listen to *Iktomi*, or to *Iya*, or to *Anog Ite*, then you will be lazy and lewd and poor and miserable. A brave man or a good hunter will not give a dog for you. Your robe will be old and ragged. Your moccasins will be worn and without color on them. The buffalo horns are on my head and I speak for the Buffalo God. The buffalo tail is behind me and this makes my word sacred. I am now the buffalo bull and you are a young buffalo cow. I will show you what the bad influences would have you do. I will show you what the good influence would have you do."

He then formally filled his ceremonial pipe and lighted it with a coal from the spirit fire. While he smoked it the people sang a wordless song in unison with the sounding of the drum and rattles. Then the conductor formally emptied the residuum from the pipe on the spirit fire and sang this song:—

"A man from the north, gave me a cane.
I told this young woman.

She will live to be old.
Her tribe will live."

The given explanation of this song is: The man from the north is *Wazi*, the wizard, who appears as a very old man. So when the Oglala say of a man that he is a man from the north, they mean that he is a very old man who needs help. To give a cane to an old person indicates a willingness to give such aid as may be needed. The expression, "I told this young woman" means that the Shaman has formally stated to her the rules that should govern her conduct in life. The second stanza implies that if she will observe the rules that have been explained to her, she and her offspring will live long.

Then the drum and rattles were sounded and the people began to sing a wordless song in unison with the beating of the drum. The conductor went to the door and stood a moment facing out, then he turned and began to dance toward the girl, stepping in time with the drum, and repeatedly uttering a guttural cry something like "Uh-hu-hu-ah." He danced up to and beside the young woman and back to the door. Then he danced up to the other side of the young woman in the same manner. He repeated this at each side of the young woman, the music and his step becoming more vigorous, so that at the last he was dancing in a frantic manner. Then he went outside the door and getting on his hands and knees, bellowed and pawed the ground as a bull does, then lifted his head and sniffed in different directions as if trying to locate something by scent. Then he came on his hands and knees into the lodge, lowing as he came. In this manner, he sidled against the young woman, when her mother placed a wisp of sage-brush under her arm and threw some sage in her lap. The Conductor then sidled against the other side of the young woman and the mother placed sage in a like manner under her arm on that side and threw more sage in her lap.

Then the Conductor sat at the *catku* and said to the young woman, "That is the manner in which the Crazy Buffalo will approach you to tempt you to do things that will make you ashamed and will make your people ashamed of you. Your mother showed you in what manner you can drive away the evil things that would harm you. She will teach you how to do this. If you remember this a man will pay the price for you and you will be proud of your children. According to the interpreter, the price of a woman was the equivalent of six good buffalo robes and it was an honorable and desirable distinction for a young woman if, when a man chose her he would give this price for her. She could afterwards proudly make the boast that her man had paid the price for her.

The Conductor then took the wooden bowl and putting into it chokecherries and water, mingled them, intoning a song in a low voice as he did so. He placed the bowl on the ground and said to the young woman, "We

are buffalo on the plains and this is a water-hole. The water in it is red for it is sacred and made so by the Buffalo God and it is for buffalo women. Drink from it." The young woman stooped and drank from the bowl in the manner that the buffalo drink. Then the Conductor went on his hands and knees and drank from the bowl in the same manner. Then he took the bowl in his hands and said, "My friends, this young woman gives you this red water so that you may drink of it and be her friends. Let all who are her friends drink of it." He then passed the bowl and it was passed from one to another until all had sipped from it.

Then the Conductor directed the young woman to stand and take off her dress, which she did, handing the dress to him. He spread the dress over the buffalo skull saying as he did so, "This young woman gives her dress to the buffalo women. One who needs it, may take it." After a pause, a woman from outside the lodge came and took the dress. Then the Conductor gave the young woman a bit of sage and told her to eat it; as she chewed it, he said to her, "Sage is bitter, but your mother has shown you how to use it." He then gave her a bit of sweetgrass, and bade her eat it. While she was chewing it he said, "Sweetgrass is good. It pleases the Gods. You should remember these things." He then took the wands from beside the buffalo skull and handing them to her said, "These are your Buffalo charms. You should keep them for they will keep bad influences away from you. They have the potency of the Buffalo God and of the spirit of the buffalo. They will keep the two-faced woman, *Anog Ite*, from you. They will bring you many children." He then directed the mother to arrange the young woman's hair, which she did, parting it carefully in the middle, and braiding it into two strands which she brought over her shoulders so that they would hang in front as women wear their hair, instead of behind, as a girl's hair is worn.

Then the Conductor painted red the right side of the young woman's forehead and a red stripe at the parting of her hair, and while doing so he said, "You see your oldest sister on the altar. Her forehead is painted red. This is to show that she is sacred. Red is a sacred color. Your first menstrual flow was red. Then you were sacred. You have taken of the red water this day. This is to show that you are akin to the Buffalo God and are His woman. The Buffalo God is pleased with an industrious woman. He is pleased with those who give food to the hungry. He will cause a brave man to desire her, so that he will pay the price for her. She may choose the man she desires. If he has other wives she will sit next to the *catku*. They will carry wood while she mends moccasins. You are now a buffalo woman. You are entitled to paint your face in this manner."

He then tied the eagle plume at the crown of her head and said, "The

spirit of the eagle and the duck will be with you. They will give you the influence of the Sun and the South Wind. They will give you many children." He then handed her a staff of cherry wood and said, "This staff is of the sacred cherry wood. It will aid you in finding plums and chokecherries, so that you may make plenty of pemmican." He then directed the mother to remove the clout from the young woman, which she did, handing it to the Conductor, who handed it to the father, and said, "You are now a woman. The buffalo woman is your oldest sister. Go out of this lodge." He then began to intone a song without words and the young woman arose and looked confusedly about, then went from the lodge. After she had passed from the door, all the inmates of the lodge, except the Conductor, arose and went from the lodge. All assembled outside the lodge and went from it. Then the Conductor took the buffalo skull from the altar and turned it upside down, and destroyed the altar. He then took his paraphernalia and went to his tipi, removed his regalia, and then joined the people. The father harangued the people and gave a horse to the Conductor, and after this there was a general giving of presents, the presents being grouped on the ground, and the people standing in a circle about them. Each person who gave a present either harangued, or employed someone to harangue for him, calling the name of the one to receive the present, who came and took it. A number were haranguing at the same time and the people were shouting, singing, and joking, so that there was a jovial hubbub. After this there was a feast, the principal dish of which was dog meat. This feast continued until far into the night. The next forenoon the guests began their departure, but it was not considered good form for anyone to go immediately after the feast, so some lingered a day or two.

Songs for the Buffalo Ceremony.

Number 1.

A man coming from the north.
Give me a cane.
So I told this girl
She will live to be old.
And the whole tribe will live.

Number 2.

A man scratched himself beside a bank.
He proved to be a buffalo.
He said, "Young man take care for yourself.
Young man try to be straight.
It will be to your good."

Number 3.

From the rising sun I heard many voices.
And they were traveling west.
Ahead came an old man with white hair and a cane.
He said, "Good men be good.
And you will live long.
I will give a cane to the aged, and to this young woman."

Number 4.

Where the sun goes down I saw many animals
They said to me to prepare this place.
So you will see it and live long.

The above is Antoin Herman's translation, but as the songs are in the ceremonial language of the Shamans, it is probable that a much better interpretation could be given. For instance, a better interpretation of the first line of the first song would be: "*Wazi* inspires this ceremony." In the language of the Shamans, "A man coming from the north" means the wizard, *Wazi*, who, according to their mythology, taught many ceremonies to the Lakota. All these songs are related to the Buffalo ceremony, and it requires a liberal interpretation of the concepts they express to comprehend them. In the original, the meter is adapted to the music of the Lakota.

TRANSLATIONS OF TEXTS.

In the following will be found close renderings of texts and conversations upon important concepts referred to in the preceding discussions. The author has prepared for publication a number of texts with both literal and free translations which it is hoped may be printed in the near future. These all deal with ceremonies and mythical concepts.

WAKAN.

(By Sword, Translated by Burt Means.)

Wakan means very many things. The Lakota understands what it means from the things that are considered *wakan*; yet sometimes its meaning must be explained to him. It is something that is hard to understand. Thus *wasica wakan*, means a white man medicineman; but a Lakota medicineman is called *pejuta wacasa*. *Wicasa wakan* is the term for a Lakota priest of the old religion. The white people call our *wicasa wakan*, medicineman, which is a mistake. Again, they say a *wicasa wakan* is making medicine when he is performing ceremonies. This is also a mistake. The Lakota call a thing a medicine only when it is used to cure the sick or the wounded, the proper term being *pejuta*. When a priest uses any object in performing a ceremony that object becomes endowed with a spirit, not exactly a spirit, but something like one, the priests call it *tonwan* or *ton*. Now anything that thus acquires *ton* is *wakan*, because it is the power of the spirit or quality that has been put into it. A *wicasa wakan* has the power of the *wakan* beings.

The roots of certain plants are *wakan* because they are poisonous. Likewise some reptiles are *wakan* because if they bite they would kill. Again, some birds are *wakan* because they do very strange things and some animals are *wakan* because the *wakan* beings make them so. In other words, anything may be *wakan* if a *wakan* spirit goes into it. Thus a crazy man is *wakan* because the bad spirit has gone into him.

Again, if a person does something that cannot be understood, that is also *wakan*. Drinks that make one drunk are *wakan* because they make one crazy.

Every object in the world has a spirit and that spirit is *wakan*. Thus the spirit of the tree or things of that kind, while not like the spirit of man, are also *wakan*.

Wakan comes from the *wakan* beings. These *wakan* beings are greater than mankind in the same way that mankind is greater than animals. They are never born and never die. They can do many things that mankind cannot do. Mankind can pray to the *wakan* beings for help. There are many of these beings but all are of four kinds. The word *Wakan Tanka* means all of the *wakan* beings because they are all as if one. *Wakan Tanka Kin* signifies the chief or leading *Wakan* being which is the Sun. However, the most powerful of the *Wakan* beings is *Nagi Tanka*, the Great Spirit who is also *Taku Skanskan*; *Taku Skanskan* signifies the Blue, in other words, the Sky.

Iya is a *Wakan Tanka*, but he is an evil *Wakan Tanka*. Mankind is permitted to pray to the *Wakan* beings. If their prayer is directed to all the good *Wakan* beings they should pray to *Wakan Tanka*; but if the prayer is offered only to one of these beings, then the one addressed should be named.

Wakan Tanka is pleased with music. He likes to hear the drums and the rattles. When any of the *Wakan* beings hear the drum and the rattles they always give attention. He is also fond of the smoke of sweetgrass and evil *Wakan* beings are afraid of the smoke of sage. All of the *Wakan* both the good and evil, are pleased with the smoke of the pipe.

The *Wicasa Wakan* or priests, speak for all the *Wakan* beings. *Wakan Tanka* gives them the power that makes them *Wakan* and by which they can put *ton* into anything. Each priest has an object for himself into which *ton* has been put. This is called a *Wasicun*. A *Wasicun* is one of the *Wakan* beings. It is the least of them, but if its *ton* is from a powerful being it may be more powerful than many of the *Wakan* beings. This *Wasicun* is what the priests do their work with, but the white people call it the medicine bag, which is a mistake, for there are no medicines in it. A medicine bag is a bag that doctors have their medicines in. If a man has a *Wasicun* he may pray to it, for it is the same as the *Wakan* being whose *ton* (*wan*) is in it.

The earth and the rock and the mountains pertain to the chief *Wakan*. We do not see the real earth and the rock, but only their *tonwanpi*.

When a Lakota prays to *Wakan Tanka* he prays to the earth and to the rock and all the other good *Wakan* beings. If a man wishes to do evil things he may pray to the evil *Wakan*.

WAKAN TANKA.

(By Sword.)

When *Wakan Tanka* wishes one of mankind to do something he makes his wishes known either in a vision or through a shaman. . . . The shaman addresses *Wakan Tanka* as *Tobtob Kin*. This is part of the secret language of the shamans. . . . *Tobtob Kin* are four times four gods while *Tob Kin* is only the four winds. The four winds is a god and is the *akicita* or messenger of all the other gods. The four times four are: *Wikan* and *Hanwikan*; *Taku Skanskan* and *Tatekan* and *Tob Kin* and *Yumnikan*; *Makakan* and *Wohpe*; *Inyankan* and *Wakinyan*; *Tatankakan*; *Hunonpakan*; *Wanagi*; *Waniya*; *Nagila*; and *Wasicunpi*. These are the names of the good Gods as they are known to the people.

Wakan Tanka is like sixteen different persons; but each person is *kan*. Therefore, they are all only the same as one. . . . All the God persons have *ton*. *Ton* is the power to do supernatural things. . . . Half of the good Gods are *ton ton* (have physical properties) and half are *ton ton sni* (have no physical properties). Half of those who are *ton ton* are *ton ton yan* (visible), and half of those who are *ton ton sni* are *ton ton yan sni* (Invisible). All the other Gods are visible or invisible as they choose to be. . . . All the evil Gods are visible or invisible as they choose to be. . . . The invisible Gods never appear in a vision except to a Shaman. . . . Except for the Sun dance, the ceremonies for the visible and the invisible Gods differ. The Sun dance is a ceremony the same as if *Wikan* were both visible and invisible. This is because *Wi* is the chief of the Gods. . . .

CONCEPTION OF ENERGY.

(The following is a literal transcript of a conversation with Finger, a distinguished shaman, March 25, 1914.)

I heard you exclaim when a meteorite fell and heard you address the people immediately afterwards. Then I saw you burning sweetgrass. Will you tell me why you did this? You are a white man's medicineman and you want to know the mysteries of the Lakota. Why do you want to know these things?

The old Indians who know these things will soon be dead and gone and as the younger Indians do now know them they will be lost. I wish to write them so they will be preserved and your people can read them in years to come. Will you tell them to me? My father was a shaman and he taught me the mysteries of the shamans and I will tell them to you. What is it you want to know?

When the meteor fell you cried in a loud voice, "*Wohpa. Wohpe-e-e-e.*" Why did you do this? Because that is *wakan*.

What is *wohpa*? It is what you saw. It is one of the stars falling.

What causes the stars to fall? *Taku Skanskan*.

Why does *Taku Skanskan* cause the stars to fall? Because He causes everything that falls to fall and he causes everything to move that moves.

When you move what is it that causes you to move? *Skán*.

If an arrow is shot from a bow what causes it to move through the air. *Skán*.

What causes a stone to fall to the ground when I drop it? *Skán*.

If I lift a stone from the ground what causes the movement? *Skán*. He gives you power to lift the stone and it is He that causes all movement of any kind.

Has the bow anything to do with the movement of an arrow shot from it? *Taku Skanskan* gives the spirit to the bow and he causes it to send the arrow from it.

What causes smoke to go upward? *Taku Skanskan*.

What causes water to flow in a river? *Skán*.

What causes the clouds to move over the world? *Skán*.

Are *Taku Skán* and *Skán* one and the same? Yes. When the people speak to Him, they say *Taku Skanskan*. When a shaman speaks of Him, he says *Skán*. *Skán* belongs to the *wakan* speech used by the shamans.

Is *Skán*, *Wakan Tanka*? Yes.

Is he *Wakan Tanka Kin*? No. That is *Wi*, the Sun.

Are *Wi* and *Skán* one and the same? No. *Wi* is *Wakan Tanka Kin* and *Skán* is *Nagi Tanka*, the Great Spirit.

Are they both *Wakan Tanka*? Yes.

Are there any other *wakan* that are *Wakan Tanka*? Yes. *Inyan*, the Rock and *Maka*, the Earth.

Are there any others? Yes. *Wi Han*, the Moon; *Tate*, the wind; *Wakinyan*, the Winged; and *Wohpe*, the Beautiful Woman.

Are there any others that are *Wakan Tanka*? No.

Then there are eight *Wakan Tanka*, are there? No, there is but one.

You have named eight and say there is but one. How can this be? That is right. I have named eight. There are four, *Wi*, *Skán*, *Inyan*, and *Maka*. These are the *Wakan Tanka*.

You named four others, the Moon, the Wind, the Winged, and the Beautiful Woman and said they were *Wakan Tanka*, did you not? Yes. But these four are the same as the *Wakan Tanka*. The Sun and the Moon are the same, the *Skán* and the Wind are the same, the Rock and the Winged are the same, and the Earth and

the Beautiful Woman are the same. These eight are only one. The shamans know how this is, but the people do not know. It is *wakan* (a mystery).

Did the *Wakan Tanka* always exist? Yes, the Rock is the oldest. He is grandfather of all things.

Which is the next oldest? The earth. She is grandmother of all things.

Which is next oldest? *Skan*. He gives life and motion to all things.

Which is the next oldest after *Skan*? The Sun. But He is above all things and above all *Wakan Tanka*.

Lakota have told me that the Sun and *Taku Skanskan* are one and the same. Is that true? No. Many of the people believe that it is so, but the shamans know that it is not so. The Sun is in the sky only half the time and *Skan* is there all the time.

Lakota have told me the *Skan* is the sky. Is that so? Yes. *Skan* is a Spirit and all that mankind can see of Him is the blue of the sky. But He is everywhere.

Do you pray to *Wakan Tanka*? Yes, very often.

To which of the eight you have named do you pray? When I pray I smoke the pipe and burn sweetgrass and *Wohpe* carries my prayer to the *Wakan Tanka*. If the prayer is about things of great importance, it is carried to the Sun; if about my health or my strength it goes to *Skan*; if about my implements, to *Inyan*; if about food or clothing and such things, to the Earth.

Are such prayers ever carried to the Moon, or the Wind, or the Winged, or to *Wohpe*? They may be carried to the Moon and to the Wind; but this is the same as if to the Sun or *Skan*. Lakota do not pray to the Winged. They defy Him. They do not pray to *Wohpe*, for She carries all prayers. The Lakota may pray to any *Wakan*, but if to a *Wakan* that is below *Wakan Tanka*, such must be named in the prayer and it will be carried to the one named.

You say *wohpa* is a falling star. Is *Wohpe* in any way related to a falling star? She first came like a falling star.

Where did she come from. From the stars.

What are the stars? *Waniya*.

What are *waniya*? They are ghosts. *Skan* takes from the stars a ghost and gives it to each babe at the time of its birth and when the babe dies the ghost returns to the stars.

Is *Wohpe* a ghost? She is *Wakan Tanka*. A ghost is *Wakan*, but it is not *Wakan Tanka*.

Has a Lakota ever seen *Wohpe*? Yes. When She gave the pipe to the Lakota She was in their camp for many days.

How did she appear at that time? Like a very beautiful young woman. For this reason the people speak of Her as the Beautiful Woman. The people do not speak of Her as *Wohpe*. Only the shamans call her that.

Lakota have told me that Her *ton* is in the pipe and in the smoke of the sweetgrass. Is that true? It was a shaman who told you that. When the people say *ton* they mean something that comes from a living thing, such as the birth of anything or the discharge from a wound or a sore or the growth from a seed. Only shamans speak of the *ton* of the *Wakan*. Such *ton* is *wakan* and the shamans only know about it. The people are afraid to talk of such *ton* because it is *wakan*. The people smoke the pipe and burn sweetgrass because *Wohpe* will do no harm to anyone.

You say the Rock is the grandfather of all things and the Earth the grandmother of all things. Are the Rock and the Earth as a man and wife? Some Shamans think they are, and some think they are not.

Who were the father and mother of all things? The *Wakan* have no father or mother. Anything that has a birth will have a death. The *Wakan* were not born and they will not die.

Is anything about a Lakota *wakan*? Yes. The spirit, the ghost, and the *sicun*. Do these die? No. They are *wakan*.

What becomes of them when the body dies? The spirit goes to the spirit world, the ghost goes to where *Skan* got it, and the *sicun* returns to the *Wakan* it belongs to.

What is the *sicun*? It is the *ton* of a *Wakan*. *Skans* gives it at the time of the birth.

What are its functions? It remains with the body during life, to guard it from danger and help it in a *wakan* manner.

How does the spirit get to the spirit world? It goes on the spirit trail.

Where is the spirit trail? It can be seen in the sky at night. It is a white trail across the sky.

Is it made of stars? No. It is like the clouds, so that nothing but *wakan* can travel on it. No man knows where it begins or where it ends. The Wind alone knows where it begins. It moves about. Sometimes it is in one direction and sometimes in another.

How does the ghost go to the place where *Skan* got it? The ghost is like smoke and it goes upward until it arrives at the stars.

What becomes of the body when it dies? It rots and becomes nothing.

THE CONCEPT *NI*.

(By Sword.)

A man's *Ni* is his life. It is the same as his breath and that which gives him his strength. It is the *Ni* which keeps the inside of a man clean. If the *Ni* is weak, he cannot perform this office and if it goes away the man dies. *Niya* is the ghost or spirit which is given to a man at birth and is that which causes the *Ni*. The Lakota have a ceremony which they call *Ini kaga* or *Inipi*. The white people call it taking a sweat bath. The idea of the Lakota is that the *Inipi* makes man's spirit strong so that it may cleanse all within the body and so that the *Ni* may drive from his body all that makes him tired or that causes disease or that causes him to have evil thoughts. The ceremony must be performed in a *ini ti* or what the white people call a sweatlodge. The *ini ti* must be made according to Lakota custom; otherwise, the ceremony would be of no avail.

Wowihanble is the name for a supernatural communication. It is what the white people call a holy dream or vision. In former times, if a man wished to know the will of his god he sought a vision. The term for this is *ihanblapi*. To seek such a vision a Lakota must think about it all the time, but first strengthen his spirit by the *inikaga*.

INVOCATION BY A SHAMAN.

The invocation and its explanation were given in Lakota by Sword and interpreted by Thomas Mills.

Before a Shaman can perform a ceremony in which mysterious beings or things have a part, he should fill and light a pipe and say: —

"Friend of *Wakinyan*, I pass the pipe to you first. Circling I pass to you who dwell with the Father. Circling pass to beginning day. Circling pass to the beautiful one. Circling I complete the four quarters and the time. I pass the pipe to the Father with the Sky. I smoke with the Great Spirit. Let us have a blue day."

The pipe is used because the smoke from the pipe smoked in communion has the potency of the feminine god who mediates between godkind and mankind, and propitiates the godkind. When a Shaman offers the pipe to a god, the god smokes it and is propitiated. In this invocation, when the Shaman has filled and lighted the pipe he should point the mouthpiece toward the west and say, "Friend of *Wakinyan*, I pass the pipe to you first." Thus, he offers the pipe to the West Wind, for the West Wind dwells in the lodge of *Wakinyan* and is his friend. The pipe should be offered to the West Wind first, because the birthright of precedence of the oldest was taken from the first born, the North Wind, and given to the second born, the West Wind, and the gods are very jealous of the order of their precedence.

When he has made this offering the Shaman should move the pipe toward his right hand, the mouthpiece pointing toward the horizon, until it points toward the north. Then he should say, "Circling, I pass to you who dwells with the grandfather." Thus, he offers the pipe to the North Wind, for because of an offence against the feminine god, the Great Spirit condemned the North Wind to dwell forever with his grandfather, who is *Wazi*, the wizard. Then the Shaman should move the pipe in the same manner, until the mouthpiece points toward the east and should say, "Circling pass to beginning day." This is an offering to the East Wind, for his lodge is where the day begins and he may be addressed as the "beginning day." Then the Shaman should move the pipe in the same manner until the mouthpiece points toward the south, and say, "Circling, pass to the beautiful one." This is an offering to the South Wind, for the "beautiful one" is the feminine god who is the companion of the South Wind and dwells in his lodge, which is under the sun at midday. It pleases the South Wind to be addressed through his companion rather than directly.

The Four Winds are the *akicita* or messengers of the gods and in all ceremonies they have precedence over all other gods and for this reason should be the first addressed.

When the offering has been made to the South Wind the Shaman should move the pipe in the same manner until the mouthpiece again points toward the west, and say, "Circling I complete the four quarters and the time." He should do this because the Four Winds are the four quarters of the circle and mankind knows not where they may be or whence they may come and the pipe should be offered directly toward them. The four quarters embrace all that are on the world and all that are in the sky. Therefore, by circling the pipe, the offering is made to all the gods. The circle is the symbol of time, for the daytime, the night time, and the moon time are circles above the world, and the year time is a circle around the border of the world. Therefore, the lighted pipe moved in a complete circle is an offering to all the times.

When the Shaman has completed the four quarters and the time he should point the mouthpiece of the pipe toward the sky and say, "I pass the pipe to the father with the sky." This is an offering to the Wind, for when the Four Winds left the lodge of their father, the Wind, he went from it, and dwells with the sky. He controls the seasons and the weather, and he should be propitiated when good weather is desired.

Then the Shaman should smoke the pipe and while doing so, should say, "I smoke with the Great Spirit. Let us have a blue day."

To smoke with the Great Spirit means that the one smoking is in communion with the Great Spirit. Then he may make a prayer. The prayer here is for a blue day. Ordinarily, a blue day means a cloudless or successful day. When a Shaman formally prays for a blue day, it means an enjoyable day and an effective performance of a ceremony.

SICUN.

(By Sword.)

The word *Sicun* is from the sacred language of the shamans. It signifies the spirit of a man. This spirit is given to him at birth to guard him against the evil spirits and at death it conducts him to the land of the spirits, but does not go there itself. In the course of his life a man may choose other *Sicun*. He may choose as many as he wishes but such *Sicun* do not accompany him after death; if he has led an evil life no *Sicun* will accompany him.

A shaman should direct a person in the choice of his *Sicun*. When the Lakota chooses a *Sicun* such is the *Ton* of a *Wakan* or it may be the *Ton* of anything. When one chooses a *Sicun* he should give a feast and have a shaman to conduct the ceremony, for no one can have the knowledge necessary to conduct his own ceremony unless he has learned it in a vision. One's *Sicun* may be in any object as in a weapon or even in things to gamble with or in a medicine. But the *Sicun* that a man receives at birth is never found in anything but his body. This *Sicun* is like one's shadow.

No one ever had the *Ton* of the Sun for a *Sicun*, for the Sun will not be a *Sicun* for anyone. On the other hand, the *Ton* of the Sky, while a very powerful *Sicun*, may be secured through old and wise shamans. The *Sicun* of the earth is the next most powerful and next in rank is the *Sicun* of the rock. The *Sicuns* of the bear and the buffalo are often chosen; but that of the bear more frequently. A Shaman's *Wakan* bag is his *Sicun* and all *Sicun* are considered *Wakan*. A doctor's medicine is his *Sicun* and the implements used by a shaman in any ceremony are the *Sicun* of that shaman. Implements that are in such *Sicun* will not be appropriate in a ceremony. A person may lend his *Sicun* to another. The term *Wasicun* is applied to any object used as a *Sicun* or it may represent anything which is *Wakan*. If a ceremony by which one gets a *Wasicun* is performed in the most acceptable manner that *Wasicun* will be the same in essence as the *Wakan* thing it represents. An evil man cannot secure a good *Sicun*, but may secure an evil one. If the ceremony be performed, a *Sicun* is secured. Then that *Sicun* must do as it is directed to do by the one who chooses it; but the chooser must know the songs that belong to it.

SICUN.

(As explained by One-star, July 8th, 1897 and interpreted by Elmer Red-eyes.)

A *Sicun* is like a spirit. It is the *ton-ton sni*, that is, it is immortal and cannot die. A Lakota may have many *Sicunpi*, but he always has one. It is *Wakan*, that is, it is like *Wakan Tanka*. It may be the spirit of anything. A Shaman puts the spirit in a *sicun*. The Bear taught the shamans how to do this. A Lakota should know the songs and if he sings them his *sicun* will do as he wishes. One *Sicun* may be more powerful than another. The *Sicun* may be of the Great Spirit. If it is opposed by

the *Sicun* of herbs it is the most powerful. The *Sicun* of a good spirit is more powerful than the *Sicun* of a bad spirit. The power of sweetgrass is always the spirit of the spirit that is with the south wind. This is always pleasing to the good spirits. The bad spirits do not like the smoke of the sweetgrass. The smoke of sage will drive bad spirits away. A medicineman knows the songs of his medicines and they are his *Sicun*. The *Sicun* that has the power of the spirit should be colored. Red is the color of the sun; blue, the color of the moving spirit; green the color of the spirit of the earth; and yellow is the color of the spirit of the rock. These colors are also for other spirits. Blue is the color of the wind; red is the color of all spirits. The colors are the same for the friends of the Great Spirits. Black is the color of the bad spirits. A man who paints red is pleasing to the spirits. A *Sicun* is a man's spirit. A man's real spirit is different from his *Sicun* spirit. *Ni* is also like a spirit. It is a man's breath. It is the spirit of smoke. It is the spirit of steam. It is the spirit of the sweatlodge. It purifies the body. The bear taught these things to the shamans.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTE BY SWORD.

At the time of his death Sword was writing an autobiography from which the following has been translated.

When I believed the Oglala *Wakan Tanka* was right I served him with all my powers. I became a *Wicasa Wakan* (Shaman) and conducted all the ceremonies of the Lakota, even the Sun dance, which is the greatest ceremony of the Oglala. I danced the Sun dance to become a Shaman and because of the scars on my chest no Oglala will deny my word. I was a *pejuta wicasa* (medicineman) and belonged to the Matopi (Bears, a cult or society of medicinemen) and the Bears have all the ceremonies of other medicinemen and much more. I was a Blotaunka (leader of war parties) and have fought according to Lakota customs against the enemy, both Indians and white people, so I know all the customs of war that the Oglala practised. I was *Wakiconze* (civil magistrate) and thus know all the customs of the Oglala. I was eligible to chieftainship. In war with the white people I found their *Wakan Tanka* the Superior, I then took the name of Sword and have served *Wakan Tanka* according to the white people's manner and with all my power. I became the chief of the United States Indian Police and held the office until there was no trouble between the Oglala and the white people. I joined the church and am a deacon in it and shall be until I die. I have done all I was able to do to persuade my people to live according to the teachings of the Christian ministers.

I still have my *Wasicun* (ceremonial pouch or bundle of a Shaman) and I am afraid to offend it, because the spirit of an Oglala may go to the spirit land of the Lakota.

THE NUMBER FOUR.

(By Tyon.)

In former times the Lakota grouped all their activities by four's. This was because they recognized four directions: the west, the north, the east, and the south; four divisions of time: the day, the night, the moon, and the year; four parts to everything that grows from the ground: the roots, the stem, the leaves, and the fruit; four kinds of things that breathe: those that crawl, those that fly, those that

walk on four legs, and those that walk on two legs; four things above the world: the sun, the moon, the sky, and the stars; four kinds of gods: the great, the associates of the great, the gods below them, and the spirit kind; four periods of human life: babyhood, childhood, adulthood, and old age; and finally, mankind had four fingers on each hand, four toes on each foot, and the thumbs and the great toes of each taken together are four. Since the Great Spirit caused everything to be in four's, mankind should do everything possible in four's.

THE CIRCLE.

(By Tyon.)

The Oglala believe the circle to be sacred because the Great Spirit caused everything in nature to be round except stone. Stone is the implement of destruction. The sun and the sky, the earth and the moon are round like a shield, though the sky is deep like a bowl. Everything that breathes is round like the body of a man. Everything that grows from the ground is round like the stem of a tree. Since the Great Spirit has caused everything to be round mankind should look upon the circle as sacred for it is the symbol of all things in nature except stone. It is also the symbol of the circle that marks the edge of the world and therefore of the four winds that travel there. Consequently, it is also the symbol of a year. The day, the night, and the moon go in a circle above the sky. Therefore the circle is a symbol of these divisions of time and hence the symbol of all time.

For these reasons the Oglala make their tipis circular, their camp circle circular, and sit in a circle in all ceremonies. The circle is also the symbol of the tipi and of shelter. If one makes a circle for an ornament and it is not divided in any way, it should be understood as the symbol of the world and of time. If, however, the circle be filled with red, it is the symbol of the sun; if filled with blue, it is the symbol of the sky. If the circle is divided into four parts, it is the symbol of the four winds; if it is divided into more than four parts, it is the symbol of a vision of some kind. If a half circle is filled with red it represents a day; filled with black, the night; filled with yellow, a moon or month. On the other hand, if a half circle is filled with many colors, it symbolizes a rainbow.

One may paint or otherwise represent a circle on his tipi or his shield or his robe. The mouth of a pipe should always be moved about in a circle before the pipe is formally smoked.

THE FOUR GREAT VIRTUES.

The four great virtues that all Lakota should practise are, bravery, generosity, truthfulness, and begetting children.

Bravery is the greatest virtue a Lakota can practise. If one is brave, he may transgress in many other things and still keep his tipi in the camp circle and sit in the council of the camp. A brave man is eligible to the positions of *blotaunka* (leader of a war party), *wakiconza* (magistrate or leader of civil matters), *mihunka* (elder or arbitrator) and *akicita* (marshal). His voice will be listened to with respect by everyone and all will do him honor. If he has earned the right to wear the quills of the eagle, he will be consulted in all matters relative to the common welfare, and if he may carry the scalp staff or coup stick, the women will sing songs in his praise.

Generosity is a virtue second only to bravery. A generous man will be forgiven all transgressions except that of being a coward or a liar. By giving of his possessions a man shows his generosity and by giving to the shamans he is sacrificing to the Gods and thereby gains their favor. A man who gives to the needy is respected by all. If he gives all his possessions he shows bravery and the Gods will not let him want. The Buffalo will provide for him and give him women and children and he will be successful in the chase. His spirit will go on the spirit trail endowed with many goods and he will enter the spirit world with honor and be esteemed there.

To be truthful to friends is the third great virtue that every Lakota should practise. If one is a liar his voice will not be listened to by anyone and he cannot lead in anything. Even the Gods will forsake him and the winds will hide the spirit trail from his spirit.

To beget children is a great virtue that every Lakota should practise. To have many children is pleasing to *Woniya Tanka*, *Skanskan*, who is the *Wanagi Tanka*. He gives the breath of life and the spirit to every child that is born alive and he judges the spirit upon the testimony given by the ghost after death. A Lakota's spirit is honored in the spirit world in proportion to the number of children he has, for he will be the chief of their spirits. The Buffalo god presides over love and the chastity and fecundity of women, and therefore a man should placate this god, and secure his favor, so that his women may bear him many children and be true to him. The Buffalo god also presides over generosity and the chase. One who has the favor of this god may have plenty of meat and robes and can be generous as well as have many children. A Lakota should beget children only with his own women, for if he violates the chastity of a woman who does not belong to him, or begets a child by such, the Buffalo god will plague him in this life and his ghost will bear testimony against him before the *Wanagi Tanka*, the Great Spirit, *Skanskan*.

THE CAUSES OF DISEASES

(Told by No-flesh)

My father was a medicineman and he knew all diseases. He knew what caused them. He could cure all diseases. He knew the best of medicines. When he was a very young man, he had a vision, in which the great bear took him to the region of the spirits. He joined the spirits in the mystery dance and they instructed him in regard to all diseases and the medicines good for them.

Sage drives away evil spirits. Sweetgrass pleases the good spirits. The influence (*Tonwan*) of the spirits is everywhere all the time. If the spirits cannot come when they are called their influence will act for them. In all sickness evil spirits should be driven away first. This may be done by making smoke with the sage. There are other things which will drive away certain kinds of evil spirits. Then when the evil spirits are driven away, the good spirits should be invoked. This may be done by singing songs. A medicineman will know what song to sing. He learns what song to sing when he has his vision. It may be that he learns the song from someone else. It may be that his song is not good. If his song is not good, then another medicineman may be able to sing the right song. If medicinemen use the same medicines they should sing songs alike. Evil spirits cause all diseases. Good

spirits do not cause diseases. The evil spirits may cause worms to enter the body. The evil spirits get into the body. They will squeeze the flesh and cause *kan-natipapi* (spasms).

Kan natipapi (Tendon drawn up) may pinch the points and cause *okihe yanzanpi* (rheumatism). *Okihe yazanpi* (joints pain) may pinch the bowels and cause *cenpi yazanpi* (colic). They may place worms in the bowels. These worms eat the bowels and this gives *kazopi* (diarrhoea). Some worms (*wagula*) do not eat the bowels. The bird medicinemen are best to treat for worms. Sometimes the evil spirits get in the head. This makes *nasu yazanpi* (brain pain, headache).

The menstrual flow of woman is very *wakan*. It will cause diseases of the skin and the genitals. Some medicinemen make medicines of this and if they invoke the right spirits it makes love medicine. The influence of menstruation will give *ticantatapi* (body numb, paralysis). The influence of the mole is bad. It gives scars and burrows under the skin (scrofula). It also causes lice.

Anog Ite causes pains in a man's testicles. She also gives pains to women when they are menstruating and when they are pregnant.

The *Unktehi* make boils and put bad humors about wounds. Iktomi was shooting Unktehi with a popgun when the Unktehi took an ash sprout and pushed the pith out so hard that it struck Iktomi and entered under the skin. This swelled and got hot and ached until it softened and ran out. This was the way boils first came. Since then when the Unktehi shoot anyone with the pith of an ash, it makes a boil.

Iya was very hungry because no one had died for a long time. He said to the dragon fly, "Give me something to eat for I am very hungry." The dragon fly told him to come with him, and he took him to a swampy place and said to him, "Here is where I get my food. Take what you want of it." So Iya began to catch mosquitoes and eat them. The mosquitoes said to the dragon fly, "Iya is very large and he will eat all mosquitoes and you will have no food left." Then the mosquitoes and the dragon fly said to Iya, "Come with us." He went with them down into the waters to the tipi of the Unktehi and Iktomi went with them. When they came to the tipi Iktomi said to Iya, "What would you like to eat?" Iktomi had deceived Iya so often that he said, "Now I will tell the opposite of what I mean." So he said, "I like meat best and fat meat better still, but I will starve if I have only ghosts to eat. So Iktomi said to the Unktehi, "We must play a joke on Iya. He says he likes meat the best and that he will starve on spirits of men. So we must make him believe that he will get meat and make it so that he will get ghosts only."

So the *Unktehi* and the dragon fly made a little worm, took it to Iya and told him to put it in the water. When anyone drank the water they would die and he would have plenty of meat. So Iya put the worm in the water and when anyone drank the water, the worm would go down the windpipe and into the lungs. It would draw all the fat from the body and eat it and one would cough and spit out the fat that the worm would not eat. When the worm had eaten all the fat then the person died, so that there was little meat or fat. This was what Iya wanted, for his favorite food was spirits. This was how consumption began.

Anog Ite entices persons to follow her and then she shows them her hideous face and this frightens them so that they lose their senses and become insane, or they jump and jerk their arms and legs about until they forget about seeing her (bring on chorea). She is fond of doing this to young girls just as they are about to menstruate for the first time.

Cause of Fever. The Hohnogica build spirit fires near sick people and this

makes them very hot. They sometimes appear to babies and frighten them into spasms. When they rub their hair on one this makes sores and eruptive diseases.

When persons drink water from the streams, they are apt to suck in worms and swallow them. These worms scratch the bowels and gnaw the internal organs and make pains. One is apt to swallow snakes and frogs in the same way and these things live in such a one's belly and they must be fed or they will writhe about and cause pains.

Frost Bite. Waziya blows his breath on one and makes one cold even on a hot day. If Waziya touches one, the flesh that he touches dies.

If one kills a spider with the hands, then Iktomi will put sand in such a one's eyes and make them sore.

When one is wounded the *Unktehi* put their spittle into the wound which is the humor and they will shoot pith into the wound which makes the discharge.

If one has dedicated an animal or part of an animal according to his vision and then such a one should eat that animal or part of the animal before the dedication runs out, then the thing that it was dedicated to, will bring some kind of sickness upon such a one.

There are many things that are *ohhaka* (injurious as food). Some because they are poison and some because they are mysterious. All such things will cause diseases. All diseases are things which get into the body and do violence to it in some way. The thing to do is to get these things out of the body. May be it is the influence of a supernatural being (*Taku Wakan*). May be it is something like a worm. If it is an influence (*tonwan*), then the shamans (*Wicasa Wakan*) can cure the sick the best. If it is something else, then the medicinemen (*Pejuta wicasa*) can make the best cure. If the sickness is of long duration, then someone should seek a vision and learn what to do. It is always the best to *iwani* (take a vapor bath with ceremonies). It is best always to make smoke of sage and then smoke of sweetgrass. This will drive away the evil spirits and please the good spirits.

The shamans can make medicines that are very mysterious and powerful. Their incantations (*pikiyapi*) make it powerful. By their incantations they can cause diseases. These diseases are *tokeca* (different from the ordinary).

The medicinemen learn their medicines from the spirits in a vision. The spirits tell them what to use and how to use it. Their medicines are nearly always herbs (*wato*) or roots (*hutkan*). Therefore, all their medicines are called grass roots (*pe-zuta*). The medicines drive the disease out in the sweat, in the vomit, in the defecation, in the urine, and in the breath. To drive disease out in the sweat, is the best and easiest way; in the breath, is the next best and easiest way; in the defecation, is the next best way; in the urine is a good way; and in the vomit, is a very hard way, but some diseases will not come out in any other way.

NARRATIVES.

The following narratives were collected in the course of this investigation and are offered as a contribution to Dakota folklore. About the only data so far published under this head are to be found in the following fragmentary collections: S. R. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography*,¹ Clark Wissler, *Some Dakota Myths*,² and the author's paper on *Sioux Games*.³ Practically none of these duplicate the narratives offered here, though there are some correspondences as noted in the text.

WHEN THE PEOPLE LAUGHED AT HANWI.

Wazi was chief of the people who dwell under the world, and his woman, Kanka, was a seer. Their daughter, Ite, the wife of Tate, was the most beautiful of women. She gave birth to four sons at one time which proved these children to be gods. Yet Wazi was not content, for he wished to have powers like a god. Iktomi knew this and he schemed to have Wazi play his pranks. He told Wazi that he should have the powers he wished for if he would help make others ridiculous. Wazi was afraid, but he told Kanka what Iktomi had said. She said that if they had the power of the gods no one could take it from them and then they could laugh at Iktomi. Iktomi, lurking near, heard her say this and smiled.

He went and sat in the tipi of Kanka. He told her that she was a wise woman and a seer and that for a long time he had thought she ought to have power to do as she liked. He said he would be pleased if he could help her get such power so that she could do much good for the people. He then talked of the beauty of her daughter, Ite. He said that because of her beauty she was the wife of a god and the mother of gods and therefore ought to have a seat with the gods. He talked much like this. Kanka asked him how he could help her get power to do as she wished to do. He said he would think about this and then tell her.

When Iktomi had gone, Wazi told Kanka that if she was not careful Iktomi would make the people laugh at her. Again, Iktomi came and told Kanka that if she would help him play his pranks he would give her power to do as the gods do. Kanka said that if he would first give her and Wazi such powers and they could prove that they had them, then they would help him to do what he wished. Iktomi agreed to this and gave them the powers they wished for. Then he talked of the beauty of their daughter until the night was almost gone.

Early the next morning he came and told Wazi and Kanka that they could prove their powers by making anyone more beautiful. He showed them how to make a charm that would make more beautiful anyone who would carry it on the body. He

¹ *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. 9, Washington, 1839.

² *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. 20, pp. 121-131, 195-206, 1907.

³ *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. 19, pp. 29-36, 1906.

then went to the tipi of Ite and sat and talked with her. He told her that she was very industrious and modest, that she was as beautiful as Hanwi and that if she were more beautiful she would be the most beautiful of all beings.

Ite told her mother what Iktomi had said and Kanka told her that she would sit with the gods. Again, Iktomi sat and talked with Ite. He told her that Wi, the chief of the gods, had noticed her beauty and had spoken of it. Again, Ite told her mother what Iktomi had said, and Kanka said that Ite would sit with the chief of the gods. She gave her daughter the charm and bade her carry it on her body. Ite carried the charm and grew more beautiful each night. Iktomi told Wi that the wife of Tate was the most beautiful of all beings, that she was the wife of a god and the mother of gods, and that she ought to have a seat with the gods. He then sat and talked with Kanka and told her that it would please Wi to see Ite.

Wazi told Kanka to be careful or Iktomi would cause the people to laugh at her. She said that they could laugh at Iktomi, for he could not take from them the powers he had given them; that when the people that now lived were forgotten, people would speak of Wazi and Kanka because their daughter sat with the chief of the gods. Iktomi lurked near and heard her say this and he smiled.

Ite adorned herself, but there was no fire in her tipi, neither was there food nor drink, and her little sons cried because they were hungry. She walked with her father and mother, and they passed before the face of Wi. Wi saw that Ite was very beautiful and then he remembered what Iktomi had said to him. So he talked with her and invited her to sit at the feast of the gods.

Iktomi sat in the tipi of Ite and talked with her. He told her that Wi was tired of his companion, Hanwi, and wished for a younger and a more beautiful companion. Then Ite told him that Wi had invited her to sit at the feast of the gods. He told her that when all were seated at the feast, she must take the vacant seat. Kanka helped her daughter to adorn herself and foretold that Ite would live forever like the gods.

When the feast was ready, Iktomi was talking with Hanwi. He told her that Wi thought that a woman, Ite, was the most beautiful of all beings and had invited her to sit at the feast of the gods. So Hanwi stayed to adorn herself and came late to the feast. Ite came early and when all were seated, she saw a vacant seat beside Wi, and she took it. Wi did not frown. He smiled and talked with Ite. Hanwi came and saw a woman sitting on her seat. She covered her head with her robe and stood behind Ite. The people saw this, and they laughed at her. Iktomi laughed loudest and longest. Kanka sang a song of joy, but Wazi was afraid. Tate left the feast and went to the tipi of Ite. He painted his face and the faces of his little sons, black.

After the feast, Hanwi stood before Skan hiding her face with her robe. Skan asked her why she hid her face. She replied because she was shamed by Wi who had permitted a woman to sit in her place so the people laughed at her and Iktomi laughed loudest and longest.

Then Skan asked Wi why he had permitted a woman to sit on the seat of Hanwi. Wi replied that because of the beauty of the woman he had forgotten his companion, Hanwi.

Skan asked Ite why she sat on the seat of Hanwi. She replied that her mother foretold that she would sit beside the chief of the gods and had made her more beautiful, that Iktomi had told her that she was the most beautiful of all beings, that Wi was tired of Hanwi and wished for a younger and more beautiful companion, and that Wi invited her to sit at the feast of the gods, that she had seen the vacant seat beside him and sat on it.

Skan asked Kanka why she had schemed to have her daughter sit on the seat of Hanwi. She replied that as a seer she foresaw that Ite would sit beside the chief of the gods, and that she and Wazi had gotten from Iktomi the powers to do as the gods do. By these powers they had made their daughter more beautiful, so that Wi would not be ashamed of her when she sat beside him, and that Iktomi had told her that Wi was pleased to see Ite.

Skan asked Wazi why he had gotten the powers from Iktomi. He replied that he wished for the powers so that he could do more good.

Then Skan told Wi that the chief of the gods must not forget; that because he had permitted the beauty of a woman to cause him to forget his companion, she would be his companion no more, that she could go her own way and travel as she pleased; that he and she had ruled the two periods of time, day and night, but that forever after she would rule the third period, the interval between the time she went from him until she returned to him; that because he had caused her to hide her face for shame she would forever hide her face when near him, and only uncover it when she was far from him.

Skan told Ite that because she had forgotten her husband and little sons she would be with them no more; that her unborn child would come before its time and it would forever be a little child and abide with Tate; that because she was so vain of her beauty that she dared try to usurp the place of Hanwi, she should go to the world and there live forever without friends; that she should keep her beautiful face forever, but she would have another face so horrid that those who looked upon it would fly from her or go mad; and that she would be known as Anog Ite, the Double-Woman, or the Two-Faced.

Skan told Kanka that because she had obtained the powers of a god by fraud she should go to the world and there live alone forever, until she could use her powers to help little children and young people, and that she would forever be known as Wakanka, the Old Woman, the Witch.

Skan told Wazi that because he had not used his powers to do good, but to cause shame for his kindred and the gods, he should live forever alone in the world until he could use his powers to help his grandsons and that he should forever be known as Wazi, the Old Man, the Wizard.

Then Iktomi laughed loud and long and taunted Wakanka and said that she would have cheated him to get the powers of a god and then would have laughed at him, but that he had made her and her kindred ashamed.

Skan then asked Iktomi why he had schemed to make Wakanka and her kindred ashamed and to cause shame for Hanwi. Iktomi said that he was a god and the son of a god, that his father, the rock, was the oldest of the gods, that he had named all things that are named and made all languages that are spoken, that he had done much good and should be treated as a god; but because his other parent, the flying god, had no shape his form was queer and all laughed at him; that when he did good all laughed at him as if he were making sport, that because everyone laughed at him he would laugh at everyone; that he had made the chief of the gods and the most beautiful of the gods ashamed; that he had made the chief of the people and the most beautiful of women ashamed; and that he would make all the gods and all the people ashamed.

Then Skan told him that because he laughed when others were shamed or suffered and because he threatened the gods, he must go to the world and remain there forever without friends; that all of mankind would hate him, and all the gods despise him, and that the sound of the rattles would be torture to him.

Then Iktomi laughed loud and long. Skan asked him why he laughed. He replied that Skan had forgotten the birds and the beasts; that he would dwell with them and talk with each in its own language, and that he would have pleasure and would make fools of mankind.

Then Tate blackened his face and with his four sons sat before Skan. Skan called him his comrade and asked him what he wished. Tate told Skan to look upon his face and the faces of his little children that were blackened because their mother was taken from them forever. He said Ite was but a woman and that others stronger than she had caused her to forget the woman's place, that though his sons were gods, they were little children and wept for their mother's care. He begged Skan to let him bear the punishment of Ite and let her remain with her children.

Skan told Tate that because of his love for Anog Ite he could dwell near her until the fourth period of time and then he could do with the woman as he wished, that he could send a token to Tate and then Tate would send four sons to establish the directions on the world and they would make the fourth period of time.

Hanwi blackened her face and mourned with Tate and the people laughed at her no more.

WHEN THE WIZARD CAME.

The wizard was not permitted on the world, so he traveled around on the edge until he made a trail there. He spoke to the stars as they passed near him and asked each for permission to go to the world, but they never granted his request. He saw that some stars never came down to the edge of the world so he set up a lodge under them and dwelt in it so that he might be near if they should come down, for he thought that one of them might give him permission to go on the world. In this lodge a vision came to him in which he was told to go on the trail again where a message would come to him. He followed the trail around the edge of the world and a bright star spoke to him. It appeared in the form of a beautiful young woman who told him she was the daughter of the Sky and that her father had sent her with a message to him. She told him to return to his lodge and abide in it until the moon was again round and then go upon the world where he would find the sons of Tate. When he found them he must with his power as a wizard aid them in the work they were doing. When this work was done she told him to go to the lodge of Tate, and then he could forever afterwards go upon the world as he wished.

He did as he was bidden. He found the sons of Tate camped for the night, for they were making a journey. He said, "Ho, my grandchildren," and asked permission to camp with them that night. Because Yata was the first-born he was the leader of the party. He answered in a surly manner and turned his back towards the old man. But Okaga, the fourth-born spoke kindly and bade the wizard sit on his side of the campfire. When the brothers ate, the old man said he was hungry. Yata replied that he should not travel without food, for he had none to give away; but Okaga gave him some of his food which he kept in a little bag. The old man ate much of it, but when he returned the bag to Okaga it was full of food. Ever afterwards, it remained full of good food, though Okaga often ate from it until he was satisfied.

When they had eaten, the three older brothers wrapped their robes about them and lay down to sleep. Okaga gave his robe to the old man and it spread until it was so large that both Okaga and the old man could lie upon it and cover with it. So they slept together that night.

In the morning, the robe was small and light, but ever afterward it remained like new, and would stretch so that Okaga could lie upon it and cover with it at the same time. He asked the brothers where they wished to go. They told him that their father had sent them to make the four directions and put them on the edge of the world. He told them that he lived on the edge of the world, and could guide them to it, and that if they would do as he bade them he could bring them there quickly.

They agreed to do as he would tell them. Then he gave each of them a pair of moccasins, for before this their feet had always been bare. He showed them how to put them on and bade them stand side by side with him. Then Yata said his direction should be the first because it was his birthright to be first in everything and that his father had told him that his direction must be on the edge of the world where the shadows are longest at midday. He ordered the old man to guide them to that place. Then the old man told them that with the aid of the moccasins they could step from hilltop to hilltop far away. He bade Yata step first; but he was afraid, and would not move. Then the old man bade Iya, the second born, to step, and he did so and was soon on a hilltop far away. Then Yata stepped forward and was beside Iya. Yanpa, the third born, then stepped, and he too stood beside his brothers. When the three brothers had gone the old man asked Okaga to come with him; they stepped together and went far beyond the three brothers. He called them. When they came he told them that they could travel best under clouds and immediately it became so cloudy that neither the sun nor the sky could be seen. They traveled under the clouds more swiftly than the birds could fly and in the evening they came to a high mountain where the old man told them to camp that night. In the morning he told them to go over the mountain and there they would find the edge of the world. They did as he bade them. When they came to the edge of the world they set up a great heap of stones. This was the first direction.

When the first direction was made they saw the sun. They saw that the mountain stood where the sun went down at the close of the day's journey. When they saw this, Yata raged, for this was Iya's direction and it was first. The old man stood before the brothers and told Yata that because he was cruel and surly, and a coward afraid to step first in the work his father had sent him to do, his birthright had been taken from him and given to Iya and that Iya would forever be considered first in all things. Then Yata hid his face and wept.

THE OLD WOMAN.

There once was a very industrious woman. Her man provided for her so that her tipi was large and there were plenty of robes and clothing. Her children were all boys and the family was very happy. Her mother gave her a charm which made her more beautiful as she grew older.

The chief was a very brave, strong, and handsome man. He had four women, but he also wanted this beautiful woman. When he talked to her she would not listen to him. He told her mother that he would teach her how to become a witch if she would persuade her daughter to listen to him. The mother agreed. She became a witch through his teaching and made a philter for him. With this philter the chief gained an influence over the beautiful woman and they intrigued. She neglected her tipi and her children and became a wicked woman, but continued to grow more beautiful every day. Her husband still loved her and he did not cut her

nose nor scar her face. She caused much trouble among the women, but the chief could do nothing to punish her. When her mother saw what she had caused, she became old and feeble and wanted to die.

The wicked woman boasted that she was more beautiful than the Moon, so the Moon blackened her face and complained to the Sky. The Sky told the chief that because he had intrigued with this woman and caused her to forget her tipi and her children, his tipi should be placed outside the camp circle as long as he lived. The Sky told the woman that as long as she lived she would have the face of a terrible beast. The Sky informed the Old Woman that she would be stronger than the strongest man and would never die.

The Old Woman never erects her tipi in a camp. She appears withered and feeble, but is always the friend of the helpless. She may appear to young men and young women and bring them good fortune, if they deserve it. But she can bring misfortune on anyone. She is Wakanka, the Old Woman, the Witch.

WHEN WOHPE CAME TO THE WORLD.

Before the directions were given to the world Tate with his four sons and his little son dwelt in his round lodge beyond the region of the pines. At midday the sun looked through the door of the lodge toward the place of honor to see that all was well with Tate. The seat of Tate was the place of honor and that of his oldest son, Yata, was beside him. The seat of the second-born son, Eya, was at the right side of the lodge, and that of the third-born son, Yanpa, was at the left side, while that of the youngest son, Okaga, was beside the door. His little son, Yum, had no birth; therefore, he had no seat in the lodge, but sat where he chose.

Tate did the woman's work in the lodge. Each morning his four sons set out to travel over the world. Sometimes Yum traveled with Okaga. One time when all the sons were away something shining fell near the lodge and Tate went to look at it. It was a woman wearing a soft white dress. She carried a queer pouch that was marked with strange symbols. He asked her whence she came and she said she came from the stars. He asked her whither she would go. She replied that her father had sent her to find friends on the earth. He asked who was her father; she said that the sky was her father. Then Tate told her to come with him to live in his lodge. He bade her tell his sons nothing of who she was or whence she came. He gave her the woman's seat in the lodge. When he began to make a robe of tanned skin she said she would do the woman's work in the lodge, so he gave her the skin.

She took from her pouch a sharp stone and cut the skin into queer patterns. Then she took from the pouch an awl and sinew thread and quickly sewed the pieces together and made a garment which she gave to Tate and showed him how to wear it.

In the evening, Yata came striding to the door and jerked the flap aside and looked inside the lodge. He saw the woman and then he gazed at his father. He went away from the lodge and sat and stared at the ground. Soon Eya came, singing and hallowing, and threw the flap up and looked inside the lodge. He saw the woman and his father; he looked from one to the other, and then sat beside Yata and gazed at the ground. Then Yanpa strolled up to the lodge and raised the flap and started to go in, when he saw the woman. He looked at her and then at his father, and then at the lodge inside and out. Then he went and sat with Yata and Eya and he too gazed at the ground.

Soon Okaga and Yum came back together. Okaga asked his brothers why they sat and gazed at the ground. Yata said that the witch was in the lodge; Eya said that their father was wearing a strange garment; and Yanpa said there was nothing to eat. Yum ran to the door and lifted the flap and saw the woman. She looked at him and smiled and he went inside the lodge. She bade him sit beside her. He sat down and continued to gaze at her eyes. She put her arm around him and he smiled at her. Okaga came to the door and saw Yum sitting beside the woman and smiling at her, so he went inside. He saw that the woman was young and beautiful and that her braided hair was long and smooth, and her dress was white and clean and that even her feet were clothed. He sat at his seat. Then Tate remarked that he had forgotten his work and it would be late before he could prepare the food for the evening. The woman offered to prepare the food. Immediately, there was a fire in the fireplace and there were hot stones in it. She put the stones in the cooking bag and the food boiled. Then she told Tate that the food was ready to be served. Okaga gazed at her, astonished, but Tate only smiled as if he were well pleased.

He called his sons who were outside to come and eat. Yanpa said that there was no food prepared when he looked in the lodge. Eya said that no one had brought wood or water and the food could not be ready. Yata was sure it was the witch who had bewitched their father and the food. Again, Tate called. Yanpa consented to go in. He sat at his place and stared at the woman. Yata said, "She will bewitch him also." Eya said, "The witch was old, but this woman is young." Again Tate called. This time Eya said that this was but a young woman and he would go inside. He went in and sat at his place and stared at her. Then Tate called again, saying that the food was prepared and they were waiting for Yata so that they might eat. Yata said, "She is the witch, but I will drive her from the lodge." He strode to the door and stepped into the lodge, scowling. The woman looked at him and smiled. He gazed at her and then meekly went to his place and sat down. He looked around the lodge, at his father and at little Yum who sat beside the woman. When the four brothers were seated, all silently gazed at the ground though Yum continued to gaze at the woman's eyes. Tate gazed at the fire and smiled as if something pleased him.

Then the woman asked Tate what he most wished to eat. He replied he would like tripe and wild turnips and soup. She took from her pouch a new wooden bowl and platter and from the cooking bag tripe and boiled turnips and she dipped the bowl full of soup from it. She gave these to Tate and called him her father. The brothers all looked at her and then at their father, but he only gazed at the fire and smiled. Then she called Yata, her brother, and asked him what he most wished to eat. He said he wished boiled flesh and fat and pemmican and soup. She took from her pouch a new bowl and platter of wood, and from the cooking bag, boiled flesh and fat, and she dipped from it the bowl full of soup, and she placed pemmican on the platter, and gave it all to Yata. Then she called Eya, her brother, and asked him what he wished to eat. He told her he wanted a boiled duck and wild rice and soup. Again, she took a platter and bowl from her pouch, and from the bag a duck and rice and placed them on the platter, and dipped the bowl full of soup and gave them to Eya. Then she called Yanpa, her brother, and asked him what he wished. He said he wanted tripe, flesh, fat, a duck, turnips, rice, and soup. She put all these things on a platter and in the bowl that she took from her pouch and gave them to Yanpa. Then she took from her pouch a little platter and a little bowl. On the platter she put strange food and in the bowl strange drink that had an odor like sweetgrass. She handed these to Yum and told him to give them to his brother who

sat by the door. He did so. Then Yata said that as he was the oldest brother she should have given him the best food instead of to the youngest. Okaga looked at the food; there was little of it; he looked at the drink and there was little of that. Then he looked at the woman, but she and Yum were eating together. He put all the food in his mouth and it made but one mouthful. He ate it and it was good. He looked at the little platter and there was more food on it. This he ate and still there was more food on the platter. He drank all there was in the bowl and immediately it was full again. So he ate and drank until he was satisfied.

When it was time to lie down to sleep the four brothers went out of the lodge and found a new tipi near by. They lifted the door flap and inside they saw four beds, one at the place of honor, one on the right, and one on the left side, and one near the door. Yata said it must be the witch. Eya said the witch had treated them well. Yanpa said he wished the witch would always prepare their food. Then the three brothers went inside the tipi. Each lay down on his bed to sleep, but Okaga sat beside the water, and played on his flute. The music was as soft as a whisper, but the woman heard it, and she smiled. Yum asked her why she smiled and she said because he was always to be her little brother. Far into the night, Okaga sat by the water and gazed at the stars.

In the morning Okaga rose early as was his wont, to bring wood and water for his father, but when he came to the door of the lodge he found much wood and the water bag was full. The fire burned with hot stones in it and the cooking bag had food in it. The woman was astir but she did not look at Okaga. The father called his sons and all came and each sat in his place. The woman served them with food and it was good. When all had eaten the father told his sons that the time appointed by the Great Spirit was completed and now there would be the fourth period of time. First, he told them, they must fix the directions on the world, but when they returned to his lodge it would be the fourth period; that since they were four brothers they should fix a direction for each of them, and thus there would be four directions; that they should go to the trail around on the edge of the world and travel together until they came to the place for each direction, and there they should pile a great heap of stones to mark the direction forever. He said Yata was the oldest son and entitled to the first direction which must be where the shadows are longest at midday. The direction for Eya must be where the sun goes over the mountain and down under the world when his day's journey is done. The direction for Yanpa must be where the sun comes up by the edge of the world to begin his daily journey. The direction for Okaga must be under the sun at midday. He told them that the journey must be long, that it would be some moons before they returned to his lodge, and that there would be as many moons in the fourth time as had passed from the time they left the lodge until their return. He told them to prepare for four days and start on their journey on the fifth day.

For four days they prepared; on the morning of the fifth they went from their father's lodge. When they had gone, Tate mourned for them as for the dead, for he knew they would abide in his lodge no more.

HOW THE NORTH WIND LOST HIS BIRTHRIGHT.

The directions moved from place to place over the world so the Wind told the Four Winds to mark the directions so that each of them would know where he belonged. He told them that the North Wind, as the oldest, ought to have the

first direction, which must be farthest from the Sun. He told them to put a great pile of stones at each direction so that it would be forever marked. When they were going to the edge of the world to mark the directions, the wizard met them. Because the North Wind was surly and a coward he took from him the birthright of the oldest and gave it to the West wind. Then he made it cloudy so that the Sun could not be seen, and guided them to the edge of the world. A little bird told them to set up a pile of stones there. They did so. When the Sun was leaving the world He passed very near them. Then they knew that that was the direction of the West Wind and that it would always be considered the first. Then the Four Winds traveled together until they came to the place where the Sun was furthest from them. There they saw the tipi of the wizard and he invited them inside. They all went inside except the North Wind who said that his tipi should be where the tipi of the wizard stood and that he was afraid of the wizard. Then he told a magpie to sit on the poles of the tipi and befoul the wizard when he came through the door. When magpie did this the wizard said that because of this it should befoul its nest forever. So to this time magpies befoul their nests. Then he told the North Wind that because he had told the magpie to do a nasty thing, he should be his messenger forever and that the wizard would take the first place in the name of the direction of the North Wind. This is why the direction of the North Wind is called Waziyata.

HOW THE WEST WIND BECAME THE COMPANION OF THE WINGED GOD.

The Four Winds fixed the four directions on the world. They were told to fix the direction of the North Wind first, but Wazi deceived them so that they came first to the place of the West Wind and fixed that first. Thus the West Wind is the first in all things. When they came near the edge of the world, they were at the base of a high mountain and Wazi told them to go over the mountain the next day.

In the morning it was cloudy and when they were eating their morning meal they heard fearful noises on the mountain, but they could not see what was there because of the clouds. They were all much afraid and the East Wind wished to fly from the noises and the West Wind and North Wind feared to go up on the mountain. Then the South Wind offered to go first and the others could follow. If anything happened to harm him he promised to call to them and they could go back; but if he found no danger, he would call to them and they could come on. He went far ahead and when he came to the top of the mountain he saw a level space and near its center a large round lodge, open at the top and with no door. Close beside the lodge was a great cedar tree and high in the tree was a huge nest made of dried bones. In the nest was an enormous egg. Someone in the lodge was drumming and a young one in the egg was pecking at the shell. These made the fearful noises that were heard below the mountain.

As Okaga cautiously approached the lodge, a voice bellowed to him and asked who it was that dared approach the lodge of the Winged God. He replied that the Great Spirit had sent him and his three brothers, the Four Winds, to fix the four directions on the world, and that his name was Okaga, the South Wind. The voice told him to pass on and do his work. Then the South Wind called to his brothers to come. He passed on over and down the mountain. When the three brothers reached the top of the mountain, they hesitated, but a voice in the lodge bellowed at

them and told them to pass on and do their work. They went across the top, but when they came to the lodge, Eya stopped to look at it, but the other two hurried on and went down the mountain. Eya went around the lodge and then he went to the tree and looked at the nest and the egg.

Then he came back to the lodge and a voice within bellowed loudly and asked him what he wished. He asked who was in the lodge and a swallow flew up out of it. The West Wind looked at this bird, amazed and asked how it could bellow so loudly. The swallow told him that this was the lodge of the Winged God, that the nest in the tree was his nest, and the egg in the nest was his egg. Then Eya said he would like to see the Winged God. The swallow said that if one saw the real Winged God that one would be *heyoka*, and must forever act and speak in an anti-natural manner. But, if one saw Heyoka, then one need not be *heyoka*. Eya said he would like to see the real Winged God and also Heyoka. Immediately, there arose from the lodge a shapeless thing like a cloud of smoke, but with a huge beak like an eagle. In the beak were four rows of sharp teeth like those of a wolf. It had an eye and its glance was the lightning. Its voice was the thunder. It had four-jointed wings. It had no feet or legs, but eight toes, and on each toe were enormous talons like those of the eagle and each talon was as long as an eagle's wing. It seized the egg in its talons and shook it and the noise was the rolling thunder. As the West Wind looked at it, it became like a giant man and spoke to him. It said that because he was so brave and had looked at the Winged God without falling down or running away, that he should forever be the companion of Wakinyan, the Winged, and that he should aid this God in cleansing the world of filthy and evil things. When the Heyoka said this he vanished. Then the sparrow said that from that time on, as long as mankind had ceremonies for the Gods, the West Wind should have precedence over all Gods, except one; that when he had done the work he was going to do, he must make his tipi on the mountain at the edge of the world and have that for his abiding place; that his direction would be the first established and the first recognized.

Then there was a feast ready to be served and Eya and the swallow partook of it. When the West Wind drank of the soup he slept. When he awoke he was with his brother and they were at the edge of the world. He commanded his brothers to erect a great pile of stones. When it was erected, the North Wind said that since this was the first direction it belonged to him; but Eya said that his direction should be where the shadows were shortest at midday, and because it was cloudy they could not see shadows. Then he told his brothers each to choose a bird as his messenger. So the North Wind chose the magpie, the East Wind a crow, the South Wind a meadow lark, and Eya chose the swallow. Then Eya said that the messenger that would alight on the monument would decide whose direction it marked. Immediately, a swallow sat on the pile of stones. Eya bowed his head and covered it with his robe; he was ashamed because he knew that Eya would be first forever and have precedence over him. Since then, when the West Wind is coming with the Winged God, Wakinyan, the swallows fly high in circles.

WOONG WOHPE.

(a)

Wohpe dwelt in the tipi of old Tate and served him and his sons. The skins she dressed were soft and white; the moccasins she made were good and comfortable;

the food she prepared was always abundant. She kept the fire burning and the talk pleasant so that all were happy in her presence.

Yata said to his brothers, "I want Wohpe for my woman." Yanpa replied, "You are too cold and cruel for Wohpe. Were she alone with you, she would soon perish. Remember your touch upon her dress. Wohpe should have a man who is happy and has no care. I want her for my woman." Then Eya said, "Wohpe delights to serve others. This is her happiness. My pleasure is to be served. I would have her for my woman."

Thus they disputed, while Okaga said nothing and Yumni fled to his father's tipi. They strove day by day each to still the others and make his claim good, till Okaga said, "Brothers, ask Wohpe. Whom she chooses she should serve," and they were quiet.

Yata said to Wohpe, "I want you for my woman. I am strong and my will is right. I am dreaded, for I am mighty. I will give you a part in my powers. Will you be my woman?"

Said Eya, "Yanpa, if my rest is undisturbed I do no harm. My evening walk is my only want. Only when I am called early in the day do I fume and plague others that I may be left at my ease. Will you be my woman?"

Wohpe heard them and looked into the eyes of Okaga. That was all. Then she said, "He who will do that which pleases me most, in his robe will I stand, and him will I serve."

With this decision they must abide; the brothers were again at wordy war as to who should first make an offering for the pleasure of Wohpe.

(b)

Before the creation of the world the South wind, the North wind, the West wind, and the East wind dwelt together in the far north in the land of the ghosts. They were brothers. The North wind, the oldest, was always cold and stern. The west wind, next to the oldest, was always strong and noisy. The East wind, the third, was always cross and disagreeable. The South wind, the next to the youngest, was always pleasant. With them dwelt a little brother, the whirlwind, who was always full of fun and frolic.

The North wind was a great hunter and delighted in killing things. The South wind took pleasure in making things. The West wind was a helper of his brother, the South wind, and sometimes he helped his brother, the North wind. The East wind was lazy and good for nothing. The little whirlwind never had anything to do, so he played all the time and danced and made sport for his brothers.

After a long time, a beautiful being fell from the stars. Her hair was like the light and her dress was red and green and white and blue, and all the colors, and she had decorations and ornaments of all colors. As she was falling, she met the five brothers and begged them to give her some place to rest. They took pity on her and invited her into their tipi. When she came into the tipi, everything was bright and pleasant and all were happy, so all the four brothers wanted to marry her. Each asked her to be his woman.

She told them that she was pleased with their tipi and would be the woman of the one who did that which pleased her the most. So the North wind went hunting and brought her his game; but everything he brought turned to ice as soon as he laid it before her, and the tipi was dark and cold and dreary.

Then the West wind brought his drum and sang and danced before her, but he made so much noise and disturbed things so much that the tipi fell down and she had hard work to raise it again.

Then the East wind sat down by her and talked to her so foolishly that she felt like crying.

Then the South wind made beautiful things for her. She was happy and the tipi was warm and bright. She said that she would be the South wind's woman. This made the North wind very angry for he claimed that it was his right as the oldest, to have the beautiful being. But the South wind would not give her up. The North wind and South wind quarreled all the time about her and finally the South wind told his woman that they would go away so that they might live in peace. They started, but the North wind tried to steal her. When she found what the North wind was trying to do, she took off her dress, spread it out, and got under it to hide. When North wind came to the dress he thought that he had found the beautiful being and he embraced it, but everything on it grew hard and cold and icy. He heard the South wind coming and he fled to his tipi. The South wind found only a cold hard thing like his woman's dress but he could not find the woman so he went back to look for her. When he had gone, the North wind came again and said to the woman, "I know you are under this dress and I am coming there also." So he went to the edge of the dress, but the woman spread it out farther that way. Then he went to the edge at another place and she spread that side out. He kept going from place to place and she kept spreading her dress wider and wider until it became so wide that there was no end or side left.

Then he heard the South wind coming again and he ran to his tipi. When the South wind came again he examined the dress and found that it was truly his woman's dress and then he knew that the North wind had embraced it. He called loudly for his woman and she answered that she was under the dress and then he knew that the North wind had embraced it. He called again for his woman and she answered him that she was under the dress, but that she had stretched it so wide to keep away from the North wind, that there was neither a side or an end to it, so she could not get out from under it. Then the South wind followed on the trail of the North wind until he came to the tipi where he found him boasting to the other brothers of what he had done.

The South wind went in and reproached his brother. They quarreled and finally fought and the North wind was about to conquer when the West wind rushed in to help the South wind and they conquered the North wind. They could not kill him so they bound his feet and hands and left him in the tipi. The other brothers all sided with the South wind and determined to live no longer with the North wind. So the West wind went to live where the sun sets, the East wind where the sun rises, the South wind went opposite the tipi of the North wind far as he could go.

The little whirlwind was too small to have a tipi of his own, so he lived with the South wind the most of the time, but part of the time he was to live with the West wind. The East wind was so lazy and disagreeable that he would not even visit him.

When they were leaving the North wind, he defied them all and told them that he would forever combat them, that he would break his bonds and go on the war-path against each of them. He said to the South wind, "I know where your woman is. I know what covers her and hides her. When I loosen my bonds I will go and

try to get her. I have destroyed the beauty of her dress. If I do not get her I will again destroy its beauty. I will fight you forever for her."

The South wind came again to his woman's frozen dress. He called her and she answered, but she could not come from under it, neither could he go below it for it was spread so wide that there was no end to it. He journeyed to his brothers' tipi. They came and helped him; they warmed the dress, but it was still ugly and like a dead thing. When his woman found that he was warming her dress, she thrust bright ornaments through it and it was again beautiful with green and red and blue and all colors.

So the three brothers, the South wind, the West wind, and the East wind continued to warm the dress, but the East wind was so lazy that he only worked occasionally in the evening. Little Whirlwind was too small to do much work but he danced about over the dress and threw things in the air and tried to keep the South wind from grieving over his loss. The South wind grew weary with grief and work and went to his tipi to sleep and left only the West wind to guard the dress.

Then the North wind freed himself and came. He and the West wind fought furiously and the North wind was about to conquer and had destroyed all the ornaments on the dress and made it hard and cold. When the North wind came, little Whirlwind fled to South wind's tipi to tell him. He found South wind asleep and could not wake him. He tried and tried again and again, but could not wake him, so he ran all the way to the tipi of East wind who was sitting looking on at the fight between his brothers, intending to take sides with the one who won. Little Whirlwind persuaded East wind to go with him and wake South wind.

When South wind was told what had happened he came in a great rage to the help of his brother, the West wind. They fought all over the dress and finally North wind was driven back to his tipi, but he would slip away at night and embrace the dress and make it hard and cold until he was bound again. Then the South wind and West wind had to warm the dress again and the woman under the dress had to push the ornaments through it again. Thus began the warfare between the brothers which continues to the present time.

THE WARS OF THE WINDS.

Before the world was created, Tate lived far beyond the pines in the land of the ghosts. He was old, but was a wise Shaman with great power over everything. He had five sons, Yata, Yanpa, Eya, Okaga, and Yumni.

Yata was cruel and delighted in giving pain to others. He quarreled with his brothers and spoiled their games and delighted in chasing little Yumni so that the poor little fellow never dared to appear until late in the day, when he thought that Yata was away and then always in the presence of Okaga whom he loved. Yata went about day and night to do mischief and when he came near things were gloomy and cold and when he touched anything it became hard and dead.

Yanpa was lazy and disagreeable. He wanted to lie about the tipi all day. If he was allowed to do so he would sleep all day and come out in the evening and be pleasant enough till dark when he would go back and lie down again; but if he was compelled to go out early in the day he would grumble and find fault with everything and make himself and everyone else miserable until he was allowed to go and lie down.

Eya was strong and hearty. He was usually up early every morning and going

about doing something; but he was very boisterous and awkward and hardly ever did anything as it should be done. He was good-natured about everything and shouted and sang and tumbled about so that no one could be angry at his mistakes.

Okaga was wise and industrious and spent his time in doing things for others. If he saw anything he liked he usually copied it and was very friendly to everyone. He was especially fond of his little brother, Yumni, and made toys for him and played games with him. He helped Eya to do things right and sometimes even coaxed Yanpa into a pleasant mood; but he was never able to gain the good will of Yata.

Yumni was small and weak and unable to do any work; but he was always merry and frolicsome, except when he was flying from Yata whom he feared so that he never came out until late in the day when he thought that Yata was gone. He would go to his brother, Okaga, and dance and play about him while he was making things until he thought Yata might come, when he would hurry back to his father's tipi and hide until the next day. When he was with Okaga, he was as happy as the *wasicula* when they dance at night, but when night came he was afraid and hid so that no one could find him.

One time a beautiful being fell from the sky and asked Tate to let her rest in his tipi. Tate was blind, but when he heard her voice he knew that she was a woman, so he told her that there were only men in his tipi and it would be dangerous for her to stay. But as she was very weary, she begged that she might rest a short time. He told her she could stay until his sons returned and then she could do as she pleased. She sat by the door in the tipi and fell asleep.

Soon Yumni came. When he saw the beautiful being he was so amazed that he stood still and gazed at her, for her hair was shining like the light and her dress was ornamented with red and blue and yellow and every color and her face was lovely to look upon. As he stood staring at her, Yata came in behind him and caught hold of him so that he fell down hard and cold. But before he died, Yata saw the beautiful being and he forgot his malice and stood staring at her.

Then Yanpa awoke. He yawned and stretched himself lazily and got up to go for his evening walk but when he saw the beautiful being he stood still staring at her.

Eya came jumping and bounding and shouted to Yata, "Ho Yata, why do you stare so? Is your *sicun* in the tipi? Or is the Winged One there?" He came and peeped in at the door. He too saw the beautiful being and stopped to stare at her.

Then old Tate said, "My sons, what is it? Why do you not speak? Is this a witch I have let into the tipi? I will send her out." He poked the beautiful being with his cane and said to her, "Ho, if you are a witch get out of my tipi. My sons will not speak to me."

She awoke and said, "I am not a witch. I will go." She turned to go and Yanpa stepped forward as if to follow her, when she turned and looked at him and he sat down. She went through the door. Yata stretched out his hand to take hold of her and she turned and looked at him and he sat down. But his hand had touched her dress and some of the ornaments fell from it cold and dead. As she went out of the door, she saw Yumni lying as if dead and she stooped and breathed upon him and he sprang to his feet. She smiled at him and he began to dance and forgot his terror of Yata. Eya started to follow her, but she turned and looked at him and he sat down. She went away and Yumni went with her dancing and frolicking. Thus, the three brothers sat unable to move.

She had not gone far when she met Okaga. She stood at one side of the trail

with her back towards it. When Okaga came by her he asked Yumni who it was and what she was doing there and Yumni told him all. Then Okaga saw that her hair was like the light and he spoke to her. She turned and smiled at Yumni. He danced and whirled about and was very happy so he coaxed his brother Okaga to speak to her. Okaga saw that she was very beautiful and begged her to return to his father's tipi. She said, "Why should I go to your father's tipi? I have been there and your brothers were rude to me. See where one of them touched my dress and the ornaments have withered and fallen." Okaga said, "If you will go back with me, I will make other ornaments more beautiful than those which you have lost."

He pled with her to return and rest for the night. Finally, she yielded and went back. When they came to the tipi, Yata, Yanpa, and Eya still sat on the ground and stared, but she smiled at them and they arose and went away softly, Okaga with them. But Tate and Yumni stayed in the tipi that night. Tate lay opposite the door in the place of honor. The beautiful being lay in the daughter's place and Yumni lay opposite her in the son's place.

Yata, Yanpa, and Eya slept far away from the tipi, but Okaga worked all night and by morning had made a dress more beautiful than that which the beautiful being had worn to the tipi. Early in the morning, the beautiful being rose and prepared food. When the four brothers came in, all sat down to eat and she served them. But Yata, Yumni, and Eya could only stare at her, while Okaga sat with his face bowed down. Yumni danced and frolicked around the tipi; but old Tate ate until he could not swallow another mouthful. Then he rose and leaned on his cane and said, "Ho! Who is this I have let into my tipi? It is not a witch for she has done no harm. Last night my sleep was sound. This morning our food was good and there was plenty of it. Ho, you, whoever you are, I beg you to stay with us." She said to him, "My journey is long, to I know not where. I know not when I will get there. I know not how long I shall stay there. I go until I find greater pleasure than I have here."

He asked her name and she told him that it was Wohpe. He asked her about her people and she said that the sun was her father, the moon her mother, and the stars her people. Again, he begged her to stay with them but she said she must go on and on until she reached her journey's end; that this was not it, for his sons had acted rudely toward her and taken part of the ornaments from her dress. Then Okaga brought the dress he had made and gave it to her. It was more beautiful than her own dress. She gazed at it and then turned to old Tate and said, "My father, my journey is ended."

Then old Tate stood in the door of his tipi and sang a song. He sang these words: —

I am old and blind.
A daughter is given to me.
A daughter at my age.
I shall not be naked.
I shall not be hungry.
My sons hear me.
Let all hear me that have ears.
Cherish this my daughter.
Cherish her as your sister.

Then Wohpe sat beside the fireplace and old Tate sat opposite the door. Yumni danced about the lodge without ceasing, and the four brothers each went his way. Yata went, breaking and smashing things. Yanpa walked about pleasantly all day

Eya went shouting and rollicking, but Okaga went quietly with his head down and sat a long time alone without noticing the antics of Yumni. Thus Wohpe came into the home of the Winds.

THE FEAST BY TATE.

(Told by Little-wound.)

When Wohpe came to stay with Tate he gave a feast to Taku Wakan. He consulted with his sons as to whom he should invite. They first chose the Wakan Tanka. Wi was the first chosen because he was Wakan Tanka. Hanwi, his wife, was the second chosen because she was Wakan Tanka. Wakan-skan was the third chosen because he was Wakan Tanka. Inyan was the fourth because he was Wakan Tanka. These four were chosen because they were Wakan Tanka.

These four, with Tate, were the chiefs of Taku Wakan and formed the council. They made the rules by which all things should be governed. Then others were invited: the Unktehi who are the Wakan of the waters, the Unkhecgila who are the Wakan of the lands, the Wakinyan who are the Wakan of the air; the Tunkan who is the Wakan of the rocks, the Tatanka who is the Wakan of the buffalo; the Can Oti who are the Wakan of the forests; the Hohnogica who are the Wakans of the tipis; the Nagi because they are the Wakan of the shadows. These Tate told his sons to invite.

Okaga made the invitation wands. They were twice as long as his foot, meaning, to travel with both feet; decorated with bright colors, meaning a joyous festival; and tipped with a red plume, meaning that Wakan business was to be discussed. The west wind was to deliver them.

Old Tate gave a feast because Wakan Wohpe came to live with him. Wohpe made invitation sticks and ornamented them beautifully. Tate sent them out by his sons. They took the sticks to Iktomi, Ikegeli, Inyan, Wasicun, Wakinyan, Taku Skan-skan, Tunkan, Hoya, and many others.

On the day they met, both the sun and the moon shone. The brothers each brought his own kind of food, which Wohpe prepared. They feasted. Then they held a council in which Tate held the place of honor and told stories. Iktomi asked each for his story. Tate told of his origin. He told of the birth of his sons, of their characteristics, of the coming of the Wohpe, and of his hopes for grandchildren.

Ikehegila told of his origin and his powers. Inyan told of his origin. Wasicunpi told of their origin, their home, their pleasures and powers. Wakinyan told of their origin, their kinds, powers, hates, and likes. Taku Skan-skan told of his origin and powers. Tunkan and Hoya related their origin and powers. Iktomi tricked them and lied.

Then the guests said to Tate, "You have given presents to each of us as we desired. What can we give to you?" He said, "It is because of my daughter, Wohpe, that you have feasted. Give your presents to her." So they asked her what she would have. She sang her reply:—

"The sun is my father.
The moon is my mother.
Let no one have power over them.

The sun is all wise.
The sun is all powerful.
No one has power over them."

They all agreed that no one would have power over the sun or the moon. But Iktomi played a trick on the Wankinyan and often hid the face of the sun and the moon while Hoya was so greedy that he would bite away a portion of the moon. They then asked Wohpe if she did not want something for herself. She arose and stood by Okaga who folded his robe about her. She said, "I want a tipi for Okaga and myself. A place for him and his brothers."

They made the world and all there is in it for them. Iktomi made the unpleasant things. Old Tate came and dwelt with them, but he left his power at the old tipi. Then they all found that it was good and came to dwell on the earth. Iktomi stirred up strife between the brothers, so they agreed to dwell in different places but each would visit the other.

Yata dwells in the regions of the pines. Eya dwells in the mountains where the sun retires to rest. Yanpa dwells where the great waters are, where the sun begins his daily journey to view the whole world. Okaga and Wohpe have their tipi in the center of the world where the sun is highest and little Yumni lives with them. Each year they come and bring life and warmth, but as soon as they turn their backs, Yata comes bringing cold and death. Then the birds fly to Okaga and beg him to come to their help. When they come to his tipi, they find him and Wohpe so contented and happy, that they return rejoicing, and mate and raise their young.

Tate gives presents to all the guests.

Then they all dance. Yumni dances better than all and is the favorite. But Yata hates him for this. Then the Wasicun dance and Wohpe dances with them and her hair shines in flashes. Since then when the Wasicun dance there are flashes of light (the aurora borealis).

Waziya joins with Yata. Waziya is the Man from the North (the region of the pines). They do many things that are strange in order to amuse the company. Iktomi gives the choice of a color. They choose white. Then Yanpa does things to amuse the company. Iktomi gives him a choice of colors. He chooses blue. Then Eya does things and Iktomi gives him a choice of colors and he chooses yellow. Then Okaga does things so wonderful that the company never tires of watching him. Iktomi gives him a choice of colors and he chooses red. Then Wohpe asks Okaga to do some favor for each one of the guests and he promises to do so. Okaga asked Ikegila what he most desired and he said he wanted to have power over everything. Okaga asked where he wanted his power. He answered that he wanted this power in his horns and his tail. So he received this power. But Iktomi made his horns very soft and his tail very brittle. His women lived on the earth and his home was in the waters.

Then Okaga asked Inyan what he most desired and he said he wished to be able to resist anything. Okaga made him very hard and very large so that nothing could give him pain; but Iktomi made him very brittle so that he would break into pieces but remain undestroyed. Then the Wasicun were asked what they most desired and they said they wished to be invisible. They were made invisible, but Iktomi deprived them of form or shape so that when they wished to communicate with others they had to steal the form of something else. Then the Wakinyan were asked what they most desired. They said they wished loud voices and bright eyes. Their wishes were granted, but Iktomi made their voices terrible and the glance of their eyes destructive.

Then Takuskanskan was asked what he most desired and he asked to have power over everything moving in order to protect it and do it good. He was given this

power, but Iktomi made him a very sleepy one. Then Tunkan was asked what he most desired and he said he wanted many children, so that he would be revered and cared for. They were promised him, but Iktomi promised that his children should strive among themselves, and forget him save when in trouble. Then Iya was asked what he most desired. He said he wanted to have plenty to eat at all times, so he was promised this, but Iktomi declared that he would always be hungry and his food would give him pain. Other gifts were given to the other guests.

HOW THE LAKOTA CAME UPON THE WORLD.

Iktomi tricked the animals and laughed at the misery he caused them, but they were not shamed, so he longed to play his pranks on mankind. At that time the only persons of mankind on the world were the old man, the old woman, and the double-woman. Iktomi feared the old man because he was a wizard and the old woman because she was a witch, but the double-woman feared him because he had caused her much shame and misery. He appeared as a young man before the tipi of the double-woman, but she knew who he was, and went inside and drew the flap over the door.

He sat with his head bowed and his robe drawn over it as if he were grieved or in sorrow. Many times she peeped and saw him sitting thus. In the evening she gathered wood near him, but he did not speak. Then she went to him and asked him why he sat with his head bowed. He told her that he was sorry and ashamed because he had caused her to suffer, and that he wished to do that which would please her. She said that nothing would please her until she could be with her people. He told her that if she would tell him how he could bring her people, he would do so. She told him that if her people tasted meat and saw clothes and tipis made of skins they would covet such things and come where they could get them. He told her that if she would help him he would trick her no more and she agreed. Since that time Iktomi has not played a prank on the double-woman.

He called the wolves and told them that if they would help him he would bother them no more. They agreed to help him and since that time he has never bothered the wolves. Then he told the wolves to make a drive for game and to give to the double-woman as much meat as she wished. They drove and gathered many moose, deer, and bears, and killed them near the tipi of the double-woman. She dried the flesh and tanned the skins, and gathered much meat and many robes and soft tanned skins. She made clothes for a man and for a woman and decked them with colors. Then she made a pack of the clothes and choice bits of the meat. Iktomi gave the pack to a wolf and went with it to the entrance of the cave that opens down through the world. He told it to go and watch the people under the world and when it saw a strong and brave young man to speak with him alone, and to give him the pack and tell him that there were plenty of such things in the world. It went through the cave and saw the camp of the people far away. Before it came to the camp it met a strong young man. The young man asked who it was, whence it came, and what it wanted. The wolf replied that it was a friend of the people and came from the world to give them that which they most desired. It asked the young man his name and what he most wished. He said his name was Tokahe and told him that the pack would cause him to become a leader. He told him to take it and show it to the people and let them taste the food and see the clothing that was in it and to tell them

that there were plenty of such things in the world, but he said it must not tell how he got the things and must say nothing of the wolf.

Tokahe showed the meat to the people. They ate of it and said it was good. He and his woman wore the clothes and all the people envied them. He told the people there were plenty of such things in the world. They asked him how they could get things like these, but he could not tell them. Then an old man suggested that three men go with Tokahe to see these things, so that the people would know that Tokahe told the truth.

Tokahe chose three strong and brave young men and when the moon was round they met the wolf. It led them through the cave and when they were on the world, it led them to the lake where the double-woman had her tipi. Iktomi and the double-woman saw them coming, and while she prepared a feast of meat and soup he invited them to the feast. She served them with choice bits of meat and plenty of good soup. She covered her other face with her robe and appeared to them as a beautiful woman. Iktomi appeared as a handsome young man, and he told them that both he and the woman were very old, but because they ate meat they remained young. Iktomi had told the wolves to drive the game so the young men saw many moose, deer, and bears. When the young men went back to their people Iktomi gave them presents of meat, robes, and soft tanned skins. He went with them to the entrance of the cave and there he told the wolf to guide them back to their people. When it returned he told it to wait and guide others who wished to come to the world, and when they had passed through the cave to lead them far from food and water.

Tokahe and his friends showed their presents to the people and told them that they had been to the world and had seen plenty of game; that the people on the world ate meat and appeared as young men and beautiful women even when they were very old. An old woman warned the people that these things were done by a wizard, and they wrangled, for some wished to follow Tokahe and some said he was a wizard. Tokahe said he would lead those who wanted to go with him where they could get these things. Then the chief warned the people that they who passed through the cave could never again find the entrance and must remain on the world; that the winds blew on the world and were cold; that game must be hunted and skins tanned and sewed to make clothes and tipis. Six brave men chose to go with Tokahe. They took their women and children and went from camp. The wolf met them and guided them through the cave, all day. At night they came to a strange place and the children cried for food and drink. Then Iktomi appeared and laughed at their misery and Tokahe was shamed. The double-woman appeared to comfort them, but they saw her horrid face, and fled from her in terror.

In the morning the people did not know where to go. They were hungry and thirsty. Then the old man and the old woman appeared and they gave them food and drink. The old man led the people so they traveled swiftly and came to the region of the pines. Then he and the old woman showed them how to hunt the game and how to care for the meat and the skins, and how to make clothing and tipis. Thus Tokahe and his friends were the first people on the world and their children are the Lakota.

THE BUFFALO WOMAN.¹

(Told by Hoka-chatka.)

Long ago, a man took a woman to live with him. She bore him two daughters, then a son, and then two more daughters. They cared for these children until they grew up. When the boy was grown, he hunted and provided the family with everything, so the woman said it was just as she wished, for her man could then remain quietly at home and the young man would provide everything they needed.

One day, the boy went hunting to the west and did not come back. They thought he was lost and searched for him, but could not find him. After a time, they saw two persons coming, and they went to the top of a hill to see who they were. When they came close it was seen that one was the son they thought was lost and the other was a woman, so they knew that he was bringing a woman home to be his wife. They all went to meet them and make them welcome. The two oldest girls told the two youngest to go back for this woman was to be their sister. So the youngest went back, but felt bad because this woman was not their sister also.

This woman was beautiful and had long black hair. The brother saw that the younger sisters grieved because they had no sister-in-law to love, so he went east, and after he had been gone some days they saw him coming back with another woman. Again, they all went out to welcome him, but the younger sisters told the older to go back, for this woman was to be their sister. The older sisters went back, and the younger sisters welcomed her. She was beautiful and had long yellow hair.

Each of these two women gave birth to a son at about the same time. The woman with the black hair went over a hill. The man's father watched her and went to the top of the hill and saw her lying in a buffalo wallow. She was like a buffalo and gave birth to a buffalo calf. So he went back and told his son, but the son said nothing. Soon the woman came back carrying a little boy. Then the yellow-haired woman went out. The old man watched her and saw her go to the rushes and high grass. One rush was very large and there was a little rush by it. Then a whirlwind blew the rushes down and he saw a woman arranging her dress so he knew that she was a rush woman and had given birth to a rush baby. He came back and told his son, but he said nothing. The woman came back carrying a baby boy. The sisters kept these two little boys and cared for them so that they were strong and healthy.

When these two boys grew old enough to play, the old man went to the timber and got five green ash withes. He heated them in the fire and peeled them and bent them so that they formed hoops. He then told his wife to give him the skin from the belly of a buffalo which he cut into long strips and wove on the hoops so as to make a web. He then got four long willow withes and trimmed them so that they were like spears.

He then taught his grandchildren how to roll the web hoops on the ground and to throw the spears so as to go through the webs and he made rules for the game. This was the origin of the web-hoop game. He did this to keep the boys from going away and had them play the game every day so that they became expert at it.

¹ This tale has many points in common with a *Ogei* narrative. See J. O. Dorsey, *The Ogei Language* (*Contributions to American Ethnology*, vol. 6, Washington, 1890), 157.

One day, the yellow-haired boy threw the hoop and knocked the black-haired boy down. This did not hurt him, but he cried and went to his mother about it. She became surly and sat with her robe over her head and would speak to no one. The yellow-haired woman tried to pacify her and told her that all children were alike and had accidents like this. Then the black-haired woman said that the boy was not a human child but a rush boy and that he had knocked her boy down for spite. Then the yellow-haired woman replied that the black-haired boy was not a human child but that he was a buffalo with wide nostrils. Then the black-haired woman took her boy and started west. The old man went on a hill to watch her. He saw a buffalo cow running very fast with a buffalo calf beside her. He returned and told his family that the woman was a buffalo and had run away so fast that she could not be overtaken.

The father said that he would go after them. So he put on his leggings and moccasins and quiver and was ready to go when his yellow-haired wife told him to go with her to the timber. When they got to the timber, she cut four cherry bushes and trimmed them so that they were slender and straight. She then told him to ask his father for the crow quills and sinews and white paint he had. He did so and his father gave them to him. She then made arrows of the cherry wood and fastened the web from the crow quills to the arrows with the sinews, and painted them white with the paint and gave them to her husband and told him that whatever he shot with the arrows, they would kill.

She then gave him an eagle plume and fastened it on his head and told him to call her when he was in trouble, and she would help him. She then told him to shoot one of the white arrows in the direction his black-haired woman went and to follow the arrow. He shot one of the white arrows, and it floated in the air so that he could follow it. He followed it all day, traveling very fast. In the evening, the arrow fell and stuck on the bank of a creek. When he came up to it he saw a tipi on the other side and his boy by the tipi.

He went to the tipi. The boy said he had told his mother that his father was coming and she had said that no human being could travel so fast all day without killing himself and that she would dry up all the water on the way, the next day, so that he would die if he attempted to follow her. But when her man came, she spoke to him pleasantly and gave him food to eat and said he must be very tired and had better lie down and sleep. Before he went to sleep, the boy told him to watch his track.

He went to sleep in the tipi and when he awoke the next morning he was lying with only his own clothing and his bow and arrows and there was no tipi to be seen. He said "o-o-woof" like a bear. He looked about to see where there had been dew during the night and he saw which way his woman and the boy had gone. He shot a white arrow in that direction and followed it. It was a hot day and all the water dried up, so that at midday he was about to perish from thirst. Then he remembered that his boy had told him to watch his track. He looked for it and in the bottom of a dry creek he saw a deep track which he found almost full of water.

He thought he would drink all this water but the water came into it as fast as he drank it. He wet his face and hands and drank until he was no longer thirsty. He then ran after the white arrow all the rest of the day. In the evening the arrow stuck on the bank of a creek where there was plenty of water. When he came to the arrow he saw a tipi on the other side of the creek. His boy came out to meet him and told him that his mother had said that no human being could run as fast and as long as

he had done and not kill himself, that she had expected him to die that day, that she would make the streams all so muddy the next day that one could not cross them. He said to the boy, "My son, I do not care when or how I die, for it is for you."

When he came to the tipi, the woman spoke to him very pleasantly and gave him food and said he must be very tired and advised him to lie down and sleep. So he lay down and went to sleep. Then the woman lay down beside him and went to sleep. He tied his rawhide belt through her belt and wrapped her long black hair around his arm and tied it there and then went to sleep.

He awoke next morning and found himself lying out with nothing near him but his bow and arrows, and no tipi to be seen. He said, "O-O-woof," like an angry bear and looked about him. The dew showed which way the woman and the boy had gone and he shot a white arrow that way and followed. After a time, he came to a river full of mud. He faced towards the east and said, "Oh my yellow-haired woman. You told me to call on you if I were in trouble. I now ask you to help me."

Then a whirlwind came and lifted him by the eagle plume and carried him across the river of mud. When he was crossing, he saw a buffalo cow and calf in the mud and he sat on the bank of the river to see if they got across. When they got across, they began to roll in the sand to get the mud off and the calf saw him and said to the cow, "Here is my father."

When the cow and the calf were again transformed, the woman put a robe over her head, for she was ashamed, but the boy came to his father and told him that the woman had said he would follow them into the mud and die there. Then the boy told his father that they were nearly at the place that his mother had started for, and that he should follow them; that his mother had three sisters that were exactly like her so that no one could tell the one from the other; that his mother's mother was a very wicked old woman and would try to find some excuse for killing him; that when they got to his grandmother's place she would send the four sisters to come to her tipi with him, and if he should come with one that was not his woman, the old woman would kill him; and that he would come out of the tipi and play about when his mother was sent to bring him in. The boy said that if he came to the tipi, the old woman would tell him to lay his bow and arrows on his woman's things and if he should lay them on the things of one of the women who was not his, the old woman would kill him; and that he would play with his mother's things so that he would know which were hers. Then he said the old woman would tell him to sit with his woman and he would stick a straw in the hair of his mother so that he might know which was she, for if he sat with one who was not his woman the old woman would kill him.

That night they slept together. The next morning the boy and his mother went ahead and the man followed a long distance behind. He came to the top of a hill and saw a valley with a great camp in it and all the people were buffaloes. In the center of the camp was a lodge with four flap doors. He saw his woman go in at one of these doors. So he sat on the hill to watch and an ugly old woman came out of the lodge with a woman who looked like his woman. The old woman was scolding the other, and told her to go and bring her man to the lodge and give him something to eat. So the woman came to him and told him her mother was cross because she had not brought him to the tipi and asked him to come with her and get something to eat. He did not see his boy playing so he told the woman to go back and he would come.

She went back. The old woman came out again with a woman that looked

like his wife and said to her, "Don't be bashful but bring him with you and give him something to eat." The woman came to him and said her mother was angry because he had not gone to the lodge with her and she begged him to go with her and get something to eat. But he did not see his boy playing, so he told her to go back and he would come. She went back and the old woman came out again with a woman that looked like his wife and she scolded her and said, "You are too bashful; you must get used to having him here with you. He is human and must be very hungry. Go and get him and bring him to the lodge and get him something to eat."

So the woman came to him and said, "My mother wants you to come with me to the lodge so that I may give you something to eat. But he did not see his boy playing and he told her to go back and he would come later. Then the old woman came out of the lodge with a woman that looked like his wife and said to her, "You are too bashful, go and bring your man to the lodge and give him something to eat." The boy came out and began to play about. The woman came to him and said, "My mother is angry because you will not come with me to the lodge." He said to her, "I will go with you." He went to the lodge.

When he came to the lodge, the old woman spoke pleasantly to him and told him to go into the lodge. He saw that the lodge was of stone and the door flaps were heavy stones. As he was going in, the old woman slammed the flap to catch him and crush him to death, but his plume lifted him to the center of the lodge so that he was not hurt. The old woman said the wind had blown the flap from her hands and told him to lay his bow and arrows on his woman's things. He saw the boy playing with things and he laid his bow and arrows on them. Then the old woman told him to sit down by his woman and he saw a straw in the hair of a woman and sat down by her. Then the old woman told him that he must be more than human, for she could not tell one of her daughters from the other, but he knew which was his woman.

The next morning, at the break of day, the old woman was raging and scolding her daughters and told them to get up and get food for the man. When they were up she said she would go to the tipi of the Cow Woman and get her food. After a while, she returned in a rage and said she had gone to the tipi of a bad woman to get cherry wood to make pins to pin a tipi together and she had given her this, and she threw a crooked and broken cherry bush down in the lodge and went out.

The man asked his woman where he could find cherry bushes and she told him that plenty of good cherry bushes grew in a canyon near by, but that they were hard to get. He asked her how to find them and she told him. He went for them. When he got there he saw bones of men and animals lying all about, and when he looked at the bushes he saw that they were spotted and striped like snakes and that a rattlesnake was coiled around each bush. All the snakes crawled towards him hissing and rattling and ready to bite him. He took the plume from his head and fastened it to his bow and waved it towards the snakes and they were all killed. He then cut ten of the finest of the bushes, and took them to the lodge and gave them to the old woman. They were all surprised to see him again for they thought the snakes would surely kill him.

Then the old woman was afraid and told him to take the bushes out of the lodge because they would cause her death if they were kept there. He took them out of the lodge and told his boy to choose four of the best of them. When he did so he made four arrows and gave them to his boy and told him to hang them in the lodge, which he did. At daybreak, the next morning, the old woman was raging and

scolding her daughters and told them to get up and get food for the man while she went to the tipi of the Cow Woman.

After a time, she came to the lodge with a young bird just hatched. It had no feathers on it and its stomach was large and ugly. She threw it down in the lodge and said that the Cow Woman had pretty little birds which her daughter's man had brought to her but she could only get an ugly young bird like that.

Then the man asked his woman where he could get birds and she told him that beyond the big bend of the river, there were plenty of pretty birds but that they were hard to get and she told him how to find the place. He went to the place and found some very tall trees with large branches very high, and on these branches were nests made of elk horns and bones. All about the trees were bones of men and beasts that were piled high under the trees. He saw that he could not climb the trees, so he turned towards his rush-wife and called on her. A whirlwind took hold of the plume and lifted him into the trees, beside the nests.

In the nests he saw four large birds, fully plumaged, which he killed with the white arrows and threw down to the ground. Then the whirlwind lifted him by the plume and placed him on the ground. When he got to the ground, he saw a small cloud coming up very fast. It grew and came quickly so that it covered the sky and made it dark and the lightning flashed and thunder sounded so that it shook the earth. Then the wind blew hard and large hailstones fell and he got under one of the nests for shelter. Then he heard a voice which said, "You are hiding under the love of children. Come out of this shelter or you will be killed." But he stayed under the shelter and was not killed. Then the storm passed and the plume took him to the ground. When he got to the ground, the hail was very deep and piled in great drifts. The wind and hail had destroyed the trees and brush and many tipis at the camp of the buffalo.

He started for the camp with the dead birds and found that the hail had destroyed many things. When he came to the lodge he threw the birds down before the old woman, who was very much surprised for she and her daughters had sent him to the nests of the Thunderbirds and they thought these birds would kill him. The old woman screamed to him to take the birds out of the lodge, for they would bring disaster on one having them. The daughters took the birds and threw them away, but the father told his son to get feathers from them. When he did so the father placed the web from these feathers on the arrows he had made from the mysterious cherry bushes and gave them to the boy and told him to hang them in the lodge.

At the break of day, the next morning, the old woman was raging and scolding her daughters and bade them get up and get food while she went to the tipi of the Cow Woman. She came back and told the man that the buffaloes had a feast that day and all would be present and that they had invited him and he must be present, that the association for the love of children had a session that day and he must be present and take part in the ceremonies, that the buffaloes would dance in a circle and stamp out all the grass in the circle and perhaps the world would come to an end.

The boy told his father that the old woman would ask him to lead out her grandchild to take part in the ceremonies of the love of children, that all the calves would look alike, but the grandchild would shake its left ear and he would know it by this sign. He went and the animals danced in a circle and made a great dust which rose in a great cloud from the center of the circle as if a whirlwind were carrying it to the skies. The old woman told him that such circles would always be found.

Where the buffaloes danced they made a circle and afterwards the grass grew green and high in this circle. Such places may be seen to this day and where the grass grows different from that about it and in a circle, the Indians say that is where the buffaloes danced.

During the ceremonies, the old woman told the man to go and bring her grandchild to her. The man saw a calf shake its left ear and he brought it to the old woman. The old woman was surprised and told him that he must be more than human. She had sent her daughters to him who looked so much alike that she could not tell them apart and he knew which was his wife, that he had taken the mysterious cherry bushes, which no one had ever done before, and he had gone to the nests of the Thunderbirds and robbed them when always before when one approached them they were killed, and he had done everything she had asked of him.

He replied that she had been trying to find an excuse for killing him, and had tried to have him killed in every way she could devise, but he had outwitted her every time.

At break of day the next morning the old woman was raging and scolding her daughters and bade them get up and get food while she went to the tipi of the Cow Woman. After a while, she came back and told the men that the buffaloes were to play the elk game and asked him to dress up well. So he went to the game and while he was there, the old woman went to a tipi where a mysterious buffalo lived, and told him that the man was making love to his youngest wife. She taunted him and told him that he was afraid of the man and provoked him to a great rage.

The mysterious buffalo started for the place where the game was being played; he bellowed loud and long and threw up clouds of dust and dirt so that all the buffaloes were afraid and ran away but the man did not run. The old woman asked the man to protect them. Then the mysterious buffalo charged upon the man and just as he was about to toss the man with his horns, the plume lifted the man out of danger. He shot a white arrow which went through the mysterious buffalo's body from side to side. The buffalo charged him again and the plume lifted him above all danger. He shot another white arrow which went through the buffalo's body from end to end. The buffalo charged him again and the plume lifted him out of danger. He shot the buffalo with another white arrow which went through the body from side to side. Then the buffalo was weak and staggering and the old woman cried out that the man would kill the buffalo, and called the other buffaloes to help the mysterious buffalo, but they would not. Then the buffalo charged the man again. He was lifted out of danger by the plume and shot the buffalo with a fourth white arrow which went through the body from end to end and the buffalo fell down and died.

Then the boy said to the man, "You have killed my grandfather and I will kill my grandmother." So he took the four arrows which his father had made from the mysterious cherry wood and feathered with the feathers of the Thunderbirds and shot them into his grandmother. The old woman fell down and died.

The buffaloes were standing about on the hills and saw all this, and they were afraid to come into the valley for fear the men would kill them also but he told his sons to tell them to come back that he would do them no harm and that he only wanted to kill the mysterious buffalo. So they all came back and formed a circle and put the wisest in the center, to speak for them. This wise buffalo said to the man, "We are pleased with what you have done today, for the mysterious buffalo and the old woman who was his woman have always made much trouble for us and

we are glad to get rid of them." They were glad that they were killed. He said that though the man was human and his wife half human and half buffalo, if he would stay with them always they would have him for chief and give him as many women as he wanted, that he was brought up in the east where they had not much meat, but if he would stay with them they would travel east and give to his people all the meat they wanted. He said they would give their flesh for the benefit of the people and they would teach his people the elk game and institute among them the association for the love of children.

He chose four old buffaloes, like four old men, with canes, who had a large progeny. They agreed to take their progeny east for the benefit of the people. (This was the coming of the buffalo). He said, "These four will travel the trails for the water that is red (chokecherries mixed with water), for the pipe, for the eagle plume, and for the red tanned skins for clothing. (The origin of the buffalo ceremony.) Men will do this in the future to commemorate what you have done. These old buffalo were to travel in the early morning in the mist of their breath. At each creek where they camped for the night, the cows would drop milk where they nourished their calves and this would be nourishment for children. The man said, "How," and all the buffalo people said, "How."

They told him he must throw away his woman, who was the daughter of the mysterious buffalo and the old woman, and they would give him all the wives he wanted. He did so. This is why the buffalo have many wives. So he drove the daughters of the old women away. When he chose a wife it was a young cow that had just come to puberty, they performed a ceremony over her to let him know that she could be his wife (this was the origin of the buffalo ceremony).

At this time the man's Rush wife went and sat on a hill and would speak to no one. His sisters, one by one, beginning with the oldest, went to her and asked her to come to the tipi, and eat and rest, but she would not answer them. Then his mother went to her but she would not notice her. Then his father went to her and coaxed her to come to the tipi to rest and eat. She told him to return to the tipi and when he had done so she would come. When the two younger sisters saw him coming, they ran out and helped her along and brought her into the tipi where all ministered to her until she was strong again, for they all loved her.

When she was strong she told them the story of her man and how he had found her among the rushes and made her his woman, how he had gone in search of his other woman, of the trials and dangers he had passed through, and of the help she had given them, and that now he had abandoned them and was living with the buffalo, but that he did this for the love of little children so that they might have plenty of meat to eat, that he belonged to them and to her but they would give him up as one dead so that all might have plenty of meat. Then they all wept and mourned for one moon. Then she bade them to quit mourning and listen to her. "Our man that provided for us is gone and we will see him no more. We must make other arrangements to live, we must move to the Big Bend (of the Missouri River) and we will live there."

When they moved to the big bend she told each of the sisters to dig up the ground and they did so. She gave them strange seed and told them to put it in the ground and they did so. The strange seed that she gave the sisters sprouted like grass but was larger, and when it was grown it had a branch of leaves (*Wah uw apa*). (This was the origin of corn.) The strange seed she gave to the father and mother sprouted like the hop vines but was larger and had yellow flowers. The fruit was a bladder,

but thicker, and with many such seeds inside it. (This was the origin of the pumpkin.)

When these were ripened, she showed them how to prepare and cook them so that they were good food. She showed the old man how to dig a cave and put the corn in it so as to save it for the winter time, and taught them how to cache their crops. When they were well provided for young men came and married the sisters, and the Rush woman's boy married a young woman, and from these a new band of people originated.

THE DEATH OF IYA.

(Told by Hoka-chatka.)

Many people were camped on a creek for a feast. On one side of the camp was a large red lodge and on the other, a large yellow lodge. One day, a man came running and told them that Iya was lying asleep not far away up the creek. The people were much excited. Some ran about and others gathered in the center of the camp and all were badly scared.

Iktomi appeared wearing his coonskin robe and inquired why they were so much excited. They told him that Iya lay asleep not far away. Iktomi said he would go and find him and trick him, but some of the people told him not to go lest Iya eat him. But others told him to go, for they hoped that Iya would eat Iktomi and they would get rid of him in this way. So he went up the creek and gathered a great lot of clam shells. He went on and found Iya asleep. When Iya breathed he inhaled dirt and dust and everything that was movable near him. While Iktomi looked at him, Iya awoke and saw him and said, "Ho, my younger brother, I am hungry and my meal will be small this time." Iktomi said, "Ho, my younger brother, I am hungry and my meal will be small, for I am so hungry that I could eat ten like you."

Then Iya opened his mouth to yawn and Iktomi saw many people moving about in his stomach and he said, "When I eat people they do not play in my stomach. That would disturb me. You swallow people and they are amused and play about in your stomach." Iya said, "I will eat you and see if you will play in my stomach." Iktomi said, "Why eat me when I am so small? I will show you a large number of people and we will both have a good meal."

Iya agreed to this, but Iktomi said, "Why do you call me 'younger brother'?" Iya said, "Because I am older than you." Iktomi said, "Let us tell when each was born and then we can tell which is the younger brother." Iya agreed. Iktomi said, "You tell me when you were born and then I will tell when I was born," Iya agreed. Iya said, "When the earth was made that was the first. When the sky was made that was the second. Then I was made the third." Iktomi said, "I first made the earth and then I made the sky. Then I was tired and wanted to make some little foolish thing, so I made you. I did not intend to make you so foolish, for you have been crazy ever since I made you."

Then Iya opened his mouth to eat Iktomi, but Iktomi threw clamshells down his throat making Iya cough. While he was coughing Iktomi said, "I found this big camp of the people near here. There were so many that I could not eat them, so I was looking for someone to help me. You had better come with me and have a good meal, for if you should eat me you could never find these people."

So they started together, but every time Iya drew in his breath he almost drew Iktomi into his stomach, so Iktomi said, "You walk a little way behind and I will go and see if the people are still there." As they went on, they began to argue about who was the older again and Iktomi said, "If you are the older you can follow me," and Iya agreed to that. Then Iktomi said, "Then follow me." He went to the water and walked on it, but when Iya came to the water he sank and could not follow Iktomi.

So Iktomi said, "Ho, my younger brother, you must obey me, for I am the older." Iya agreed. Then Iktomi said, "Let us tell each other the things we most fear, and what will kill us and what will destroy us." Iya agreed. Iktomi said, "I am the older and you must tell me first." So Iya told him that he was most afraid of drums, flutes, and medicine rattles; that when he heard these he was paralyzed, so that if anyone struck his head at that time it would crush his skull and kill him, and that if he were placed on a fire he would burn and be destroyed. Then Iktomi told Iya that he was afraid of the same things and could be killed and destroyed in the same way.

They had come to a wood and Iktomi said to Iya, "Wait here and I will go and spy on the people. When I come back we will go together and eat them. Iya waited in the wood and Iktomi went to the people and told them to get drums and fifes, medicine rattles, warclubs and stone hatchets, and hide themselves in a gap in the hills. He told them that when he brought Iya through the gap they should beat the drums, blow the flutes, and sound the rattles and when Iya fell, to rush up and strike his skull with the clubs and stone hatchets and they would kill him. The people did as Iktomi told them. He went to Iya and reported that the people were all in their tipis. Iya began to run to the camp and as he passed him, Iktomi struck him with a stone knife, but this did not injure Iya. Iktomi was afraid that Iya had fooled him and that he could not be killed, so he called to him, "Hold on my younger brother, I am the older and I should eat first." Iya said, "You are fooling me. There are no people. You only want to get away from me." Iktomi said, "Come with me and I will show you the camp."

He took him to the gap in the hills and showed him the camp, but Iya said he did not see any people. Iktomi said they were in the tipis, but to make sure that they were there he would go and look, and when he found anyone in a tipi, he would wave his coonskin robe. So Iya stayed in the gap and Iktomi went to the camp. He looked in the first tipi and waved his robe. Then he went to the next, looked in, and waved his robe. He went to every tipi, looked in, and waved his robe. When he looked in the last tipi he was far away from Iya, for he was afraid that the people would not kill him, and he wanted to be as far as possible from him so that if he were not killed he could escape from him.

When he waved his robe at the last tipi, Iya came running through the gap in the hills. When he came near the people hidden there, they beat the drums, and blew the flutes and sounded the medicine rattles and Iya fell down, paralyzed. Then the people ran to him and struck his skull with clubs and stone hatchets and crushed it and killed Iya. When Iktomi saw that Iya was killed he came to the people and told them to put the body on a fire. They did so and the body burned like pitch pine. In this way, Iya was killed and destroyed and he has not troubled the people since that time.

IKTOMI AND THE YOUNG MAN.

There was a young man who had many horses and plenty of adornments. He had four sisters who made many ornaments of quillwork, painted robes for him, and made plenty of clothing so that he was always well-dressed and finely painted and had plenty of everything.

A great chief had a young and beautiful daughter. She was industrious and could make beautiful quillwork and paint robes, and she could tan skins and make good clothing. This chief sent word to this young man that he would give him his daughter for a wife. The young man dressed in his finest clothing, putting on quilled moccasins and quilled leggings and beaded breech cloth. He took with him a fine pipe and a beaded tobacco sack. He wrapped about him a fine buffalo robe of a young cow taken when the hair was the best which his sisters had tanned, soft and white, and upon which his adopted mother had painted her dream. He took with him a love medicine that was made by the oldest Shaman among all the people and a flute upon which he had learned to play love songs.

When he started for the chief's house, his oldest sister said to him, "Watch for Iktomi. Do not let him fool you." The young man replied, "I am too wise, Iktomi can't fool me. He went on his way, thinking about the beautiful young girl he was to have for his wife. When he came to a spring of water he sat down in the shade and played a love song on his flute. While he was playing, another young man appeared before him, but he was very poor and had only the poorest kind of clothing. All he had was a breech cloth and an old ragged robe, but he was good looking and strong. He said to the young man, "You play a love song very well. If you should play that way to a young woman she would take you for her man."

This pleased the young man, for he thought that he would play that way for the chief's daughter. He lighted his pipe and gave the other young man a smoke. Then the other young man said, "I would like to hear you play again." So he played another song and the second young man said, "Oh that is more pleasing than the other; no young woman could hear you play that and resist you." This pleased the young man so that he said, "I will teach you to play that way so that you may also get a woman."

He taught the other young man to play like he did. Then the other young man said, "I think you are very strong. Let us wrestle to see who is the stronger." They wrestled and the young man threw the second young man. Then the poor young man said, "I think you are a great hunter, let us shoot the arrow and see who can make the best shot." They shot arrows at a target and the young man made the best shot.

Then the other young man said, "Let us run a race and see who can run the faster." They ran a hundred paces and the young man won the race. Then the other young man said, "Let us run around this spring and know who can run the greatest distance. But the young man said, "No, let us run to that high hill, a long way off and back." The other young man agreed to this. The young man stripped himself of all his clothing except his breech cloth. He piled all his fine clothing, his pipe, his robe, and the flute near the spring. The other young man said, "Let us hide our clothing, someone may come and take everything while we are running." They hid their clothing, the young man putting his clothing in a pile and the other young man putting his robe at another place. The way they had to run was very hilly and the other young man said, "I run very slow down a hill but I run very fas

up a hill." The young man said, "I run very fast down a hill, but I cannot run so fast up a hill." Then the other young man said, "You had better run as fast as you can down the hills, because I will run by you up the hills, if you don't."

They started from the spring up a hill. The other young man ran as fast as he could up the hill and reached the top first; but when they ran down hill, the other young man ran very slowly and the young man ran as fast as he could and passed him very quickly so that he was at the top of the next hill before the other young man was at the bottom of the first hill.

Then the young man looked back at the other young man and laughed, and cried out to him, "I will beat you badly for I will be at the top of the next hill before you will come in sight on top of this hill." Then the other young man said, "Yes that is so. Do not wait for me." So the young man ran on easily for he knew he could beat the other young man. Before the other young man got to the bottom of the first hill, he turned round and ran quickly back to the spring and took all the young man's clothing, his robe, the pipe and the elk teeth and the flute and ran on the trail to the chief's tipi.

When the young man got to the high hill he sat down to rest, for he thought he could beat the other young man easily now. He waited, but the other young man did not come. Then he thought he was lost so he went slowly back over the way he had run to look for him. When he got to the spring he looked about but did not find him, so he said, "I will put on my clothing and take my things and then I will hunt for him."

But when he went for his things he found them all gone. Then he knew that the other young man was Iktomi. He started to run as fast as he could on the trail to the chief's tipi. But he had run so much that he was tired, and could not run very fast. It was very late at night when he got to the chief's tipi. He found that Iktomi had gotten there very early in the day and had given the chief a smoke of cansasa so that the chief was pleased. Iktomi had given the chief's daughter all the elk teeth so that she was pleased. He had played to her on the flute the love songs he had taught him so that she could not resist him and she had taken Iktomi for her man.

When the young man came dressed in his breech cloth and the old ragged robe that Iktomi had left, they would not believe him when he said he was the young man to whom the chief had promised his daughter. They let him eat at the feast and then told him to go away. He went home and told his sisters. His oldest sister said, "I told you to watch for Iktomi."

THE STONE BOY.¹

(A Dakota myth, told by Naopi-sica.)

The Four Brothers lived together without any woman, so they did the woman's work. One time as the oldest was gathering wood, after nightfall, something ran into his big toe. This pained him but little and he soon forgot it, but his toe began to swell and was soon as big as his head. Then he cut it open and found something

¹ Two other versions of this tale have been published for the Dakota: see, Clark Wissler, *Some Dakota Myths* (*Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. 20) 199; and Marie L. McLaughlin, *Myths and Legends of the Sioux*, 179-197, Bismarck, N. D., 1916. However, these are widely divergent in all but their titles.

in it. He did not know what it was, but his brothers washed it and found that it was a little girl baby.

The Four Brothers kept the baby and gave it good food and fine clothes so that it grew to be a beautiful young woman. She could do a woman's work well and quickly and never allowed anyone to leave their tipi cold or hungry. She could dress skins so that they were white and soft and from them make good clothing, upon which she put beautiful ornaments and each ornament meant something.

Many young men tried to induce her to live with them, but she would not leave the Four Brothers. They told her that they would always keep her as their sister and they did everything to please her. The oldest Brother said, "I will go and hunt deer so that our sister may have the skins to make clothing for herself." He went away and did not return. Then the next oldest Brother said, "I will go and hunt buffalo so that our sister may have the skins to make robes for herself." He went away and did not return. Then the next youngest brother said, "I will go and hunt elk so that our sister may have meat for herself." He too went away and did not return. Then the youngest brother said, "Sister, our Brothers have gone away and have not returned. I will go and find them." So he went away and did not return.

When the youngest Brother had been gone one moon, the young woman went to the top of a high hill to mourn, and to seek a vision. While she was mourning she saw a pebble which she looked at for a long time, for it was very smooth and white and then she put it in her mouth to keep from being thirsty. She fell asleep with the pebble in her mouth and swallowed it. While she slept the vision came to her in the form of the great beast, which told her that the Four Brothers were kept by a stone and that a stone would find them and bring them back to her.

She told this vision to a Shaman and asked him to tell her what it meant. The shaman told her to marry and name her son The Stone. But she would not live with any man for she remembered how good and kind the Four Brothers were, and she wished to live for them only.

Soon she grew big with child and gave birth to a boy baby. The flesh of this baby was as hard as stone and she knew that it was mysterious (*Wakan*) and came from the pebble she had swallowed. She went far away and lived alone with her son. She taught him all the games and songs and all about roots and plants and animals and birds, so that he was cunning and wise. She gave him fine clothes and good food so that he grew up strong and brave though his flesh was as hard as stone. She would not allow him to hunt or join a war party for she was afraid he would go away and never return like the Four Brothers.

Each moon she went to the top of a hill to mourn. When her son had grown to be a man he asked her why she went to mourn each moon and she said to him, "My son, you are now a man, and I will tell you why I mourn." So she told him the story of the Four Brothers, of her coming to them, of how they went away and did not return, of his own birth, and the vision of the great beast.

Then she sang this song to him: —

I am a mysterious woman.
I am like other women.
You are a mysterious man.
Your flesh is like a stone.
You are the Stone Boy.
You are stone the great beast told of.

Then he sang to her:—

I am the Stone Boy.
I am the stone that will aid you.
I will bring back your brothers.
My mother I will make you happy.

He then said to her: "Mother, I will go to find your brothers. I will bring them to you." She said, "I am afraid you too will go away and never come back." He said to her, "What did the great beast tell you? I am the stone." She said, "Go my son, but you must first be prepared with magic."

She made a great feast and invited a wise Shaman, a wise old woman, a great brave, a great hunter, and four maidens as the chief guests, and all the people as common guests. She placed the people as they belonged according to the bands with her son among the chief guests. When all were satisfied with eating she stood before the people and told the story of the Four Brothers; of her coming to them, of their going, of her vision, and of the birth and life of her son. She then told them to examine her son that they might know that he was mysterious (*Wakan*). The people all examined the young man and when they found that his flesh was hard like stone they said he was indeed mysterious and that he was the Stone Boy. She then told them that her son was to go in quest of the Four Brothers and she had prepared this feast that the people might have a good heart towards him and she had invited the chief guests so that they would help her to prepare her son with magic for his quest.

The chief guests agreed to do what she should ask of them. The Shaman gave the Stone Boy a charm (*Pajuta-wakan-rea*) that would keep all harm from him. The old woman gave him a robe on which she had painted a dream which made the robe magical and made anyone who wore it invisible. The warrior gave him a magical spear that would pierce anything, a magical shield that would ward off anything, and a magical club that would break anything. The hunter showed him how to find anything he wanted. His mother made his clothes of good deerskins and the young women put ornaments on them. While ornamenting his clothing, they sang love songs and the Shaman conjured the ornaments, (*Ca hina wakan kaga*) so that they were magical. On the sides of his moccasins they put mountains so that he could step from hill to hill without touching the valleys; on the tops they put dragon flies so that he could escape all danger; on his leggings they put wolf tracks so that he would never grow weary; on his shirt they put the tipi circle so that he would find shelter everywhere.

He stood before the people, clothed in his magical garments, his shield on his back and his spear and club in his hands. His face was towards the rising sun. Before him was his mother, on one side the Shaman, warrior, and hunter, and on the other, the old woman and the four young women. He said to his mother, "I will bring the Four Brothers back to you." To the young women, "When I return I will take you four as my women." To the men, "What you have taught me I will use to release the Four Brothers." Then turning his face towards the setting sun he said to the old woman, "I go."

Then the old woman threw the robe about him and he was seen no more, but there was a wind as if the thunderbird flew towards the setting sun. His mother fell on her face as one dead, but the people heard a voice high in the air, clear and loud like the voices of the cranes when they fly towards the region of the pines, and this is what it said, "A stone shall free the Four Brothers."

When the Stone Boy went from the people he stepped from hill to hill more swiftly than the stars (meteors) fall at night. From each hill he looked carefully into the valley so that he saw all there was in every valley, but he saw nothing of the Four Brothers until he came to the high hills far towards the setting sun.

In the valley there was much game of every kind and in one of them he found a stone knife that he knew belonged to the oldest Brother. In another valley he found a stone arrow-head that he knew belonged to the next to the oldest Brother. In a third, he found a stone ax that he knew belonged to the next to the youngest Brother, and in a fourth he found a stone bone breaker that he knew belonged to the youngest Brother. Then he knew he was on the right road to find the Brothers, and looked carefully into each valley.

Near the mountains he saw a valley that was barren, with nothing in it but a stone, a tree, and a little brown hill from which he saw smoke rise. He took off his robe and sat down to watch this. Soon a huge coyote, larger than a buffalo came out of the hill and began to jump up very high and yelp very loud. Then the stone began to roll and bump about and the tree began to move from place to place.

Beyond this, towards the setting sun, the hills became higher and higher until there were mountains. Near the mountain, the Stone Boy found a barren valley where he could see nothing but a stone, a tree, and a little brown hill. While he was looking at the little brown hill he saw smoke coming from it as from a tipi and as he watched, the stone went to a pool of water and took a drink and the tree began to move about and a great coyote, as large as a buffalo, came out of the little brown hill and began to jump and yelp.

The Stone Boy took off his robe and sat down to watch and soon a growl like thunder came from the hills beyond. When he heard this growl, the coyote jumped very high and fast and yelped and yelled, the stone moved about and bumped on the ground, the tree moved from place to place, and a little old woman came out of the hill and looked towards the growling. Soon a huge bear as large as a cloud came over the hills. He walked upright like a man and held some people in his forelegs and his growl sounded like loud thunder. He came into the valley and held the Indians up to the tree. The Stone Boy saw that each branch of the tree was a snake. These snakes bit the Indians as the bear held them up so that they were paralyzed. When they were still as if they were dead, the bear threw them down on the hard smooth ground and the stone rolled over them and flattened them so that they were like dried buffalo skins.

Thus the little old woman laid them on the little brown hill and the Stone Boy saw that the hill was made of flattened Indians piled one on top of another. When the Indians had all been placed on the hill, the coyote sniffed towards the hill where the Stone Boy stood and jumped up and yelped. Then he sniffed and jumped up again; he sniffed very hard, jumped very high, and yelped very loud and the little old woman pointed to that hill and the bear growled and came to it. But the Stone Boy put on his robe and stepped to another hill. The bear looked foolish and said, "That must have been a thunderbird (*wakinyan*, a Winged God).

Then the bear came towards the hill he was on, running very fast, and growling like thunder. Then the Stone Boy quickly put on his robe and when the bear was almost near him he stepped to another hill. The bear stopped and looked very foolish and said, "That must have been a thunderbird that passed by me." Then the coyote sniffed towards him again and jumped up and down, and the bear ran towards the hill he was on, but when he got there the Stone Boy stepped to another

hill and the bear looked very foolish and said, "I think that is a thunderbird going by."

Then the coyote sniffed towards the hill where the Stone Boy stood and again jumped up and down and the tree walked that way and the stone came also. The bear growled like very heavy thunder and came creeping towards the hill, watching everything very closely, but when he got near the Stone Boy he stepped to another hill. Then the bear was afraid, and ran back to the little hill, whining and whimpering, for he thought it was a thunderbird. Then the little old woman came out of the hill and the coyote yelped and jumped up and down and ran around and around and the branches of the tree squirmed and licked their tongues out and hissed like a great wind. The stone jumped up and down and every time it came down it shook the earth.

Then the Stone Boy stood up and took off his robe and jeered at them and mocked them. They saw him. The old woman screamed and the coyote yelped louder than ever and jumped up and down, and the tree walked towards him, every snake hissing loud. The stone rolled and tumbled towards him and the bear came very fast towards him growling like a thunder cloud. When the bear was very close he raised his paw to strike him but the Stone Boy shot one of the arrows through his heart and he fell dead.

Then the coyote came jumping up and down. Every time he jumped up he went higher and higher and when he was near enough he jumped up so as to come down on the Stone Boy, but the Stone Boy set his spear on the ground and when the coyote came down the spear ran through his heart and killed him. Then the stone came rolling and tumbling and smashing everything in its path. When it was about to roll over the Stone Boy and smash him he raised his warclub and struck it a mighty blow and broke it into pieces.

The tree could not walk up the hill, so the Stone Boy went down into the valley and when he came near the tree the branches began to strike at him, but he held up the shield the warrior had given him and when one of the snake branches would strike it its teeth would break off and its head would be smashed. So the Stone Boy danced about the tree and sang and shouted until every branch had smashed itself to death against his shield.

The little old woman then went into the little hill and the Stone Boy came near it and cried, "Ho, old woman, come out." But the old woman said, "My friend, I am a weak old woman. Have pity on me and come into my tipi."

The Stone Boy saw that the little hill was a strange kind of tipi. He found the door, went in, and the old woman said, "My friend, I am a weak old woman, but you are welcome to my tipi. I will get you something to eat and drink." The Stone Boy noticed that her tongue was forked so he was wary and watched her closely.

She said, "My friend, you must be tired. Lie down and rest while I get food for you." The Stone Boy lay down and the old woman passed close to him saying, "The meat is behind you." As she leaned over him she stabbed him over the heart, but her stone knife broke off when it struck him.

She said, "My friend, I stumbled and fell on you." The Stone Boy said, "I will sit up so that you will not stumble over me." So she said, "My friend, sit near the center of the tipi, so I can go about you without stumbling over you."

So the Stone Boy sat near the center of the lodge, and the old woman moved about him. As she passed behind him she struck him on the head with a warclub

but it only bounced off without hurting him, so she said, "My friend that was a stone that fell from the top of the tipi." The Stone Boy said, "I will sit out by the door of the tipi so that stones will not fall on me." He sat outside by the door of the tipi. The old woman said, "My friend, you must be hungry. I will make soup for you. She made soup with bad medicine in it and gave it to the Stone Boy who drank it.

The old woman said, "Ho, you are the one I hate. I am Iya, the evil spirit. I hate all Indians. I destroy all Indians. I have given you that which will destroy you. You have swallowed poison. It will kill you. I am Iya the evil one. I know whom you seek. You were hunting for your mother's brothers. They are there in that tipi. They are like tanned skins. You will soon die and I will make a tanned skin of you. I must have a living stone to flatten you out, but there is only one other living stone and I must find it. The living stone was my master. He is the only one I feared. He is the only one who could hurt me. No one else can do me any harm. His only relative is a living stone. He is now my master and none other. But you will die from the poison I have given you and I will sing your death song."

She sang:—

A young man would be wise.
A young man would be brave.

He left the places he knew.
He came to strange places.

He came to death's valley.
He came to Iya's tipi.

He slew Iya's son, the coyote.
He slew Iya's daughter, the snake tree.

He broke the living stone.
He broke Iya's only master.

Iya will be revenged on him.
Iya will see him die.

He slew my friend the bear.
Iya will laugh and see him die.

Then the Stone Boy said, "May I also sing a song?" Iya said, "Ho, sing what you will. It is your death song and it is music that will make my heart glad." Then the Stone Boy sang:—

The living stone was Iya's master.
The living stone had but one relation.

He had a son that was little.
A pebble white as the snow.

Iya feared this pebble and stole it.
Feared it because it was white.

Iya carried it into a far country.
Iya threw it from him on a hilltop.

Where it would not be nourished.
Where it would not be life warmed.

He thought no one would find it.
He thought it would be there forever.

A woman born mysterious.
Found this pebble mysterious.

She gave to it the warmth of life.
She gave to it of herself.

Her son was that white pebble,
The son of the living stone.

The wisest Shaman taught him wisdom.
The bravest warrior taught him bravery.

The oldest woman taught him cunning.
The best of women taught him kindness.

The people taught him justice.
To strive for the right against the evil.

He was charmed from harm by the Shaman.
He was armed against evil by the warrior.

On his robe was the dream of the old woman.
On his feet was the magic of the young women.

Thus he came to death's valley.
Thus he came to Iya's tipi.

He slew Iya's friend, the bear.
Because he enticed away the people.

He slew Iya's son, the coyote.
Because he did evil only.

He broke the living stone.
Because it was Iya's master.

He slew Iya's daughter, the snake tree.
Because her faults were many.

Iya's knife would not harm him,
Iya's club would not kill him.

Iya's broth would not kill him.
It only makes him warm and stronger.

You will not laugh and see me die.
For this is not my death song.

I am the pebble you threw away.
I am the Stone Boy, your master.

Then Iya said, "How shall I know you to be my master?" The Stone Boy said, "Do my bidding or I will punish you." Then Iya said, "I am a weak old woman. Have pity on me and do not punish me." The Stone Boy said, "Your tongue is forked, and you do not tell the truth. You are not a woman. You are an evil old man. You have pity on no one, but do evil to everyone. Tell me, where are my mother's brothers?" Iya said, "I do not know. I was only boasting when I said

I knew where they were. Have pity on me. Do not make it hard for me." Then the Stone Boy said, "I will have no pity on you. Tell me where my mother's brothers are." Iya said, "I do not know."

Then the Stone Boy seized him by the foot and placed it on the ground and trod on it and Iya's foot was flattened like a piece of dried skin and he howled with pain. But the Stone Boy demanded of him to tell where his mother's brothers were, and Iya declared that he did not know. Then the Stone Boy flattened his other foot in the same way, and Iya sobbed and cried with pain and said he would tell all to the Stone Boy if he would not punish him any farther, for Iya recognized that the Stone Boy was truly his master. Iya said:—

"In ancient times, I found game plentiful in the valleys below here, and good hunters and brave men came here to hunt it. These good men could not be made to do evil at their homes, so I could not do them mischief. So I made a bargain with your father, the living stone, and with the great bear and brought my sons and daughter with me and we all lived here in this valley. (Iya was a giant, he fought with the living stone. The stone conquered and became his master. He kept Iya with nothing to eat until he grew smaller and became a little old person.)

"The bargain was that the bear would go out among the game, and when a good man came to hunt, the bear would show himself and being so big, the hunters would chase him until they came where they could see my son who would jump up and down and scare them so that they would fall down with no strength. Then the bear would take them in his arms and bring them to my daughter who would sting them so that they would be paralyzed. Then the living stone would roll on them and flatten them out like skins and I would heap them up on my tipi poles. As they were alive this would always be a torment to them. In this way I could do mischief to good men.

"We often heard of the four men who lived alone and did a woman's work and who never did evil to anyone, so that I could not torment them. But they would not hunt or go on the warpath and we thought they would never come within our power. So I determined to get a woman into their tipi that they might do some evil but I could not get an ordinary woman among them. Then I tried to break off a branch from my daughter, the snake tree, and put it into their tipi, but the branches would not break and the only way I could get a part of my daughter was by digging out a part of the heart of the tree. This I did and placed it near the tipi of the four men, so that when one of them went to get wood he would step on it and stick it into his toe. These men were so good that when they cared for this child it grew up a good woman as they were men, but I waited patiently for when she grew to be a woman I knew they would not live as they had before. When she was a woman they came to hunt for her and the bear enticed them and they were caught and flattened and are now tormented on my tipi poles.

"When I threw the white pebble away I knew that no ordinary woman could nourish it into life and growth and when your mother grew up to be a woman I did not think of her being a mysterious woman who could give life and growth to the pebble. So my own evil has brought the punishment on me, for I know that you are my master and that you will not let me do evil any more. But those who now lie on my tipi poles will still be tormented."

Then the Stone Boy said, "Tell me. How can these people that are on your tipi poles be restored to their natural conditions." Iya said, "I will not." The Stone Boy said, "I am your master. Tell me or I will punish you." Then Iya said,

"Remember I am your grandfather, and do not punish me." The Stone Boy said, "I broke my own father in pieces because he was evil. Do you think I would spare you because you are my grandfather?" Iya said, "I will not tell you."

Then the Stone Boy said, "Give me your hand." He took Iya's hand and trod on it and it was flattened like a dried skin and Iya howled with pain. Then the Stone Boy said, "Tell me or I will flatten your other hand," and Iya said, "I will tell you."

"You must skin the bear and the coyote and stretch their skins over poles so as to make a tight tipi. Then you must gather all the pieces of the broken living stone. You must make a fire of the wood from the snake tree and heat these stones over this fire, and place them in the tipi. Then get one of the flattened people off the poles of my tipi and place it in the tipi you have built. Then place the hot stones in the tipi and pour water over the stones. When the steam rises on to the flattened person, he will be as he was before the bear enticed them."

Then the Stone Boy did as he was told, but the skins of the bear and the coyote would not make a full-sized tipi, so he made it low and round on top. When he made fire of the snake tree the branches were so fat that one would heat all the stones red hot. He had plenty of fuel to heat the stones as often as he wished. So he placed the flattened people in the sweathouse and steamed them and they became men as they were before they were enticed by the bear.

He did not know who his mother's brothers were, so he took the arrow he had found and called to all and asked them whose arrow it was. One man said it was his. He told him to stand to one side. He took the stone knife he had found and asked whose it was. A man said it was his and he told him to stand to one side. He then took the plum seed dice he had found and asked whose they were. One man said it was his and he told him to stand to one side. Then he told the men he had asked to stand aside to look at each other. They did so and when they had looked at each other they embraced each other and the Stone Boy knew they were brothers.

Then the Stone Boy told them the story of the four men, of the birth of his mother and how the four men went away and never came back. Then the men said, "We are those four men." The Stone Boy knew that they were his mother's brothers so he told them the story of his own birth and they said, "We believe you, because we know of the birth of your mother." Then he told them of his preparations to come for them, of his coming and his fight with the bear, the coyote, the stone, and the snake tree, and how he was master of Iya. They said, "We believe you because the bear did entice us and the coyote did jump up and down and the snake did bite us and the stone did roll over us and make us flat like skins and the old woman did spread us on her tipi and we were in torment."

Then the Stone Boy counseled with them as to what he should do with Iya. They advised him to make him flat like a skin but, the Stone Boy said, "There is no snake tree to bite him." He came back to Iya and said, "You have been very evil but now I am your master and I shall punish you for all the evil you have done so that you will always be in torment as you have kept all these people." Iya was a great coward and he begged the Stone Boy to spare him and not punish him. But the Stone Boy said, "I shall flatten you like a skin and spread you on a pole."

Then Iya said, "I am Iya, the giant, and I will grow so big that you cannot flatten me. He began to grow and grew larger and larger so that he was a great giant. But the Stone Boy began to trample on him. Beginning at his feet which he had already flattened, he trampled on his legs, so that Iya fell to his knees, he

trampled on his thighs so that Iya fell to his buttocks, he trampled his hips so that great floods of water ran from him. This water was bitter and salty and it soaked into the earth and where it comes out in springs or lakes it makes the water very bad and bitter.

Then he trampled his belly, and Iya vomited great quantities of cherry stones, and the Stone Boy said to him, "What are these cherry stones, and Iya said, "They are the people that I have sucked in with my breath when I went about the earth as a giant." The Stone Boy said, "How can I make these people as they were when you sucked them in with your breath?" Iya said, "Make a fire without smoke." So the Stone Boy got very dry cottonwood and made a fire and when it was burned to coals Iya said, "Get some of the hair from the great bear's skin." He got hair from the great bear, and Iya said, "Put this hair on the fire," and he put it on the fire. Then there arose a great white smoke and it was like the smoke from wild sage branches and leaves. Then Iya said, "Blow this smoke on the cherry stones." The Stone Boy did so, and Iya said, "This drives away all my power to do these people any harm." Iya said, "Get the hair of many women." The Stone Boy took the ornaments from his hair and Iya said, "Burn this on the fire." The Stone Boy did so and there was a thick blue smoke like the smoke of sweetgrass and Iya said, "This gives you power to do what you wish to these people."

The Stone Boy said to the people, "Be as you were before Iya sucked you in with his breath." Every cherry stone arose. They were transformed into men, women, and children so that there were a great many people there. These people were all very hungry and the Stone Boy said to Iya, "What shall I give these people to eat?" Iya replied, "Give them the flesh of the great bear." So he cut off a piece of the flesh of the great bear and gave it to a woman. It grew to be a large piece and this woman cut it in two and gave half of it to another woman. Immediately each of these pieces grew large. Each one of these women cut their pieces in two and gave half to other women. Each time a piece was given away it grew large. Then the women built fires and cooked the meat and all feasted and were happy and sang songs.

The people spoke many different languages and could not understand each other, but the Stone Boy could speak to each one in his own language. He addressed some in their own tongue, "Where was your place?" They replied, "Over the mountains." He said to them, "Go to your people." As he said this to everyone, he gave to the oldest woman of each people, a piece of the flesh from the great bear, so that they had plenty to eat while they traveled. Then the Stone Boy said to his mother's brothers, "Now we will go back to your sister, to my mother, but before we go I will destroy Iya so that he may do no more mischief or hurt the people."

He trod on Iya's chest and his breath rushed out of his mouth and nostrils like a mighty wind and it whirled and twisted, breaking down trees, tearing up grass, throwing the water from the lake, and even piling the rocks and earth over the carcasses of the coyote and the snake tree, so that the thunderbird came rushing through the air to know what all this tumult was about. With his cloud shield he rushed into this great whirlwind, and while the lightning roared and flashed from his eyes, he fought the whirlwind and carried it away into the sky.

Then the Stone Boy said to Iya, "I will now tread your head and your arms out flat like a dried skin and you shall remain forever here in this evil valley where there is no tree, nor grass, nor water, and where no living thing will ever come near you. The sun shall burn you and the cold shall freeze you and you shall feel and think and be hungry and thirsty but no one shall come near you."

Iya grew so large that he lay almost across the valley. His hands were up on the hill where the Stone Boy first showed himself. When the Stone Boy told him his fate, his hands grasped for something and he felt the Stone Boy's robe. This he quickly threw over himself and immediately he became invisible. But the Stone Boy saw what he was doing and jumped quickly to trample on his head before he got the robe over himself. When the Stone Boy trampled the breath out of Iya, his mouth gaped wide open. He got the robe over his head before the Stone Boy could get his feet on him. When the Stone Boy did trample Iya he stepped into his mouth and he closed his jaws like a trap and caught both of the Stone Boy's feet between his teeth.

Iya could not hurt the Stone Boy, but he held the feet very tightly between his teeth and when the Stone Boy drew out one foot he closed still closer on the other so that when that one was dragged out, the moccasin was left in Iya's mouth, and was invisible and could not be found.

THE WIZARD AND HIS WIFE.

(Told by Hoka-chatka.)

Long ago, there was an old woman and her little grandson who were so ragged and filthy that the people drove them from the camp and they lived alone, far away from anyone. She was a wise woman and taught the boy strange things so that when he was a young man, though he was still ragged and filthy, he knew how to talk with birds and beasts and to do magical things.

The chief had a beautiful daughter who was so beloved by all, that they would spread their robes on the ground for her to walk upon. This young man wanted the chief's daughter for his wife, but she scorned him because he was so filthy. He told his grandmother what he wanted and asked her to go to the camp and get a bladder for him. She was afraid to go to the camp or to ask anyone for anything, for she knew the people despised her and her grandson and that they would treat her with contempt and might abuse her.

The young man persuaded her to go. When she was near the camp she called to the people and asked if someone would give her a bladder. They made sport of her and told her to keep away from the camp. She was about to go to her tipi when a good woman gave her a bladder. She took it to her grandson and he made a rattle of it and conjured it so that it was magical. He then sat beside the creek where the chief's daughter came for water and when she came and stooped to fill her vessel, she saw his reflection in the water.

When she looked up at him, he told her he wanted her to be his wife. She answered him by scolding and bemeaning him and calling him vile names and ordered him to keep away from her so that she could not see him. He then shook his magic rattle at her and she became like a rattle and rattled at every step she made. She ran, but this only made her rattle the louder, so she began to weep. Her friends put a robe on her and carried her to her father's tipi and she told him of the filthy young man who had asked her to be his wife, and had brought this evil thing on her when she had refused.

The chief knew that the old woman had taught her grandson many wise things and that he was a wizard so he told his daughter that this young man and no other could relieve her of the evil upon her. He advised her to go to the young man and

say that she would be his wife if he would relieve her of the spell that was upon her and then she could run away from him.

She went to the old woman's tipi and told the young man that she had always intended to be his wife, that what she had said to him at the creek was just to tease him, that if he would relieve her from the evil he had put upon her, she would be his wife. He relieved her of the evil and told her to go back to her father's tipi and he would come there and get her with her father's consent and take her in an honorable way, before all the people. This pleased her, for she thought that her father would never give his consent to such an arrangement. When she was relieved of the evil she hurried away.

The people were gathered at her father's tipi, waiting to learn the result of her visit to the young man and when they saw her coming, restored to her natural condition, they shouted their joy and congratulated her on her escape from the filthy young man. The young man perceived that he had been tricked into restoring her and that she did not intend to become his wife and would try to keep out of his power. He went to the creek and hid himself near where she came for water. Soon she came, looking cautiously about to see if he were there. At first she did not see him, but when she stooped to fill her vessel she saw his shadow in the water. She started to run but he shook the rattle at her and she became dry and hard and rattled as she moved.

The people again carried her to her father's tipi and she told him what had happened to her. He then understood that this young man was truly a wizard and told his daughter that she could not escape him and must be his wife. He then directed the people to go to the young man, to treat him well and invite him to come to his tipi, and tell him that he would give him his daughter to be his wife. They did so.

The young man came to the chief's tipi. The chief ordered three old women to take him and cleanse him, bathe him and clothe him in good clothing and put a new robe on him. They did so. When the young man was cleansed and clothed in good clothing all saw that he was a strong and handsome man and good to look upon, so they followed him to the chief's tipi, singing and laughing joyfully.

When the chief's daughter saw him, she smiled upon him and came and put her hand in his. He restored her to her natural condition and wrapped his robe about her and himself, and stood facing all the people, proud and commanding, so that they knew that he would be a chief. The chief then said to him, "You are a wizard, and you shall be known by that name forever."

He then gave his daughter to the wizard to be his wife and made a great feast and the people danced and sang and played games. The young people made love and the old people told stories and all were happy. The old women made a big tipi at the head of the camp, next to the chief's tipi and the wizard and his wife lived in it, happily for many moons.

One morning, the wizard awoke and found his wife gone. He inquired for her in her father's tipi and in all the camp, but could not find her, so the chief called all the people together and asked them about her, but no one could tell where she had gone or what had become of her.

The wizard was disconsolate and wandered aimlessly about until one day he came to his grandmother's tipi. He did not know her, but she said, "Come into my tipi, my grandson. I have been waiting for you. Your wife is gone and I will tell you how to find her." He went into the tipi and his grandmother gave him food. After he had eaten and rested, she gave him a gray bonnet and a big knife and told

him that when he put the bonnet on, no one could see him, and when he struck anything with the big knife, it would be cut to pieces.

She showed him a trail and told him to follow it until he came to a lake and then put on the gray bonnet and dive into the lake where he would find a trail at the bottom and to go on this trail until he came to a river. When he came to the river, she told him to put on the gray bonnet and he could walk across the river. On the other side of the river was a great camp and his wife was in that camp.

The wizard did as his grandmother told him and traveled on the trail until he came to the lake where he put on the bonnet, dived into the lake, and found the trail at the bottom. He went on this trail until he came to a river and he put on the gray bonnet again and walked on the water across the river. On the other side of the river he saw a great camp and in the center of the camp he saw a large tipi. He put the gray bonnet on, so that no one could see him and walked into the camp and went into the big tipi in the center of the camp. Here, he found his wife, sitting in the tipi, making moccasins. He sat down near her and took off the gray bonnet.

She was surprised and pleased to see him and begged him to take her back to his tipi. She begged him to go quickly for she was afraid of the one who had stolen her and brought her there, because he was a strong and savage beast who would try to kill both the wizard and his wife if he found them together. The wizard told her to have no fear, for he wanted to see this evil one who had stolen her, but she begged him so hard to go before the beast came that he took her by the hand and led her out of the door. As they came out of the tipi, his wife cried, "Here it comes. It will kill both of us."

The wizard saw a great beast rushing at them and knew that it was the Magical Buffalo (*Ganask inyan*). He put on the gray bonnet and the Magical Buffalo could see neither him nor his wife. As it rushed by him, he struck it with the big knife and it was cut into pieces. He and his wife then went to the river and he put on the gray bonnet and followed the trail to his grandmother's tipi. They came to her tipi and found her waiting for them, and she said, "Come into my tipi, grandson. I knew that you would bring your wife with you." When they were in the tipi she said to him, "Hang the gray bonnet and the big knife on the side of the tipi, and when you are in trouble come to me." She then gave them food and when they had rested, they went on their way to their own tipi. When the people saw them, they rejoiced; the chief gave a great feast and all were happy.

The wizard and his wife lived happily in their tipi for many moons. One morning, the wizard awoke and found his wife gone again. He searched for her in her father's tipi and in all the camp but could not find her. The chief called the people together but no one could tell where she was or what had become of her. The wizard remembered his grandmother and went to her tipi and found her waiting for him. She said to him, "My grandson, you have lost your wife again. I will help you to find her."

She then gave him food. When he had rested she told him to take the gray bonnet and the big knife and follow her. She went into a wood on the bank of a large river where there was a log with a branch at one end. She twisted this branch round and round and the log rolled over and over towards the river and as it rolled became more and more like a boat, so that when it reached the water it was a boat with a head, two great eyes, and a tail. She told the wizard that this boat would carry him where he wanted to go and that when he got out of it, it would sink below the surface of the water until only its tail could be seen. She told him that when he

wished to use the boat again he should shake the tail and the boat would rise and start away. She warned him that he must get into it quickly or it would go and leave him.

He sat in the boat and it carried him all day. At night he lay down and slept and it carried him all night. The next morning he saw something dark far away, and when the boat brought him near he saw that it was a summer cloud sitting on the bank of the river. The boat carried him to the bank. He got out of it and it sank in the water until only the tail could be seen. He found a trail under the cloud and followed it to the top of a high hill and in the valley beyond he saw a large yellow tipi. He put the gray bonnet on and went to the tipi and walked around it, examining it closely. Then he went into it and found his wife making moccasins and sat down near her.

He took off the gray bonnet. When his wife saw him, she was like one dead with fear. When she revived she begged him to take her away from that place, for the one who had stolen her and brought her there was a malicious and terrible bird with three brothers who were as evil as it, and that when they glared their glance would kill. The wizard told her to have no fear for him, as he wished to see the bird that had stolen her.

While they talked, there was a crash of thunder. The woman grew pale with fear and said that the thunder was one of the birds coming. The wizard told her to sit still as if she were making moccasins and if the bird came in to go out and hurry to the bank of the river and wait for him there.

In a short time, the bird came in and the wizard saw that it was the Thunderbird from the north. Its voice was loud and rough as it said, "Who has been here? There are tracks around the tipi." The woman said, "No one has been here and gone. Look about the tipi for yourself." It looked about the tipi but could see no one, so it said, "I will wait for my brothers."

Soon there was another crash of thunder and another bird came in. The wizard saw that it was the Thunderbird from the west. It said in a loud coarse voice, "Who has been here? There are tracks about the tipi and in the door?" The woman said, "No one has been here and gone. Look about the tipi for yourself." It looked about the tipi but could see no one, so it said, "We will wait for our brothers."

Then there was another crash of thunder and another bird came in. The wizard saw it was the Thunderbird from the south. It said in a loud coarse voice, "Who has been here? There are tracks around the tipi and in the door and near the fireplace." The woman said, "No one has been here and gone. Look about the tipi for yourself." It looked about the tipi but could see no one, so it said, "We will wait for our brother."

Then there was a crash of thunder louder than the others, which shook the tipi and the earth, and soon another bird came. It was larger and more terrible than either of the others. The wizard saw that it was the Thunderbird from the east. It said in a voice that sounded like the growling of an angry bear, "Who has been here? There are tracks around the tipi, and in the door, and near the fireplace and by the woman." The woman said, "No one has been here and gone. Look about the tipi for yourself." It looked about the tipi but could see no one and it said, "Woman, the tracks are tracks of a human. The tracks are of one of your kind. You must be hiding him. You may be sitting on him. Get up and go out of the tipi."

She went out of the tipi and hurried to the bank of the river as the wizard had

told her. When she had gone, the Thunderbirds looked all about the tipi but could see no one, so they gathered up the robes and bags and everything that was in it, and threw them all out, but could find no one. Then the Thunderbird from the north searched all the north side of the tipi, and said, "There is no one in the north side of the tipi." The Thunderbird from the west, searched the west side and said, "There is no one in the west side of the tipi." The Thunderbird from the south searched the south side and said, "There is no one in the south side of the tipi." The Thunderbird from the east searched on one side of the door in the east, and said, "There is no one on this side of the door." As it crossed the doorway, the wizard struck it on the head and knocked it down. It jumped up and knocked down the Thunderbird from the north and it said, "Why did you do that?" and the Thunderbird from the east said, "Why did you knock me down?" The Thunderbird from the north said, "I did not knock you down."

Then the Thunderbird from the east knocked down the Thunderbird from the west, and it said, "Why did you do that?" and the Thunderbird from the east said, "Why did you knock me down?" and the Thunderbird from the west said, "I did not knock you down." Then the Thunderbird from the east knocked down the Thunderbird from the south, and it said, "Why did you do that?" The Thunderbird from the east said, "Why did you knock me down?" and the Thunderbird from the south said, "I did not knock you down." Then the Thunderbird from the east said, "One of you has lied to me, for one of you knocked me down." So they began to quarrel, and soon were fighting. They fought until three of the birds were killed and the other was weak and bloody.

The wizard saw that it was the Thunderbird from the west that was not killed and he took off the gray bonnet and said to the bird, "You are an evil thing. You delight in destroying and killing. You have even killed your own brothers. Now I will kill you." The Thunderbird saw that he was a wizard because he had appeared from nowhere. It was wounded and weak from the loss of blood, so it cried like a woman and begged the wizard to spare its life, but he said, "You have had no mercy on anything or anyone, and I will have no mercy on you."

He threw the gray bonnet down and took the big knife in his hand and stepped towards the bird to strike it, but the gray bonnet fell on the body of one of the dead birds and he could not see it and he stumbled over it and fell down. When he fell, the Thunderbird from the west snatched the gray bonnet and put it on, and the wizard could not see it. He searched long and carefully but could see neither the bird nor the bonnet. Then the Thunderbird mocked him and said, "My brothers are now dead. I am the Thunderbird. I shall keep the gray bonnet and no one shall ever see me again. I am weak now and cannot harm you, but I shall ever be your enemy. I will destroy and kill forever."

The wizard hurried to his wife on the bank of the river, but it was night when he got there and the summer cloud sitting on the bank made it very dark, so they waited for morning. During the night, they saw the glare of the Thunderbird's eye, weak and faint like the northern light, but towards morning it grew stronger and glanced towards them. As soon as it was light enough for them to see, the wizard shook the tail of the boat and it rose to the top of the water. They got into it quickly and it carried them away very fast. It carried them all day. At night, they slept in it and it carried them all night. The next morning, they saw something far away. When the boat brought them near it they saw that it was the wood on the bank of the river where the trail that led to his grandmother's tipi started.

The grandmother stood on the bank waiting for them. When they got out of the boat, she twisted its tail and it rolled over and over, up the bank and into the wood. Each time it rolled over, it grew smaller and rounder until it was a log again. They then went to the grandmother's tipi and she said to him, "Grandson, I knew you would bring your woman back with you. Now hang the gray bonnet and the big knife on the side of the tipi, and if you are ever in trouble come to me."

Then the wizard told her how he had lost the gray bonnet. She went to the top of a hill and wailed a song as if for the dead for she knew that it was gone forever and no man would again wear it. She returned to the tipi and said to the wizard, "My heart is heavy, for the gray bonnet is gone forever. The Thunder is your enemy and it will wear it always. Waziya and Iktomi are its friends and Heyoka and Iya will do its bidding. It will plague you with these evil ones. There is but one bonnet that will help you. That is the brown bonnet. . It is far away, but you must get it. When you are in trouble come to me."

She then gave the wizard and his wife food. When they had rested they went on their way to their own tipi. When the people saw them they rejoiced and the chief made a great feast for all. The wizard and his wife lived happily until the winter moon had come when, one night his wife woke him and said, "Waziya is blowing his breath on me." He knew there would be trouble, so he went to his grandmother's tipi, and found her waiting for him. She said, "Grandson, Waziya is troubling your wife. You must get the brown bonnet. A stone wrapped the little brown bonnet in a little red ball and swallowed it. You must find this stone and take the brown bonnet from it. I will prepare you for this quest. Bring me three things. A wolf, a turtle and a meadow lark." She then gave him food and when he had rested, he went to find the wolf, turtle, and meadow lark.

He traveled far on the plains, and met a huge wolf and said to him, "My friend, come and eat with me." The wolf was hungry and sat beside the wizard and they feasted all that day and far into the night. The next morning the wizard told the wolf that he must go in quest of the brown bonnet, and what his grandmother must have to prepare him for the quest. The wolf said, "I have little hair. Waziya's breath pinches me. I will help you that I may be revenged on Waziya."

So the wolf and the wizard traveled on together and they came to a great muddy lake and met a huge turtle.

The wizard, whose name was Piya, said to the turtle, "My friend, come eat with us." The turtle sat and ate with Piya and the wolf. In the morning, Piya told the turtle as he had the wolf. The turtle said, "My skin is thin and insects bite me, but I will help you so that I may be revenged on those who suck my blood." The wizard, the wolf, and the turtle traveled far into the night.

In the morning, Piya spoke to the lark as he had the wolf and turtle. The lark said, "My voice is harsh and I can sing but one note and the magpie laughs at me; but I will help you so that I can make the magpie ashamed." So Piya, the wolf, the turtle, and the lark went together to the tipi of the wizard's grandmother.

She stood outside and said, "Grandson, I knew you would come and bring that which I want." She then bade them go inside. She prepared a feast for them and they feasted far into the night. In the morning Piya told his grandmother what the wolf, the turtle, and the lark had said. She told them that if they would give her what she wished she would give each of them what he most wished. The wolf, the turtle, and the lark agreed to this. She said she wished the wolf to give her grandson the cunning by which he could follow a hidden trail and find hidden things;

the turtle to give him the sense by which he could locate water; and the lark to give him the power to hide himself without a covering.

The wolf said he wished for fur clothing for himself and his people so that they could laugh at the Old Man, Wazi. The turtle said he wished for hard and tough clothing so that he could laugh at all insects that bite and suck blood. The lark said he wished for a pleasing voice so that he could sing and make the magpie ashamed.

The Old Woman then said that if they would first help her grandson as she wished, she would give them and all their people what they wished. She then told them how to go to a far region where there were neither trees, nor grass, nor open trail, and but little water in hidden springs. She gave Piya the big knife and a magic rattle and told him to go upon the barren region and find his wife.

The wizard, the wolf, the turtle and the lark traveled together as the Old Woman had instructed them. Piya was sad, for he thought of his wife, but the others were happy, for they thought of that which the Old Woman would give them. In the evening the wolf taught Piya how to lie hidden with no covering. Thus they traveled many days and came to the barren region. Piya took food and went alone upon this region, but he could see no trail and wandered about until he remembered the cunning the wolf had taught him. Then he found a hidden trail and traveled on it until evening, when he located a spring hidden under a stone, with little water in it. He camped there that night. In the morning a bear came and Piya hid himself as the lark had taught him. The bear saw the stone was taken from the spring, and he raged and sniffed about to find who had drunk from his spring. Piya showed himself and the bear reared and rushed to attack him. Piya shook the magic rattle toward the bear and he could not move. Piya showed the big knife and the bear whimpered and begged for pity and promised to help Piya in any manner. Then Piya told of his wife and why he was there. The bear said that the Crazy Buffalo had stolen his wife and kept her in his tipi which was four days' journey distant; that the hidden trail was to this tipi which was like a huge cactus; that no man could enter this cactus without wearing the brown bonnet; and that the brown bonnet was hidden in a red stone that was like a fruit on the cactus.

Piya traveled on the hidden trail for four days and then saw a huge cactus. He hid himself and watched it. The Crazy Buffalo came from the cactus. He hid himself and watched it. The Crazy Buffalo came from the cactus and bellowed that he smelled a man. He sniffed this way and that way and then rushed along the hidden trail, grunting and snorting.

When Piya could no longer see him he went to the cactus and saw what appeared to be a large fruit on it. He struck the fruit with the big knife. When it fell to the ground, he saw that it was a stone. He struck the stone with the big knife and cut it through. The brown bonnet was inside the stone and Piya put it on his head. A door opened in the cactus and he went inside and when his wife saw him she was much afraid.

She said that the Crazy Buffalo was a ferocious demon and would kill Piya when he came back. Piya told her not to fear and do as he bade her. When the Crazy Buffalo came and saw the broken red stone he bellowed with rage. Piya hid. The demon came into the cactus and said, "I smell a man. Where is he?" The woman said, "No man has been here and gone." The Crazy Buffalo said, "You hid a man and I will gore you." Piya said to the woman, "Run away from here." The Crazy Buffalo turned to see who spoke and the woman ran from the cactus and far away. When Piya showed himself and the Crazy Buffalo rushed to gore him, he shook the

magic rattle. When the Crazy Buffalo heard the rattle he could not move. He said to Piya, "You are a wizard and have much power. We should be friends, for I also have much power. We can work together and we can do anything that we may wish." Piya said nothing. The Crazy Buffalo said, "If you will be my friend I will give you my power. You will be a chief and a brave and the women will sing your songs." Piya said nothing. The Crazy Buffalo said, "I will give you power so that you will have plenty of meat and robes and can take the wives of other men and ravish the young women and no one will harm you." Piya gazed far away, but said nothing. The Crazy Buffalo grew bold and said, "Let me take the brown bonnet and I will show you how to wear it so that you can do as you wish in anything." Then Piya said, "You tell me lies to escape from me, but you shall not escape." He drew the big knife and when the Crazy Buffalo saw it he begged for mercy.

Piya said, "You are a demon who has had no pity for anyone, and I will have no pity for you." He then struck the Crazy Buffalo with the big knife and cut him into four pieces. Piya then went and found his wife. Together they traveled on the hidden trail until they came to where the wolf, the turtle, and the lark waited for them. All rejoiced and they went to the Old Woman's tipi. She stood outside and said, "Grandson, I knew that you would get the brown bonnet and find your wife."

She then made a feast and all feasted until far into the night. In the morning she gave the wolf, the turtle, and the lark what each had wished for, and together they went on the trail. She told her grandson to hang the brown bonnet and big knife in the tipi, and keep the magic rattle, and as long as it was in his tipi no harm would come to him or his wife.

The wizard and his wife returned to her people and they rejoiced, singing songs, dancing, and playing games. The chief made a great feast and gave away all he possessed. The women put up a new tipi beside that of the chief and the wizard's wife led him through its door and seated him on the man's place.

HOW THE LARK WON THE RACE.

The Old Woman told the wolf, the turtle, and the lark that if they would help her grandson find his wife she would give each of them what he most wished. They helped her grandson and he found that his wife was stolen by the Crazy Buffalo. He killed the Crazy Buffalo and brought his wife to his grandmother's tipi. Then the wolf wished for fur clothing for himself and his people. The turtle wished for tough clothing for himself and his people. The lark and all his people had clothing which would hide them where there was no cover, so he wished for a pleasant voice for himself and all his people. The Old Woman gave each one what he wished and together they went on the trail.

Each claimed that his gift was the best and they argued and soon quarreled. They were about to fight when a young man appeared and asked them why they quarreled. They told him. He said that the only way to decide whose gift was the best was to find which would help the most in a game. The wolf proposed a hunting game, but the turtle and the lark said they could not hunt. The turtle proposed a swimming game, but the wolf and lark said they could not swim. The lark proposed a singing game, but the wolf and turtle said they could not sing. Then the young man said that a running game would decide the question and all agreed to

run a race. The young man told them that they must run by a plum thicket, across a marsh, and to the top of a hill where they would find white and colored clays; and that the first that brought white clay to him would win the race. They ran. The wolf and turtle ran side by side, for neither could run swifter than the other; but the lark ran far behind them.

When the wolf was near the thicket he saw a bundle in a plum bush and sniffed toward it. The scent was not like any he had smelled, so he became curious and wanted to know what was in the bundle. He asked the turtle to wait. The turtle said he would when he came to the marsh. The wolf walked around the bush and eyed the bundle with care. Then he reared against the bush and sniffed at it, but still he was puzzled. He jumped to pull the bundle down, but did not reach it and the thorns on the bush pricked him. Again he jumped, and again the thorns pricked him. This made him angry and he determined to get the bundle.

He jumped many times. Each time the thorns pricked him and made many wounds on his back and sides. Finally, he pulled the bundle down. He was so angry that he shook it from side to side and it flopped against his sides. The bundle was a young woman's menstrual bundle and it smeared its contents into the wounds of the wolf. This made him itch so that he must scratch himself, but the more he scratched the more he itched. He scratched and scratched, until he tore his fur clothing and his blood flowed and he forgot the race. The turtle ran to the marsh and there waited for the wolf a long time. He thought that the wolf had tricked him and gone on to the hill.

He saw a puff ball; because it looked like white clay he thought he would trick the wolf and fool the young man with it. So he carried it back and showed it to the young man who said that the turtle was the first to show something as proof that he had been on the top of the hill.

When the lark ran by the thicket, he saw the wolf jumping and this encouraged him to run faster. When he came to the marsh, he saw the turtle waiting, and he was more encouraged, so he ran on to the top of the hill. Here he took a lump of yellow clay and ran to carry it back to the young man. When he was crossing the marsh, he stumbled and dropped the clay into black mud. He picked it up, but was in too much of a hurry to clean the black mud from it. When he was near the young man, he saw the turtle sitting and smiling so he thought he had lost the race and wept. His tears washed the yellow clay from his mouth and made the front of his clothes yellow while the mud made a black stripe on the yellow.

The wolf came last, scratching and howling, and the turtle taunted him, saying that he howled like an old woman mourning for the dead, and whimpered like a hungry babe. The turtle strutted and swaggered saying that nothing could make him whimper. The young man said that the turtle was first to return in the race, but he must prove his boast that nothing could make him cry out if he should lose. The turtle said he could prove in any manner all that he had said. Then the young man placed the puff ball on the turtle's back. It quickly grew so large that its weight was all that the turtle could hold up. The puff ball continued to grow and soon it crushed the turtle's body to the ground and made his legs short and cracked. Still the puff ball grew and mashed the body of the turtle flat, and forced his breath from him so that he lay as if dead. Then the puff ball became black and light as a feather, but still the turtle could not straighten his legs or make his body as it was, so he hid his head under his thick hard skin.

Then the young man laughed loud and long and told the wolf, the turtle, and the

lark that his name was Iktomi and that because they quarreled about the good things the Old Woman had given instead of using them, he had tricked them and caused them to bring on themselves that which would be with them and with their people forever; that because the wolf had meddled with that which was not his affair whenever he or any of his people meddled with a young woman's bundle they should itch and scratch and lose their fur clothing. In this manner the wolves get the mange. He said that because the turtle had cheated to win the race his legs and his people's should forever be short and crooked and their bodies should be flat, so that they could never run in a race; that because he had lied about the puff ball by saying that it was white clay, neither he nor his people should ever speak and should always hide their heads for shame; that the lark had won the race, but because he had brought yellow instead of white clay, his clothes and the clothes of his people should always be yellow in front and there should be a black stripe on the yellow, so that none of them could ever hide themselves where there was no cover.

THE SUN DANCE TAUGHT TO THE LAKOTA.

In their winter camp the Lakota were hungry and the little children cried for meat. In a visitation a shaman was told that if a man would go west he would be taught how the people could get food. At the council a young man offered to go, so the people gave him a pouch with a little food in it. He went westward and saw an old woman. She asked him for food and he gave her his pouch. She ate ravenously and he thought she would eat all his food, but he sang a song of joy and looked westward while she ate. She watched him and when she had finished eating she returned the pouch to him and told him that she was Wakanka, the Old Woman, and because he had cheerfully given her all his food he should never be hungry. He looked at the pouch and it was full of good food. Ever after it remained full, no matter how often or how much he took from it. The old woman said that the weather was cold and the snow deep, and no one would travel except from necessity.

She then gave him a robe made of woven rabbitskins, very light and very warm, and moccasins lined with otter fur, the soles of which were thick and springy like a bow. She told him to go to a hill in the west and there someone would tell him where to go. He went as she told him. The robe was so light that it kept him from sinking in the snow and the soles of his moccasins so springy that they shot him forward like an arrow. Soon he came to a hill and saw an old man sitting on it. The old man said he was very cold for he had no robe. The young man gave him the rabbit-skin robe. The old man said, "I am Wazi, the Wizard. Because you have given me your robe you shall never be cold." He told him to go to a cave and someone there would guide him, but if he should see a young man not to listen to him.

The young man went westward; the weather was warm and there was no snow. He saw another young man going westward and soon overtook him. This young man asked him where he was going and why he traveled so fast. The young man did not answer and continued to travel. The stranger traveled with him and as fast as he did, asking many questions, but the young man would not speak. Then the stranger said he could tell how the young man could travel still faster. When the young man asked how that could be done, he said that his two moccasin soles made him travel fast, but that if he had four moccasin soles he would travel twice as fast. The young man asked how he could have four moccasin soles, and the stranger said

it was easy to make four moccasin soles from the two, for if the two soles were cut into halves, there would be four moccasins. The young man cut across his moccasin soles and made four pieces of them; but when he put his moccasins on, the soles would not spring, and he could travel no faster than he could before he had the magical moccasins. Then the stranger laughed loudly and long. When the young man asked him who he was, he said he was Iktomi, and that when the people told about the young man who went to get meat for the children they would laugh because he cut the soles of his moccasins.

Now the young man felt ashamed and he took his pouch of food into his hands, for that was all that was left of what the old woman had given him. When he took it in his hands it rattled like a rattle and he shook it toward Iktomi, causing Iktomi to flee in terror.

Then the young man laughed at Iktomi and went on his way toward the cave. When he came to the cave he saw a new tipi beside it and stood looking at it. A beautiful young woman came out of it, took his hand, led him through the door and sat him on the man's seat in the tipi. She then sat at the woman's place finishing a pair of moccasins. The young man was so surprised that he only stared at her. When she had finished the moccasins she said that now she had husbanded her tipi and had made moccasins for her man. So she gave them to the young man and bade him put them on. He did so and then he asked her who she was. She replied that she was his woman and would serve him as long as he would abide with her. He then told her that the children of his people cried for meat, that he was going to the west to learn how to get meat for them, and so could not stop and abide with her. She said that she had led him by the hand through the door of her tipi, seated him at the man's place in her tipi, and thus bound him to herself, and that by putting on the moccasins she had made for him he had consented to be her man, according to the customs of his people. The young man said that he could not let the little children of his people die of hunger, and that he must go and learn how to get meat for them. She replied that if he would abide with her in her tipi that night she would go with him and guide him to where he could learn how to get plenty of meat.

The young man stayed with her that night and in the morning they traveled together in the cave, she guiding. Thus, they came down to where the buffalo people live and found them dancing. The young woman gave her man a whistle and told him to dance with the buffalo people. He did so, learning how to dance as they did. Then his woman told him to sit with the musicians. He did so, learning the songs they sang.

When the dance was over the woman told the young man that the buffalo people had been dancing before the sun because they wished the sun to do something for them, and that when they pleased the sun in this manner, the sun would do that which they wished to be done. Then she took her man's hand and led him to the tipi of the chief of the buffalo people and told her father that she had led this man through the door and seated him at the man's place in her tipi and that he had put on the moccasins she had made for him; that the little children of his people cried for meat, and he had come to learn how he could get meat for them. The chief told him that as he had accepted his daughter as his woman, he thus became the same as a buffalo man. Hence, the chief would tell how the buffalo people pleased the sun, so that the sun would give them what they wanted.

He said that when the people danced as they did when the young man came, it pleased the sun, and he would give what the people needed. He then told the young

man to return to his people and tell them that if they would vow to dance before the sun when the snow was gone, and ask the sun for meat he would give them plenty of meat. The young man returned to his people and his woman went with him. He told his people all that he had seen and all that had been told him, and the people vowed to dance before the sun when the snow was gone. Then the shaman asked the sun to give them meat. Then the buffalo woman stood before the council and told them to have all the men prepare for killing game, and she would guide them to where they could kill enough to give plenty of meat.

When the women saw her stand before the council and heard her speak, they raised a great outcry, and said that she was the two-faced woman, and wanted to entice their men away from them, and called attention to her brown hair and blue eyes as proof that she was a wicked being. Then the men doubted her. The young man stood beside his woman and said he was wearing the moccasins she made for him, and he wrapped his robe about her and himself. He said there was meat for the little children, and if the men were afraid to go and bring it he would go with his woman to her people. Then the shaman stood before the people and they were silent. He filled and lighted a pipe and smoked it. Then he filled and lighted the pipe and passed it, and the council smoked in communion. While they smoked he made incense, first with sage, and then with sweetgrass.

Then he stood and the people were silent. He said that those who would not do as the young man had told them should suffer. Then the council ordered that all the men prepare as if for the chase and go, guided by the woman. She guided them to the other side of a hill and there they found a great herd of buffalo. The men killed until they were satisfied. The women had followed from the camp, wailing the songs that are sung for one who is departing on a perilous journey, but when they came to the top of the hill and saw the men killing, they hurried back to the camp, shouting and singing joyfully. They brought their implements and made meat of the dead buffalo.

There was meat enough for many moons. The women prepared a great feast and when all were feasting the woman stood, and the women painted the parting of her hair red, and the shaman painted a red stripe across her forehead, thus making her the daughter of the people. The young man stood beside her, wrapping his robe about her and himself, and the young women sang songs in praise of them.

The raccoon moon came and the snow was gone and the people went their ways. Only the young man, his woman, and the shaman remained at the place of the winter camp. The young man sat with his robe over his head, for he had reminded the people of their vows to dance before the sun. They had replied that they had plenty of meat and soon they could hunt the buffalo and get more. Thus, the young man was ashamed for his people.

The people hunted, but found no game, and their meat was all gone. Then they remembered their vows, and came to ask the shaman what they should do. It was then the moon of ripe chokecherries. The shaman told the people that they had not been sincere when they vowed to the sun and that now they must manifest their sincerity by causing their blood to flow from wounds, and fulfill their vows by dancing before the sun; but, because the women had doubted that the sun would give meat they should not dance before the face of the sun. Then the buffalo woman showed the people how to make the camp circle and the dance lodge, and the young man taught the men the songs and the dance. The buffalo came and there was plenty of meat, and the woman showed the women how to prepare the buffalo tongues for the

feasts. The shaman told them how their blood must flow and how they must suffer because they had been insincere. When the moon was round all were ready, the women gave feasts and the men danced before the face of the sun and the sun was pleased. Since that time when a Lakota very much wishes for something he vows to dance the Sun dance if the sun will give him what he wishes. If he does so he should dance the Sun dance when the chokecherries are ripe.

HOW BIG-FOOT GOT HIS NAME.

(Told by John Blunt-horn.)

In the moon, when the leaves fall, in the year when many stars fell, a war party of twenty men went on the warpath against the Pawnee. A small orphan boy wanted to go with them, but as he was only nine years old, they refused him at first. He begged them so to go that they finally consented, and he went with them. They were all armed with bows and arrows except two men who had guns they had traded for with the Hudson Bay Fur Company.

After they had made five camps, they came to a great herd of buffalo and killed a great many. They camped at this place until they had dried the best parts of the meat, when they continued on their warpath. One evening, they came to a good camping place in the woods on the bank of a creek and camped there. After they had been there a short time, one of the men said that he had camped at this place, once before, and knew it, and that there was a ghost dwelling here. He advised the party to move to another place to avoid trouble from the ghost but the others of the party ridiculed him and told him that they were not afraid of ghosts and that if one should come they would take it prisoner and carry it back to their friends. The little boy did not say anything but he sat and thought about the ghost.

After they had eaten, they made a tipi of branches of the trees and covered it with grass, and sat outside talking, but the boy sat inside and thought about the ghost. While they were talking, they heard a sound as if someone were singing and then something cried "Hoo-oo-wi" in a mournful way. The man who had warned them of the ghost said that this was the ghost and begged them to go away at once, but the others said they would wait and see the ghost.

The two men with the guns were told to get them ready and if the ghost showed itself, to fire at it and scare it away. All this time the boy sat inside the tipi, beside the door, with his robe over his head thinking about the ghost. Soon the sound came nearer, and the warriors went to find what it was, but they could find nothing so they came back to the tipi.

After a while, the sound appeared to be close to them, but they could see nothing until the sound appeared among them when they saw a thing like a skeleton, with a little hair left on the head and a little flesh hanging to some of the bones. This frightened them so that they fled into the tipi, falling over each other and piled upon one another at the back of the tipi. Here they lay in a pile, some of them fainting and the others hiding their faces from fear. The boy looked at them and then turned and looked at the ghost and beckoned it to come into the tipi.

It came in and stood looking at the boy, who took a piece of the buffalo meat, put it on a stick and placed it before the fire. When it was hot he offered it to the ghost. The ghost took the meat. Then the boy took some of the choice fat and

offered it and the ghost took this also. Then the boy put some fat from the kidneys of a buffalo on a stick and placed it before the fire. While it was getting hot, he said to the ghost, "I have given you of the best food that we have and I want you to do something for me."

The ghost said, "What do you want? I will do it for you, if I can." The boy said, "I want to strike an enemy; I want to be slightly wounded; and I want to capture horses from the enemy. The ghost said, "I will help you in these things." Then the boy gave the ghost the hot fat and it went away crying "Hoo-oo-wi" which grew fainter and fainter until it could not be heard.

When the ghost had gone, the boy went and pulled the warriors off each other and brought water for those who had fainted. After all had been restored the boy said to them, "You are like old women. You are frightened by a friend. What will you do if an enemy should come?" Then the warriors hid their faces and were ashamed.

The next morning when they were starting from the camp, the boy pretended to be mending his moccasin. He told them not to wait for him as he would overtake them. They went without him. After they were gone, the boy went another way, for he knew where they were to camp that night. He kept thinking of what the ghost had promised him, all the day, and near evening, he came to a creek and saw smoke. He thought this was from fire that his party had made, but he was puzzled for this was not the place they had said they would camp. So he stole carefully near where the smoke was coming from and saw that it was a camp of Pawnee and that they had many horses. The horses were hobbled and near the camp, but he determined to try to get some of them. So he waited until late at night when he stripped off all his clothing and took with him only a knife and the cord for binding his robe. He crept near the horses and then crawled on his belly until he was among them.

The horses snorted and shied away from him. A Pawnee came to find what was the matter and the boy curled himself about a bush of sagebrush so that the Pawnee could not see him. The Pawnee drove the horses nearer the camp and then went away. Again, the boy crawled among the horses. This time he found a gentle horse which he caught and bridled with the cord he had with him. He then untied the hobble and had enough cord to lead the horse. He led the horse from one to another of the other horses, driving them slowly farther from the camp all the time, and when he could catch a horse he would untie the hobbles. When he had twenty horses freed from their hobbles he got on the horse he was leading and began to drive them away. As soon as he was far enough away from the Pawnee so that he thought they would not hear him he began to drive them as fast as possible towards his own camp. He did not get to their camp until the morning, just as they were about to break camp and go back to hunt for him. They were surprised to see him come with the horses, and while they were trying to catch them the Pawnee came upon them and they had to fight them. The boy herded the horses he had taken while his party fought the Pawnee, until a Pawnee charged on horseback towards the horses to stampede them. Just as he was about to do so one of the boy's friends shot the horse the Pawnee was riding and it fell and threw its rider near the boy. The Pawnee jumped up and drew an arrow to shoot the boy, but the boy's friend shot the Pawnee just as he let his arrow fly. The arrow hit the boy in the foot making a bad wound, but he rushed forward and struck the Pawnee before the one who shot him could do so.

The Pawnee were driven away. The boy kept the horses and brought them to the camp of his people. When the war party had returned, the boy told the story

of the ghost and what it had promised to help him do. His wounded foot swelled until it was very large. To give him a new name for the brave thing he had done, the people called him Big-foot. Big-foot was a brave warrior and the chief of a band. He was killed by the white soldiers at Wounded Knee, on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

LEGENDS OF THE ORIGIN OF THE BUFFALO CEREMONY.

(Told by Antoin Herman, a mixed-blood Oglala.)

Iktomi, wandering in the west, came to the tipi of *Tatanka* who invited him into his lodge and gave him an abundance of food. Then *Iktomi* said, "My friend, you are large and strong, and very wise, while I am small and weak, but I am also very wise. I am often very hungry and if you will teach me the good things you eat to keep you so fat, I will teach you many wonderful things." Then *Tatanka* said, "Buffalo grass is very good. That is what I eat to keep me fat." *Iktomi* said, "Sage is very good to eat and it will make you fatter." Then *Tatanka* knew that *Iktomi* was trying to play a trick on him, for he knew that sage is a bitter medicine, so he said to himself, "I will think well on what *Iktomi* says to me." *Iktomi* said, "My friend, let us prove that our hearts are good towards each other. I will tell you what I fear more than anything else and you tell me what you fear the most."

Tatanka said, "How." *Iktomi* said, "I am the oldest, therefore you should tell first." *Tatanka* feared that *Iktomi* wished to play a trick on him, so he said, "I fear more than anything else to be shot by an arrow in the forehead, because the breath of my life is in my forehead and my mysterious power lies in my horns which grow from my forehead." Then *Iktomi* said, "My mysterious power lies in my hair, and I fear more than anything else to have my hair broken, for that would kill me." Soon after this *Iktomi* saw a lone hunter and said to him, "My friend, are you very hungry?" The hunter said, "I am very hungry." *Iktomi* said, "If you will divide the fat meat with me I will tell you how to kill *Tatanka*." The hunter said "How?" *Iktomi* said, "Hide yourself on this trail and I will bring *Tatanka* near you when you must shoot an arrow into his forehead and that will kill him." The hunter hid himself on the trail and *Iktomi* went to *Tatanka* and said to him, "My friend, I have found where there is a great plenty of buffalo grass. Come with me and I will show it to you." *Tatanka* followed *Iktomi*, watching him closely, and trying to learn what trick he was about to play. Soon they came to where the hunter was hidden, and he shot an arrow into *Tatanka's* forehead. But *Tatanka* had been performing his ceremony in a wet wallow and the hair on his forehead was thickly matted with mud which had dried hard, so the arrow did him no harm.

When he saw what the hunter had done he said to *Iktomi*, "This is the trick that you have played on me. Because you have tried to have me killed I will chew your hair and kill you." So he began to chew *Iktomi's* hair. *Iktomi* screamed and acted as if he suffered much, and after a little time he fell down as if he were dead. Then *Tatanka* said to the hunter, "*Iktomi* played a trick on you, for he knew that if you wounded me I would gore you to death. Let us be friends. I will do something for you to show you that my heart is good toward you." The hunter said, "How. *Iktomi* has fooled my people very often and I am glad he is dead. To show you that my heart is good toward you I will do something for you." *Tatanka* said, "You may do this. Shoot an arrow where I ask you. What can I do for you?" The

hunter said, "Teach me the ceremony you perform in the wallow." *Iktomi* jumped up and said, "I want to be friend to each of you." *Tatanka* said to the hunter, "Shoot an arrow through his heart." *Tatanka* said to the hunter, "Hereafter you may wear a circle of red paint over your heart as a sign that you are a good hunter. Whenever a hunter kills an animal by shooting it through the heart he will be entitled to wear such a circle as a sign of honor. Go to your camp and seek a vision, and I will tell you how to perform the ceremony.

The hunter returned to his camp and asked a wise Shaman to help him in seeking a vision. So the Shaman went into the sweatlodge with him and used powerful medicine and mysterious incantations and told him he must purify himself by going into the sweatlodge four times. Then he must go naked and alone to a high hill, taking with him only a robe, a pipe, and willow bark to smoke. There he must invoke the Sun, *Maka*, *Inyan*, and *Wakan Ska*. Then he must call the spirit of *Tatanka*, who would tell him what to do. The hunter did as the Shaman had instructed him and when he had invoked the four great mysteries he covered himself with the robe and lay on the ground with his face covered.

He offered the smoke of the pipe to the spirit of *Tatanka* and then called it to help him as it had promised. A great white buffalo came and said to him, "What do you want more than any other thing?" He said, "I am a young man and I want more than anything else, a good woman, one who will be industrious, hospitable, and virtuous, and who will bear me children." The buffalo said to him, "I will teach you my ceremony and show you how to perform it. A girl is good. She has not yet formed her habits. When she has her first menstrual flow she then becomes a woman. At that time she is very mysterious and is susceptible to the influences of the spirits. I will teach you how to drive the evil influences away and how to invoke the good influences so that she may become a good woman. When a girl has her first menstrual flow her family and her friends should give a feast. They should choose a wise Shaman who will teach her how to be hospitable, industrious, and virtuous. He will invoke my spirit as you have invoked it. He must first burn sage to drive away *Iktomi* and the spirit of the coyote and all evil influences. He must burn sweetgrass to please the good spirits. The first menstrual flow of a woman is powerful for good and evil, but she must not destroy it. She must place it where it may be known what it is and where animals cannot get at it. When she has so placed the blood from her flow, then my ceremony may be performed over her. The Shaman will drive away the evil influences and invoke the good influences on that day. He will sing mysterious songs and teach mysterious things. He will sing this song first:—

A man coming from the west.

A man coming from the west.

Listen to him.

A man coming from the west.

Speaking he says mysterious things.

Listen to him.

All the girl's family and all her friends should listen to the Shaman and the girl should remember what he says."

The hunter returned to his camp and told the Shaman what the white buffalo had said. They called the people together and performed the Buffalo ceremony as the white buffalo had taught the hunter to do.

The following is a liberal translation of another version of the same legend.

Iktomi was very hungry. He schemed to kill a bull buffalo, so as to get plenty of fat meat. He said to the bull, "You are fat in the summer and you are lean in the winter. I will show you what to eat so you will be fat all the time. The bull knew that *Iktomi* would play a prank, so he agreed, but said that *Iktomi* must eat first. *Iktomi* showed wild hyacinth and ate of it. He began to swell. He said, "See how fat it makes me." The buffalo said, "You are poisoned and wish to poison us." Then he gored *Iktomi* through the stomach. He left him as dead, but he only let the wind out of *Iktomi's* stomach. He was well again. The bull saw this. He said to a hunter, "My friend, if you will do something for me I will do something for you." The hunter agreed. The buffalo said, "Hide and I will bring *Iktomi*. When he is near you must shoot an arrow through his heart." When they came near the hunter shot an arrow through the heart of *Iktomi*. *Iktomi* said, "This is an evil thing you have done; no one will believe me when they see the arrow in my heart." So the hunter pitied him and drew the arrow out. The blood flowed and made a red circle around the wound. *Iktomi* said that ever after when a hunter shot a bull buffalo through the heart he shall wear a red circle around his heart. The bull then said to the hunter, "What do you want?" The hunter said, "I want a good woman who will bear many children." The buffalo said, "I perform the ceremony in the wallow. I will show you how to perform this ceremony to make all your women good." The buffalo showed the hunter how to perform the Buffalo ceremony when a girl first lives alone. This makes the influences good. If she does as they influence she will be good. Good hunters will desire her. Brave warriors will desire her. It was long ago when the buffalo bull showed how to perform the buffalo ceremony.

THE BEGINNING OF FOOT RACING.

(Told by Hoka-chatka.)

Long ago a chief left his camp to visit a camp far away. On the way, he came to a man running over hills and valleys and round and round. He asked the man why he did this and he said he was a magician and running was part of the mysteries he performed. As they talked together, the chief told the magician that he was going to visit a camp far away and invited him to go along. He agreed to do so. As they traveled together, the chief asked the magician what his name was. He told him it was Runner.

After a time, they saw a man lying on the ground, laughing. He continued to laugh and roll about on the ground as if he heard something funny. They asked him why he did this and he told them that he was listening to a very funny story about an old woman who lived in a camp far away and the people in that camp were talking about the strange things she did. They asked how he could hear people in a camp far away. He told them that he was a magician and could hear things far away by putting his ear to the ground. While they talked together, the Chief and Runner told the other man that they were going on a visit and asked him if he would go with them and he agreed to do so. They then asked what his name was and he said he was called, Hears.

So the three traveled together. Soon they came to a man who was throwing

dust and sand into the air and blowing on it so that it whirled about. They asked him why he did this and he told them that he was a magician who could control the winds and he did this to cool the earth. While they talked with him, they told him that they were going on a visit and asked if he would go with them and he agreed to do so. They asked what his name was and he told them he was called West Wind.

As these four men traveled together they agreed to go to the camp where the old woman lived who could run so fast and do such strange things, for they knew that she was a witch. When they got there, they found the people outside the camp watching the witch performing her antics. She would run very swiftly and then jump high in the air and prance about in a ludicrous manner and she twitted the men and dared them to run against her.

The Chief told the Runner that as he was a magician who could run fast he should run with the Witch. He agreed to do so the next day. That night, Hears lay with his ear to the ground and heard the Witch plotting with her friends to play witch tricks on Runner to frighten him, so he told Runner of this.

The next morning four men came to the Chief and his friends and told them that the old woman was a witch and advised them not to contest against her for she might do some harm to them. But the Runner said he would run and risk her harming him.

About the middle of the day all went from the camp to the place where the race was to be run. The Witch said they would run once around a deep gully, then on level ground to the hills, and once around the hills and back through a gap in the hills to the place where they started. The Runner agreed to this. Then the Witch cavorted around the Runner and jumped high in the air and over his head to frighten him, but he only smiled at her and walked leisurely about.

Then she said that when they came to the place to start the one that was ready first should go first and he agreed to that. He knew that she intended to play some trick on him so he watched her closely. When they were to start, the Witch ran quickly to the starting place and ran on without stopping to see if he had started or not, but West Wind blew Runner ahead of the Witch.

Runner ran beside the witch and she ran faster but could not outdistance him. When they came to the hills, the witch changed herself into a jackrabbit and as she ran up the hill ahead of Runner she kicked dust and sand into his face and mocked him and said, "Ho, you did not know that I am a witch." Then Runner changed himself into a hawk and as he flew over the hills ahead of her he said, "Ho, you did not know that I am a magician." The witch was angry and called the hawk "old crooked nose" and reviled him, but he only laughed at her.

When the witch had gone over the hill, she changed herself into a beautiful young woman and called to the hawk to come to her. The hawk came. When he saw the young woman he changed himself into a young man and sat beside the young woman. She took his head in her lap and soothed him so that he was soon asleep. Then she laid his head on a soft bundle of grass and ran to the gap in the hills, intending to get back to the people before he should awake. She said, "Ho. I have fooled you. You will sleep till I win the race."

But Hears had his ear to the ground and told West Wind that the Witch was talking to Runner and what she said. Then West Wind blew sand and gravel in the face of Runner and awoke him. He saw that he had been fooled, so he changed himself into a hawk and flew swiftly after Witch and overtook her and beat her back to the place where they started.

The people had bet everything on the Witch, and they felt badly, so they persuaded the Chief and his friends to stay with them. They sent the Witch to find someone to run and win back what they had lost. The Witch went to the north and found one who said he could run swiftly and she brought him back with her, but Runner would not run with him. So the people called them cowards and beamed them until West Wind said he would run.

Then all the people went out to see the race. When they came there, the four friends saw that it was Waziya who was to run and they feared some trick. Waziya was fat and wheezed when he breathed and he was clothed in a thick robe made of down of birds. They agreed to go to the hills and run from there to the people. They started from the hills and ran side by side. Soon the Witch saw that Waziya was too fat to run so she pulled off his robe of down and threw it in front of West Wind intending to trip him, but he stepped on it and it disappeared. They ran on till they came near the people so that Waziya's breath was cold on them, but he got out of breath before he came to them. West Wind ran up to them and then ran on and back to them and said, "I have beaten the North Wind and I will always do so."

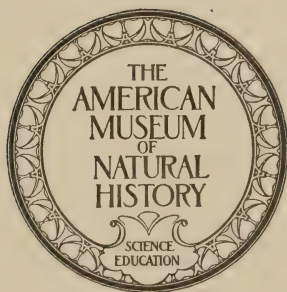
Hereafter men will run foot races and when they do so this shall be the rule, "He that cheats shall lose the race."

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THE SUN DANCE OF THE BLACKFOOT INDIANS

BY

CLARK WISSLER



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THE SUN DANCE OF THE BLACKFOOT INDIANS.

BY CLARK WISSLER.

PREFACE.

The Blackfoot tribes, particularly the Piegan, have been more extensively studied than most other Plains Indians. The writer began a systematic investigation of their culture in 1903. At that time, the only works treating them seriously were those of the younger Henry, Maximilian, and Grinnell. There were some good fragmentary articles by McLean and Hale. Yet, since we began work on this problem, a number of excellent books have appeared. First, the long-forgotten journals of Mathew Cocking and Anthony Hendry who went to the Blackfoot country in 1754 were printed. Then followed McClintock's delightful book, "The Old North Trail" and later, Curtis's highly illustrated account of the Piegan. Linguistic studies had been undertaken by Tims, but later, Michelson, Uhlenbeck, and Josselin de Jong brought out studies of the language and some aspects of social organization. Of more popular books, the only one to be considered here is Schultz's, "My Life as an Indian," which, though in the form of fiction, is full of true pictures of Blackfoot life and thought. One unfortunate thing about all this subsequent activity is that it centered on the Piegan and as the writer's work was largely with that division before these publications appeared, there was no chance to rectify this asymmetry.

The publication of this study of the sun dance has been long delayed in the hope that circumstances would permit a more intensive study of the ceremony among the Canadian divisions. But the time for making such a study has really passed, since those natives who had the knowledge essential to an accurate exposition of the sun dance are now dead. It seems advisable, therefore, to publish the data as they stand.

The writer saw the Piegan ceremony twice, so that this study is based both upon objective observation and discussion with the native authorities on the subject. Later, Mr. Duvall checked over the data and conclusions with these and other informants. A large series of photographs was taken, but the important phases of the ceremony are so well shown in the published works of McClintock and Curtis that a repetition here is unnecessary.

CLARK WISSLER.

May, 1918.

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THE SUN DANCE.

In our earlier paper upon the bundles of the Blackfoot, we have concerned ourselves with ceremonial functions in which the ownership and chief responsibility, in theory, rested in a single individual. We come now to an affair initiated, it is true, by the owner of the natoas bundle, but yet a composite of other rituals and functions, each of which has a definite place in a program carried out by the whole tribal organization. The only trace of a similar tribal participation is in the now almost extinct tobacco-planting ceremonies conducted by the beaver owners; but here there was no complex of other unrelated ceremonies and functions. In short, the sun dance was for the Blackfoot a true tribal festival, or demonstration of ceremonial functions, in which practically every important ritual owner and organization had a place. Nevertheless, there were certain rituals peculiar to it which gave it its character.

Since the plan of this section is to give an ethnological presentation of the Blackfoot sun dance, rather than a logically unfolding description of the ceremony as seen at a specified time, we shall present the general program now and take up later a somewhat analytical detailed discussion of the various phases of the ceremony. By this method, we shall be able to concentrate our attention upon a single ceremonial concept without the distraction arising from contemporaneous and intrusive procedures based upon other concepts, for as we shall see, this sun dance is a true composite. The following schedule is not given as the one observed by the writer, but as the one regarded as proper and believed to have been followed before the various divisions of the Blackfoot were under the complete domination of the Canadian and United States governments.

PREPARATION PERIOD.

After making a vow to purchase a sun dance bundle, the woman and her husband make the necessary arrangements and perform the prescribed rites. This is an indefinite period. At the approach of summer, the invitation tobacco is sent to all the bands and the camp circle is formed.

PROGRAM BY DAYS.

First Day. The program opens with moving camp to a site previously selected. On the morning of this day, the medicine woman begins to fast, which may be taken as the real beginning of the ceremony. If the ceremony of "cutting the tongues" has not been previously performed or completed, it is now in order. In any event, the father and any male assistants he may choose to invite, spend a part of the day in "praying and singing over the tongues." A society brings in willows and a hundred-willow sweathouse is built.

Second Day. In the morning, the camp moves again to a site still nearer that proposed for the sun dance. A few green boughs of cottonwood are kept around the base of the medicine woman's tipi as a sign of its sanctity. A sweathouse is made, as on the previous day. "Praying and singing over the tongues" continues during the day and evening.

Third Day. The same as the second day.

Fourth Day. The camp moves again; this time to the site of the sun dance. In the afternoon, the fourth and last hundred-willow sweathouse is built and used. The singing continues during the evening in the medicine woman's tipi.

Fifth Day. This is an active day.¹ The various bands cut and drag in the poles and green cottonwood boughs to be used in constructing the dancing lodge. The center, or sun pole, is selected and brought in with the ceremonies pertaining thereto. During the day, the holes for the posts are dug and the sides of the dancing lodge put in place and prepared for the raising at sunset. A wind-break is erected at the west side, facing the forked end of the sun pole. Later in the day, some medicinemen take up their stations here to receive offerings to the sun and place them on the pole. In the forenoon, the ceremony connected with the opening of the natoas bundle begins in the medicine woman's tipi. This is completed by the middle of the afternoon when there is a procession from the tipi to the wind-break facing the sun pole. The thongs for the poles are cut. While these are taking place, some food is distributed among the poor people. Those women, who, during the past season, promised "to come forward to the tongues" now fulfil their vows by public declarations addressed to the setting sun. The pole raisers then approach from the four quarters, erecting

¹ As in many other cases, there is a difference of opinion as to what was, or is, the correct schedule. Some maintain that the timber and sun pole are brought in on the fourth day and the fifth day given over to the erection of the dancing lodge only. This is, however, a matter of no great moment.

first the sun pole and then the rafters, with as much speed as possible. The medicine woman then returns to her tipi and the father with his male companions goes into a sweathouse.

Sixth Day. In the morning, a booth is erected in the dancing lodge for the medicinemen, or weather dancers. Later in the day, they approach, with processions made up of their respective bands, and take their places in the booth. At various times during the day, they dance to the sun. People also come up to be painted and prayed for. As a rule, the medicine-pipes are brought out for these men to bless and smoke. During the afternoon, the "digging dance" occurs, when the fireplace is made and the fire kindled.

Seventh Day. People still come to be painted or prayed for by the medicinemen. Later in the day, the dancing of the societies begins.

Eighth Day. The dancing may continue on this day; otherwise, camp is broken and the bands go their several ways. The dancing may continue several days, there being no definite time for closing the ceremony. Indeed, to the Blackfoot mind, the really vital part of the ceremony closes on the evening of the fifth day. The dancing of the societies is free to take its course as the various organizations see fit. In former times, however, it was customary to break camp any time between the seventh and tenth days.

According to our information, the four camps of the medicine woman was the rule in olden times and a hundred-willow sweathouse was made at each camp. In recent times, but two moves seem to have been made; the first day marking the move from the regular home camp to the temporary one where the second day is also spent. But one of the hundred-willow sweathouses is now made — the one on the third day. Also, where formerly they used the ordinary type of sweathouse, at the close of the fourth day, the men now return to the hundred-willow sweathouse. The time then was "when the service berries are ripe", perhaps August, instead of Fourth-of-July week, as in recent years.¹ Even the fast is much abbreviated, usually but of two days' duration.

THE VOW.

The most important functionary in the Blackfoot sun dance is a woman, known among the whites as the medicine woman, and upon a clear comprehension of her functions and antecedents depends our understanding of the ceremony itself. Accordingly, we shall proceed with as complete an exposi-

¹ See Grinnell, George Bird, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (New York, 1903), 264, for program.

tion of her office as the information at hand allows. In the first place, a sun dance cannot occur unless some woman qualifies for the office. On the other hand, it was almost inconceivable that there should be a summer in which such a qualification would not be made. This attitude of our informants implies that public opinion had sufficient force to call out volunteers against their own wills. There was a feeling that an annual sun dance was, from a religious and ethical point of view, necessary to the general welfare, for which some individual ought to sacrifice personal comfort and property to the extent required by custom. As we shall see later, this was no small price to pay for a doubtful honor. This feeling was sure to express itself in the subtle ways peculiar to Indian society, if need be, to the direct suggestion of a candidate who in turn felt impelled to come forward as if prompted entirely from within.

As a rule, however, the woman qualifies by a vow. Oftimes, when a member of the family is dangerously ill, one of the women goes out of the tipi and raising her eyes to the sun calls upon it that health may be restored to the ailing one. In such an appeal she offers to make gifts to the sun, usually specifying that she will sacrifice a piece of cloth, a dress, a robe, an ax, etc., which are after a time, provided the sick one improves, hung in trees or deposited upon a hill. Such appeals are still made with great frequency. It is believed that unless the woman has been industrious, truthful, and above all, true to her marriage vows, her appeal will not be answered. Sometimes, when the woman addresses the sun she promises to be the medicine woman at the next sun dance. She herself may be ill and promise such a sacrifice in case she receives help. Again, she may, out of gratitude for the satisfactory way in which her prayers have been answered, announce her intention to take this step. In such a case, a formal announcement is made to the sun. In company with a man, usually a medicineman experienced in the ceremonies, she steps out into the camp, where they face the sun whom the man addresses, explaining that as this woman asked for help in time of need and that inasmuch as it was granted, she in turn promises to be the medicine woman at the first opportunity. Some such formal announcement is made in every case where the prayers have been answered. By this formality, the vow receives public registry.

As indicated above, the prayers are not always granted. In such cases, the promises are not only not binding, but to proceed with the sun dance, or to take a secondary part in it, would be to the detriment of all concerned. The fault is said to lie in the woman's life and that only the wrath of the sun would be invoked by her participation in the ceremonies.

It may be asked if a man can make such a vow. He may and does often call upon the sun, promising gifts of property or even scalps and may promise

to furnish the material support for a wife, mother, sister, or in fact any woman who will come forward to perform the ceremony. Thus, a Blood chief once told us that he had been very ill all winter; that he had tried all kinds of doctors without relief, until he was stripped of all his property. At last, he recovered and then made a vow that with the help of his wife he would give the sun dance. This he did, but, as he expressed it, "with great difficulty because he was then poor and did not receive adequate help from his relatives."

Again, it must be noted that women who do not feel equal to the responsibility of the medicine woman's office, make a vow to announce publicly their virginity or faithfulness to their marriage vows, as the case may be, though for an unmarried woman to make such a pledge is the exception. This is spoken of as "the going forward to the tongues," the full meaning of which will appear later. The manner and occasion of making this vow are in most respects similar to the preceding. At a certain stage of the sun dance proceedings, all the women who made such a promise to the sun, come forward and make their statements subject to the challenge of any man present. This bears some resemblance to the virginity tests of the Dakota, but applies more particularly to married women and marital virtue than otherwise.

Naturally, the number of women making promises of this kind was much greater than for the more important ceremony. Thus, we have a custom of calling upon the sun in time of need which is an almost universal practice, a more restricted form of such appeal peculiar to women in so far that sexual morality is a necessary qualification, the more specific vow of "going forward to the tongues", and the exceptional vow to perform the medicine woman's functions at the sun dance, a fair illustration of the way in which most complex folk ceremonies are supported by a pyramid of less and less differentiated practices.

In passing, it should be noted that when the vow is made to perform the medicine woman's functions, it is literally an obligation to purchase a natoas bundle, or if already the owner of a bundle, to perform its ritual.¹ A woman may own more than one of these bundles at a time; indeed, we have heard of a woman purchasing new ones at several successive sun dances. This purchase is a fundamental feature in all bundle ceremonies to which the sun dance bundle offers no exception.

On the other hand, the vow means more than the mere purchase of a bundle. We are told that the requirement as to virtue holds strictly for the vow and the tongue ceremony. A woman can buy a natoas in the ordinary

¹ This series, volume 7, 215.

sense and have it transferred with the ritual even though she has not been true to her husband. We are reminded that Scabby-round-robe's wife¹ was not true to her former husband and that when her husband received a beaver bundle there went with it a natoas and accessories; but that while she could use them by virtue of her relation to a beaver bundle, she was not competent to make a vow and initiate a sun dance.² This is consistent with the tradition that the natoas was once bought from a beaver bundle by a woman who gave the sun dance for that year and used instead of a wreath of juniper as in former ceremonies. It also throws some light on the relation of the natoas to the beaver and the sun dance rituals.

CEREMONY OF THE TONGUES.

While it is obvious from the preceding, that the medicine woman takes her vow at no fixed period in the year, the order of procedure is such that as a rule, she must have taken her vow not later than the spring of the year in which the sun dance occurs. There is no absolute prohibition to qualifying at a later time, as is often the case at present when the consent of the Indian Agent must be obtained before the ceremony is permitted, but the normal order seems to be as just stated. Any way, in the spring, the medicine woman calls upon her relatives for buffalo tongues (in recent years, those of cattle). These are then saved as requested. In passing, it may be noted that in all ceremonies, the persons upon whom the burden of responsibility falls have not only an inherent right to call upon their blood relatives, but these in turn are under obligations to respond. The number of tongues required is uncertain, some informants claiming that there should be an even hundred, others, that four to five full parfleches was the standard. Naturally, in recent years, the number has been much less. These tongues are to be sliced, parboiled, and dried like meat. The slices, however, must be perfect, without holes, and come from the interior of the tongue.

The slicing of these tongues appears to have been the first ceremony of the cycle. It is conducted by a man, usually the father, who formally announced the woman's vow and who conducts all the ceremonies in which

¹ This series, vol. 2, 83.

² For example, we were told that some few years ago the widow of Spotted-eagle took the part of the medicine woman and borrowed a natoas from the mother of Curly-bear. Recently (1911), the latter died. Then the former claimed the natoas on the grounds that she had paid full value for it at the time and that she had now the most right to it. Curly-bear consented. Then, after an interval, this woman transferred it to the wife of — who made no vow to give the sun dance, for it was generally known that the reputation of the new owner permanently disqualified her for the function of medicine woman.

the medicine woman takes part. There is no stipulation that the same man must direct all parts of the ceremony, but, by custom, this office is performed annually by the same man so long as he is physically capable. To this ceremony are called the medicine woman, the women who have promised to "go forward to take the tongues", and sometimes those having previously performed these functions.

The manner of formally registering the vow and of collecting the tongues is stated as follows:—

Now the woman who made the vow calls on a man and woman who have been through the medicine lodge ceremony to announce it. The man and woman come to her tipi and paint her clothes and face and those of the relative for whom the vow was made with red paint. Prayers are offered for them and a few songs sung. After this, the four stand in front of the tipi and the man announces the vow. He says, "Sun, she is going to make a sun lodge for you. I think you and those who are above can hear what is said." Then they move in turn to the south, west, and north side of the tipi, repeating the same words at each stop and finally enter the tipi.

In the spring of the year, when the people run buffalo, the woman has her tipi a little towards the front or center. It may be that she is only with one of the bands, while the rest are camped elsewhere. Her tipi stands alone a little to the west of the others. The people are then notified that the tongues are to be given to the woman. Her husband mounts his horse and sets out, taking a pipe and tobacco, but no weapons with him. When he finds a man butchering, he sits down on a robe, fills his pipe, prays for those present, and smokes with them. The butcher cuts out the tongue, wipes it off with sagegrass, and places it near the man, who has spread some buffalo dung with sagegrass on top of it in a row before him. The tongues are placed on the sage and dung. The man then takes the tongues and rides to where the next man is butchering and goes through the same procedure. After he has gathered up all the tongues he takes them home. Each time buffalo are killed the man rides out to gather in tongues until he has accumulated a hundred.

The tongues having been collected, an important ceremony follows with their boiling and slicing. An experienced man and woman are invited to direct; these are spoken of as the father and the mother. Also, all the women having made a vow "to go forward to the tongues" are invited. In addition, a number of women and men familiar with the ceremonies are called. The woman making the vow (the daughter) and her husband (the son) sit at the back of the fire; next to the former, sits the mother and then the other women; next to the latter, sits the father and then the men in order.

The men sit on the north side and the women on the south. At the proper moment, the mother brings in the tongues, passing around to the south side, and lays them in rows on a half rawhide back of the fire. All the women having made vows are now called upon to slice the tongues. Their husbands must be present.

The tongues are slit open and the women are invited to slice and boil them. When all the guests are present, one of the tongues is taken and painted black on one edge and red on the other, and given to the woman who made the vow. The rest of the tongues are handed to the women for skinning and slicing; if there were more tongues than women, each was given more than one to slice. After all the women have the tongues, the woman with the painted tongue makes a confession, saying, "Sun, I have been true to my husband ever since I have been with him and all my life. Help me, for what I say is true. I will skin this tongue without cutting a hole in it or cutting my fingers."

The next woman also makes a confession, and so on. After all have confessed, they commence to skin the tongues. As the first woman takes up the knife, the song runs: "A sharp thing I have taken; it is powerful." The knife is painted, one half red, the other black. Should any of the women cut a hole in the tongue skin or cut their fingers, it is a sign that they must have lied and they are ordered from the tipi. At the outset, each woman carefully examines her tongue to see if the skin is perfect. Should a hole be found, the tongue is passed to the director who marks it with black paint. After the tongues are all skinned and sliced, they are passed back to the woman who distributed them and placed in a wooden bowl. The skins of the tongues are tied in bunches with sinew so that they can tell to which woman the skins belong.

The skins are to be boiled by two women. Two sticks are given to one woman and one to the other. All this time singing is going on. The woman who has the two sticks paints them black, while the woman who has the other, paints it red. The three sticks are tied together at one end and are used as a tripod for hanging the kettle in which the skins of the tongues are to be boiled. The legs of the tripod, the wooden kettle hook, and all other sticks are painted half in red and half in black. Also, the kettle is marked with four vertical bands of black and four of red. The four blunt sticks for stirring the pot are painted in pairs, red and black. A red and black painted stick is slipped through the bail, passed around to the north of the tipi, and handed to the two women. During all these movements there is praying and singing. The women each take hold of one end of the stick and go for water.

They make four pauses on this journey, each time praying to the sun and

asserting their marital rectitude and recounting such occasions as they have been improperly approached by a man. All this time, the father and his assistants sing in the tipi. One of the women takes a cup, makes four movements with it and dips the water. At this moment the song runs:—

“The water that I see.
Water is sacred.”

On the return, the women make four pauses as before. When the pail is finally within the tipi, incense is burned between the fireplace and the door and the pail held in the smudge. The father takes up the board upon which some of the tongues lie and while holding it up in one hand, shakes the cup about in the water, meanwhile making a noise like the buffalo, finally striking the pail a blow with the cup. Here the song runs:—

“Buffalo will drink.”

This may be taken as marking one stage of the ceremony. The boiling of the tongue is now in order. When all is ready, the father starts the songs in the next series. The two women hook the kettle on the tripods and while the kettle is heated, there are other songs and incense burned and the song runs:—

“Where I (buffalo speaking) sit is sacred.”

While the water boils, the director takes up a tongue, holds it above the kettle, lowers it slowly, making a noise as if something were drinking. After this, the women place the tongues in the kettle and proceed with the boiling. Here or elsewhere, songs accompany the ceremonial acts. The pot must not boil over.

When the tongues have cooked, the two women rise and stand by the fire as the songs begin. At the proper moment, they remove the kettle and place it on the spot where the smudge was made. First, they take out the painted tongues and then the others. The father takes up a small piece, singing:—

“Old Man (sun), he wants pemmican.
He wants to eat.

Old Woman (moon), she wants back fat.
She wants to eat.

Morningstar, he wants broth.
He wants to eat.”

Then the painted tongue is passed to the daughter. Now, each of the women tears off a bit of the tongue skin and all hold up the pieces and pray. After the prayers, the pieces are placed in the earth and the tongues are hung up to dry. First, the rope is taken up and a song sung. The woman who made the vow, rises and ties one end of the rope to the tipi pole on the north side and the other end to the tipi pole on the south side, a little to the west of the fireplace. All the tongues, both painted and unpainted, are hung on this rope.

During all these ceremonies there is no regular smudge. The smudges are made with sweetgrass on the grass near the rear of the tipi. The tongues are left to hang for two days before they are taken down to be cooked. When the tongues have been hung, all return to their homes, the women taking the tongue skins with them for their relatives to eat, as they are considered to be blessed and supposed to bring good luck.

After two days, all meet again in the same tipi. The two women who went for the water place the tripods over the fire and while songs are sung, the pot is passed to them with the red painted sticks. The two women, each holding one end of the stick, go for water, praying on the way. When they return to the tipi a smudge, over which they hold the bucket of water, is made between the door and the fireplace. Then the bucket is placed beside the smudge. While the others sing, the woman who made the vow rises and first takes the painted tongue and then the others from where they were hung. They are then placed on a buffalo hide and the woman returns to her place. Four women sit down near the tongues; each one takes a tongue, one of which is the painted one. Kneeling and swaying their bodies in time with the songs, they sing the buffalo songs. The painted tongue is placed in the kettle first and a song is sung: "When buffalo go to drink; it is powerful. Where buffalo sit is powerful (natojiwa)." Then the rest of the tongues are placed in the pot which is hooked on the tripod over the fire. Songs are sung and four sticks, about the length of the forearm, for stirring the tongues, are placed where the tongues were first placed. One of the cooks takes a pair of the sticks and stirs the tongues with them. When removing the tongues from the kettle they are held between two of these sticks.

Another song, called the song of rest is sung, and all rest for a time and smoke. When the tongues are cooled, another song is sung, the two cooks rise, and taking the pot, place it over the smudge place near the door. To the singing of songs, the painted tongue first, and then the others, are taken out and placed on half a rawhide. The soup is poured into wooden bowls and distributed among those present. No tin cups must be used in drinking this soup. While all sing, the woman who made the vow rises

and first takes the painted tongue and then all the others and hangs them up as before. This ends the ceremony.

Two days later, the same participants are called together to the same tipi and the woman rises and takes first the painted tongue and then the others from where they were hung. A parfleche is brought and a buffalo song sung: "Buffalo I take. Where I sit is powerful." The painted tongue and then the others are placed on the parfleche. Wild peppermint is put in with the tongues, the parfleches are tied up and placed at the rear of the tipi. Sometimes tongues are dried in front of the tipi on a stage made by setting up two travois with a lodge pole tied between them.

The man and woman who lead the ceremony must not have any metal about them. Brass rings, earrings, and all such trinkets must be taken off. Nor must there be any knives in the vicinity. Even the knives with which the tongues are cut are taken out. No one must spit in front of him, but always close to the wall under the beds. If they do, it will rain. No water is brought into the medicine lodge and when water is brought, it is covered. The only time when it is permitted to eat or drink is before sunrise and after sunset. They must be given food by the instructors. The prayers in this ceremony are prayers for good luck for everyone in the camp.

This closes the preliminaries to the ceremonies leading to the sun dance and may be designated as the cutting of the tongues. As in most other cases, there seems to have been considerable variation in this procedure, both as to time and order. Certainly, for a number of years, it has been much abbreviated. As implied in the program, this ceremony may be performed on the first day. The gathering of tongues was dependent upon circumstances and after the days of the great buffalo drives was a matter of gradual accumulation. Thus, it was explained, that by necessity, the "cutting" was often repeated, though naturally with less ceremony.

The parfleches containing tongues are kept in the medicine woman's tipi where they are "prayed and sung over" during the first and second days of the program. The underlying thought seems to be that they are consecrated to the sun.

In the procession of the fourth day, the parfleches are carried behind the medicine woman by her attendants. In former years, these were the women who had promised "to go forward to the tongues." They are present at the ceremony in the medicine woman's tipi and may be said to be in attendance during the entire fasting period. At the time indicated in the program, the parfleches are opened and the women in turn step out with some of the dried tongue, face the west, and each holding up a piece, address the sun then nearing the horizon. They declare their innocence of adultery, as at the time of making the vow and cutting the tongues. They also

pray for themselves and their relatives after which they distribute dried tongue among them. Finally, there is a general distribution of tongues among the people.

However, there is another aspect of their appearance at this point. The Blackfoot assume that many women have at one or more periods of their lives been invited by a man to commit the offence and that often the occasion is one of great temptation or calls for great presence of mind and will power. Now, when addressing the sun, if so approached, the woman narrates the circumstances, naming the men committing the offence, and recounts the manner of her refusal. In naming the offender, they usually say, "I suppose he hears what I say." These women are also subject to challenge of their having committed adultery. It will be seen from this that the part they take in the ceremony is an ordeal for which most women have little liking and one which they will not undertake lightly. The Blackfoot, themselves, regard it as one of the most solemn occasions in the ceremony. So far as we could learn, no one now living was ever present when one of these women was challenged, but the naming of men who were guilty of improper advances was not unusual.

A retrospect of the concept of the tongues indicates that the entire ceremony, or their association with the medicine woman and those who are sexually pure, gives them a potency that may be acquired by eating. They seem most closely associated with sexual purity since they are less primary in the function of the medicine woman than in case of those who "go forward," the former being required to possess many virtues, the latter but one. While the medicine woman fasts and keeps to her tipi, the others do not.

THE MEDICINE WOMAN.

We shall now give our attention to the medicine woman. As previously stated, she is in most respects the central figure in the whole ceremony, around whom centers its more serious and solemn aspects. On the fifth day, an elaborate ritual is demonstrated in her tipi, culminating in the procession to the dancing lodge. To this ritual belongs a medicine bundle with accessories, known as the natoas, though the name is primarily that of the headdress which the bundle contains. This bundle is transferred in the ritualistic way to the medicine woman by the ceremony and thus becomes hers to care for and guard until used again at another sun dance ceremony. The ritual and the bundle have been discussed in detail in Volume 7 of this series. In addition to the contents of the bundle, there must be a special robe of elkskin, a dress of the same material, and wristlets of strong elk

teeth. A new travois must be provided for moving the medicine woman outfit. Sometimes she herself rides on it. This travois is made by the past medicine woman, her attendant in the ceremonies.

As previously stated, the natoas ritual in the sun dance has for its mythical basis the Elk-woman and the Woman-who-married-a-star, though Scar-face, Cuts-wood, Otter-woman, and Scabby-round-robe are said to have made minor contributions. Versions of these myths may be consulted in Volume 2, part 1 of this series. The Woman-who-married-a-star is credited with bringing down the digging-stick and the turnip, together with the songs pertaining thereto (p. 61), also a wreath of juniper formerly worn in place of the natoas and the eagle feather worn by the man.

It is also interesting to note that the Crane-woman who transfers the ritualistic attributes of these objects makes a formal declaration of her marital virtue. In the case of Elk-woman, we have again the incident of the Crane and the digging-stick where it is implied that the latter symbolizes the bill of the former. We are informed that many animals were present at this transfer, each contributing something to the regalia. We also find it suggested that the bunches of feathers on the natoas represent the horns of the elk, the elk robe and elk teeth wristlets further symbolizing that animal. In one version of this myth is the antagonistic implication that Elk-woman was not quite up to the standard of marital virtue. In the Cuts-wood myth the "going forward to the tongues" is accounted for. Scabby-round-robe is credited with adding the necklace and the arrow point to the natoas and Otter-woman with the wild cat-tail.

The following statement of an informant has a bearing upon this point:—

The natoas is said to have come from the Elk. It was first owned by beaver bundle men, but it was the custom for the medicine woman in the sun dance to borrow it for her ceremony. This continued for a time, but ultimately the medicine woman bought it and kept it in a bundle of her own. The feathers on the front of the natoas are said to represent the horns of Elk and the plumes at the sides, the leafy top of the large turnip. This is the same turnip which the woman who went to the sky land is supposed to have dug up. The digging-stick which accompanies the natoas also represents the stick with which she did this digging. Some of the songs in the natoas ritual speak of little children running about and this refers to the ball-like image on the front of the natoas, for this image is stuffed with tobacco seeds, which, as you know, are often spoken of as children, or dwarfs (p. 201). The broad band upon which the natoas is mounted is said to represent the lizard. All these things, it is said, were added to the natoas, one at a time, by some of the beaver men. So it came about that we have the natoas as it is.

Now, as to the story about the Elk giving the Natoas the robe and the wristlets used with it. The objection is sometimes made that this first woman who ran away from her husband to join the Elk was not a true woman and that the facts are therefore inconsistent with the ideal of the natoas ritual. Yet, some of our people claim

that the woman was true and that though she went away with the Elk it was merely for the sake of receiving the ritual and that this is evident because in the story it tells how she was able to hook down trees by her magical powers and it is not conceivable that she could do this if she had not been a true woman.

The ceremonial transfer of the sun dance bundle really begins with the fasting of the medicine woman on the first day. Neither she nor her husband are supposed to eat or drink while the sun is visible, and then but sparingly. On the evening before, they are put to bed by the father and mother. The mother places the daughter on the south side of the fire and the father the son on the north side. They must remain in the same position until morning. Before the sun rises the father and mother go to the medicine woman's tipi, stand by the door and sing. They sing as they formally enter, the father raising up the son; the mother, the daughter. The man is taken out by the father and the daughter by the mother for the morning toilet. When they return a small amount of food is fed to the son and daughter, after which the father and mother take a little food and drink. This must be before sunrise. During the day the son and especially the daughter must sit quietly in their places with bowed heads and eyes cast down. She wears a buffalo robe, hair side in, painted red, covering her head as well as her body. Her hair is not braided, but hangs down freely except for a horizontal band around the head. The hair may be allowed to conceal the entire face.

The daughter must do nothing for herself. If she wishes to speak it must be in almost a whisper in the ear of the mother or other attendant, who in turn will announce the import, if necessary. A fire is kept burning in the middle of the tipi, the ears are closely drawn around the smoke hole, the door closed, and the tipi cover securely staked down at the edges. Though this keeps the temperature high, the medicine woman cannot use a fan, but may use the skin of a muskrat to wipe the perspiration from her face and hands.

During the fasting period no noise must be made in the tipi. All the attendants must avoid unnecessary conversation and speak in a very subdued tone; utensils must not be rattled or struck together. Visitors may enter, but respectfully and quietly. No noises should be made in the vicinity of the medicine tipi and boisterous acts abstained from in all parts of the camp circle. If water is brought in the vessel must be covered. No one should spit in the tipi nor do the other things forbidden at the ceremony of the tongues.

Throughout the whole period there is a male attendant. He keeps the fire alive during the night and until camp is moved. He can only start the fire with an ember from some other tipi, striking fire in the tipi being strictly

prohibited. Pipes can only be lighted from the fire by this attendant with service berry sticks. A blaze must be avoided as much as possible. The attendant cuts the tobacco and fills the pipe and when burnt out he must empty the ashes into a small hole in the ground near his seat. Everyone is expected to sit quietly, leaving the moving to him. He remains on duty during the night also.

Formerly, the tipi of the medicine woman was moved three times, four different camps resulting, the last being at its position in the circle for the sun dance. As a considerable journey was often necessary to reach the sun dance site these camps might be far apart. Theoretically, the camp is pitched late in the afternoon of each day. At the sun dance a special sweat-house ceremony takes place. This will be discussed later. After this the evening and greater part of the night are spent by those in attendance at the medicine woman's tipi in rehearsing the songs and instructing the son and daughter.

Like everything else, moving the camp of the medicine woman is a formal matter. The travois is made, painted red, and reserved for the special use of the medicine woman. When the time for breaking camp in the medicine woman's band arrives, she and her husband are led out and seated upon a robe at the west or rear of their tipi, facing in the direction to move. The parfleche of tongues and other paraphernalia are brought out by the attending women and put down beside the couple. The mother directs the attending women in taking down the tipi and hitching the horse to the travois. The parfleche of tongues is packed on the travois. When all is ready, the woman and man are led to their horses and assisted to mount, the woman riding the horse to the travois. The father and the son go ahead in single file, next the mother and the daughter, or medicine woman. They pause four times, as songs are sung. After they get some distance out, they stop and wait for the camp, now moving for the first time. This procession of four always leads, the two men side by side and behind them the two women likewise. At noon, when they stop for lunch, the two are again seated on a robe, the travois unhooked and laid down before them. Then follows the camp some distance behind. The old men form a circle and smoke near the pair.

At this time the father orders one of the men's societies to go forward and mark out a camp site. When this spot is reached, tipis are pitched and when everything is in place the medicine woman and her husband are taken inside.

On the morning of each day a society is given instructions to make the sweathouse at the camping place, a man to get the creeping juniper and another to cut out the smudge place. As the sweathouse procedure is a distinct ceremony, it will be treated under another head.

The following account of the evening ceremonies in the medicine woman's tipi was given by Red-plume:—

In the evening, after sunset, the first sweathouse is made. All those who took part in the ceremony before and a few other old men are invited. The man who fills the pipes and tends to the smoking during the ceremony remains on duty during the whole sun dance ceremony. Four-bears is told to tell the mosquito society to sing that night in their own tipi which is inside of the circle. This society is to sing the sun dance songs, the weather-makers dancing songs, the rest of the people remaining quiet through the night. In the medicine lodge they sing until a little before day-break.

The smudge place in the medicine lodge on the first day and for the first sweathouse is a square marked in the soft earth with a crescent in the middle of it. It is not painted. Under the crescent is a dot where the smudge is made.

When all the guests are assembled in the tipi the ceremony for the evening begins. Food is given to all; the medicine woman and her husband have their meat cut up for them. While a song is sung a piece of meat is held over the smudge, four passes made with it, and then fed to the man and woman. The same thing is done with water. After this they may help themselves to the food. After the meal is over the singing begins. The sweetgrass is taken up and a song sung: "Old man, takes spring grass. Old woman comes in with her body." Another man takes the smudge stick and places a live coal on the smudge place. The singer holds the grass over head and then brings it down on the coal. This song is for the morningstar: "Morningstar says let us have a sweathouse." Seven songs are sung for the sun and moon which are spoken of as the old man and old woman. These with the seven sung for the morningstar make fourteen sung thus far.

Since the men have been in the sweathouse where the paint has all washed off, five songs are sung to re-paint the man and woman. As the man sings, he takes some red earth paint with a ball of fat which he rolls in the palms of his hands. The song is: "Old man says red face I take." He makes a streak crosswise on the man's forehead, vertically on his cheeks, and across the chin. The entire face is then covered with the same red paint. The robe is then taken from the man's shoulders. He sings another song as he takes up the sagegrass and brushes one side of the man's head, his arm, and then his body. At the same time, the woman is painted on the other side of the tipi. Another song is sung and he takes the paint, rubs it in his hands, and sings: "This man I am making his body holy, powerful." The same words are sung for the woman. The man's body and robe are then painted.

When the tongues were first taken in to be sliced, two round buffalo dungs together with a ball of sweetgrass were given to the man and woman. They keep these to wipe the paint from their hands. A song is sung for the dung. The two men and the two women hold their hands over the dung. They make four motions with the closed fists and then touch the ground to the southeast, southwest, northwest, and northeast of the dung. The words in this song are: "This may help me to live long, and help me through life." There is also part of a buffalo dung. The smudge stick is taken up, with the song: "Timber I am looking for? Timber I have found and taken." The two men and the two women all grasp the forked stick. They sing as they take up the dung with it and gradually move it up the stick until it rests on the fork. Then it is held over the fire. Someone knocks the dung into the fire and it is covered with ashes. The song is: "Powerful, I start. Powerful

where I sit." To throw the dung off into the fire is a sign that enemies will be conquered.

Four songs are now sung for the muskrat skin used to wipe the faces of the man and woman: "Man says, my medicine, I am looking for. I have found it." The skin is taken up. Two songs are sung for the parfleche with tongues in it. It is taken up very slowly and the singing continues during all the movements made with it. It is held over the smudge and placed to one side, the cords untied, and the tongues taken out and distributed to all who are now in the tipi. The two medicine-men and women also eat. The song when first taking up the parfleche is: "Buffalo I am powerfully starting. It is powerful where I sit." When undoing the cords the words are: "Buffalo I take some." When the first tongue is taken out, a little piece is held up by everyone, prayers are said, the small pieces are placed on the ground, and they begin to eat them.

Seven songs for the eagle tail feather with which the sun is supposed to have brushed off the scar from Scar-face's face and is supposed to be the feather brought down from the sun by Scar-face follow: "Old man says, hand me a feather." The feather is passed to the man. Another song follows: "Old man says he wants a hundred feathers. Old woman wants different kinds of feathers." Seven more songs are sung, the words of some of them are: "This man says that above have seen me. It is powerful. The ground I see is powerful. Old man, says, white buffalo robe I want. Old woman, says, Elk I want. Old man says, don't fool me. Old woman says, don't fool me." The meaning of this is to be sure and give them what they ask for, that is, offerings made at the sun dance to the sun, moon, etc.

Seven songs are sung before they take up the rattles and the rawhide and five songs for the raven. At this time, the man takes hold of one of the rattles by the ball part touching it to the ground, while he holds the end of the handle straight up. The raven songs are: "Raven says, buffalo I am looking for; buffalo I take. The wind is our medicine. The brush is our home. Buffalo I take." The man pecks the rattle handle with one finger on both sides and crows. Then they begin to beat the rattles on the rawhide and shake them in a circle once.

Now seven songs are sung for the smudge which is made of a species of fungus that grows on a kind of willow. The songs: "Old man says, all right, may my lodge be put up. Old woman says, all right may my lodge be put up or built." These words mean that the sun and moon are speaking and want the sun dance lodge built without any accidents.

The next songs are for the natoas bundle which is not opened. The songs: "Old man comes in, he says, I am looking for my bonnet. I have found it. It hears me. It is medicine." The old woman sings and uses the same words in her songs. There are six of these bonnet songs. The songs for the badger skin follow: "The man above hears me; he is powerful. The ground is my home; it is powerful." There are four songs for the badger. The badger skin and other things are not handled, the songs about them are simply sung. The songs for the natoas are: "Old man says I am looking for my bonnet. I have found it: it is powerful." The woman then sings a song with the same words, which is followed by a song about the stone arrow points on the natoas. There is a song for everything which makes up the bonnet which is as follows: the leather band, the blue paint on the band, the stuffed weasel skin tied crosswise on the bonnet, the weasel tails hanging from the bonnet, two feathers in front, and two behind, two plumes on each side of the bonnet, a flint arrow point, a buffalo calf tail, a snipe, and a small doll the head of which is

stuffed with tobacco seed. The song for the doll on the bonnet is: "Children are running about. They are running from us. They are running towards us. They are boys. They are powerful." The man says, "Give me the child," and makes the movement of reception. Another song is sung: "Child is crying," and the man imitates the crying of a child. The song for the little birds is: "Bird says water is my medicine; it is powerful," for the calf tail: "Man says calf tail I want," and for the arrow point: "Sharp points are on both sides." Then follows the song for the leather band which represents the lizard: "Yonder man, I am angry and mad at you." This song of the lizard refers to the prairie dog chief. The blue paint on the band represents water and the song for it is: "The blue waters are our medicine." The song for the feathers is: "Feathers I want." Another song for the plume on the feathers: "Red I want." This closes the evening ceremony. The man and woman are put to bed and all go home.

This is the ceremony after the first sweathouse is made. Three more moves of the entire camp and three more sweathouses must be made. The fourth move and sweathouse is where the sun dance takes place. Nowadays, only one sweathouse is made for the sun dance.

It seems that the final camp is marked out by a society laying rocks around its bounds, according to which the arriving bands find their proper places.

At the fourth camp and on the fourth day, the natoas bundle is opened, or its formal ritual demonstrated. Early in the day another tipi is pitched before the medicine tipi and the covers are joined, thus enlarging the space and providing for a few spectators. A few men and women are invited to assist in the ceremony: the men use the rattles and with the women aid in the singing. The father and other men sit on the north side of the tipi, the former next the medicine woman's husband; and the other women sit on the south side, the mother next to the medicine woman. She directs the medicine woman and the singing of the other women. The ceremony opens at about ten A. M. with the first series of songs in the ritual. Three men hold a rattle in each hand, beating them upon the rawhide by a vigorous downward forward stroke, the seventh rattle is used by the father.

The ritual of the natoas will be found in Volume 7, pp. 215-220. Normally, this ceremony transfers the natoas to the daughter. She may, however, waive the right, in which case the bundle returns to the former owner. Yet, she seems to enjoy all the privileges accorded to one having been an owner.

Theoretically, no one can perform a transfer ceremony without having first owned the bundle in question. In case of the natoas, even now, a beaver owner is regarded as competent to conduct the proceeding, though he may never have gone through the ritual with his wife. This is consistent with the tradition that formerly the natoas was a part of the beaver

bundle.¹ Yet, the conditions here are slightly different from those for other bundles in that the father must provide or is charged with the responsibility to see that a natoas is provided. Following the vow, either he or the son makes formal application to the owner of a natoas by the usual presentation of a pipe.²

When the daughter begins her fasting, the father has the natoas brought to her tipi. As a rule, the father's wife owns a natoas. Some informants claim that even should the daughter own a natoas, the father must provide another. On the other hand, the daughter can select the eligible natoas. In any case, the father furnishes the daughter with a dress and an elk robe for which he must be paid liberally.³

In conclusion, it may be remarked that anyone can make up a natoas, if he has a dream so directing him; also, if he owned a natoas that was lost or otherwise destroyed; if he gave it away, without receiving payment; or if it was buried with someone. Having owned a natoas and transferred it, he cannot duplicate it; should the new owner lose it, he may, if called upon, replace it; likewise, if buried, the surviving husband or wife could call upon him. In all such cases fees are given. When one transfers a medicine bundle and has been paid for it, he has no more right to it and cannot duplicate it on his own motion. Should one sell the bundle without the ceremony of transfer, the ritual remains with him and he can again make up the bundle; should one make the transfer and fail to receive the pay, or waive the pay, he can make it up again. The relatives of one buried with a bundle can call upon a former owner to make it up, after which it must be formally transferred to one of them. Men were sometimes killed on the warpath and their bundles lost; such were replaced as noted above. In every case these must be true duplicates; it is only a dream that authorizes new creations, or variations, however slight.

An interesting sidelight is thrown upon the idealized qualities of this woman's function by the following narrative:—

Once while a medicine woman was sleeping in the sacred tipi during the fasting, a nephew of her husband stole in and made improper advances.

¹ In former times, the natoas and the medicine woman's costume were owned by a beaver man. When a woman gave a sun dance she gave a horse for their use. She just borrowed them. Later on, a beaver man transferred them, whence they became a separate bundle.—Tom Kiyo.

² Should the woman already own a natoas and the transferrer (father) own one; the woman must say which bundle shall be used. She can use her own, borrow, or purchase of the transferrer.—Curly-bear.

³ A Piegan informant comments as follows: The woman can either buy or borrow a natoas. In the olden times she often borrowed because the natoas, the dress, the elk tooth wristlets, and the robe were owned by a beaver man's wife. After a time, however, these were transferred to a medicine woman and were thus separated from the beaver bundle.

Being a good and true woman, like all others who give the sun dance, she spurned him. Next day she told her husband the whole story. He was very angry. He was not satisfied with the confession she made, but suspected that she must have given the young man some encouragement. So when all the medicinemen and women had come into the tipi to rehearse the songs as usual, he made a statement of these suspicions and as he had two wives, he proposed to have them change places.

The medicinemen pleaded for the first wife because they believed her innocent, but the husband was obdurate. So the second wife was called in to take the place. Then the first wife said, "It was I who saved this man's life when he was ill. I made the vow to give the sun dance and he got well. I have suffered much in fasting, all for him. Now he disgraces me before all the people. But I will put my virtue to a test. If I am true, I have already acquired power."

She filled a pipe, went outside and standing now on the east side of the tipi, then on the south, the west, and the north, she addressed the sun. The day was clear, but soon after the woman entered the tipi, thunder was heard. A storm came down with hail and blew over many tipis. But in spite of these proofs, her husband was obdurate and the second wife went on with the ceremony.

Not long after the sun dance this same man became ill again. Finally, as a last resort, he called upon the first wife to save him again. This woman told him to call upon the other woman as he seemed to have so much faith in her. So he died and was properly punished for so unjustly treating his faithful wife.

THE PROCESSION TO THE DANCING LODGE.

In our account of the natoas ritual we told how the father, son, etc., emerge from their tipi. The file is headed by the father, followed by the son, next the mother, then the medicine woman followed by women bearing the tongues. The father and the son are muffled in blankets (robes); the latter walks with bowed head, leaning heavily on a staff and bearing over his head a wild rhubarb stalk.¹ The medicine woman wears the natoas on her head, an elkskin (often buckskin) dress and an elkskin robe, with the digging-stick on her back. For a staff, she uses one of the smudge sticks. The women in her rear bear parfleches containing the tongues, together with blankets and other ordinary objects. Two or three old men act as

¹ Scar-face is said to have made a whistle (flageolet) of such a stalk. The pith of the growing plant is sometimes eaten for food.

conductors, or flankers, keeping the way clear of spectators, etc. The procession moves slowly and by stages. The four principal personages in it keep their eyes upon the ground. The course is southward past the entrance (east side) to the dancing lodge, around the south side, the rear of the shelter and entering from the north side. Here the medicine woman remains until the dancing lodge is raised at sunset, when she returns to her tipi and breaks her fast with berry soup. The father and the son go to a sweathouse after which their responsibilities also end. During the continuance of the ceremonies in the sun lodge, the medicine woman cares for the natoas bundle, now her property, until transferred to another, but is otherwise free to do as she likes. She usually remains quietly at home receiving guests and resting.

The part of the medicine woman is truly a sacrifice. She and her husband must pay liberally everyone called upon for ceremonial service directly connected with the tongues and the natoas ritual. They must also pay a considerable amount of property for the natoas itself. To give the ceremony means the sacrifice of all personal property. On the other hand, there is compensation, aside from fulfilling the vow. Her relatives are very proud of her since she is so virtuous. She is highly respected by her husband and family. In a measure those who "take the tongues" are also respected. The medicine woman may act as the mother in a future sun dance for which she will receive presents and she may eventually realize something by transferring the natoas to another. Should anything go wrong during the ceremony, the weather be unfavorable, etc., people will look with suspicion upon her and say she must have lied in her confession to the sun. Should she become ill or have deaths in the family, the same charge will be made.

The Offerings of Cloth. After the procession headed by the father and he is in position at the west side of the dancing lodge, offerings of cloth and clothing are brought up by the people. A man making such an offering hands the father a filled pipe and the cloth. The father holds the pipe and offers prayers for the giver and lights and passes the pipe to other old men sitting around. The cloth he lays in a pile. Then he paints the giver: first the face is smeared over with red, then black spots are daubed on the cheeks, nose, forehead, and chin, four in all. A black circle is marked around each wrist. Women bringing offerings and pipes go to the mother who prays for them and paints their faces red with a black spot on the nose and a black circle around the face. There is also a black circle around each wrist.

THE HUNDRED-WILLOW SWEATHOUSE.

As stated before, a sweathouse of special form is constructed on the third day. This is said to have originated with Scar-face, it being the house into which he was taken by the sun. About the middle of the day a society is sent out for the willows. These were usually those of the younger men; the pigeons and mosquitoes. There is a belief, however, that in former times only warriors could be sent upon this errand. These persons are mounted and return in procession, singing and circling the medicine woman's tipi in the direction of the sun, and deposit their willows at the west side of the camp circle. They must not drink water while on this duty.

An older society is called to build the sweathouse. They must not drink water while engaged in this operation and receive some of the tongues after the ceremonies of the fourth day. Formerly, these men must have had a coup to their credit as a qualification and some informants claim that the sum total for the society should have totalled at least one hundred, the number of willows. The work begins some time before sunset by which time the sweathouse should be completed.

The willows are stuck into the ground in an oval and their tops bent over and interlocked over the top. The ends point toward the east and the west, an opening or door being provided at each. The willows are then painted, one side red and the other black. Next, a hole is dug in the center of the structure for the heated stones. In the meantime, a small heap of stones mixed with firewood has been placed some distance to the east. A buffalo skull is painted with red spots on one side and black on the other. Sagegrass is thrust into the nose and eye-sockets. Robes are then thrown over the willows and all is ready for the procession from the medicine woman's tipi.

The procession from the medicine woman's tipi consists of the father and another man experienced in ceremonial affairs, the husband, the mother and the medicine woman. They approach slowly and by stages, passing around the south side of the sweathouse to the north and then to the east or entrance. All keep their eyes on the ground. The husband walks with a heavy staff; the medicine woman carries the natoas bundle with a smudge stick.

The men enter the sweathouse, while the two women go to the west side and sit down facing the east. The medicine woman is on the north side with the bundle before her. After the men have entered, the fire is lighted and some of the attendants (builders of the sweathouse) lift the buffalo skull to the top of the sweathouse where it faces the east. Prayers and the usual

sweathouse procedure now follow while the stones and a pail of water are passed in by an attendant. The covers are then drawn down and the vapor bath taken.

After the ceremony the procession returns to the medicine woman's tipi. The cover is removed from the sweathouse and the buffalo skull placed on top where it remains.

Should there be more than one medicine woman, another sweathouse is made on the east side of the camp circle and the others grouped around them equally.

Since after the sweathouse ceremony there is formal singing in the tipi until far into the night, it may be said that during the four days of the fast the ceremonies begin with the sweathouse at sundown, while on the fifth day the ceremony begins in the morning and ends at sundown.

To this generalized statement the following account from a Piegan may be added:—

Now, when the first sweathouse is to be made, orders are given in the morning to one of the societies to get the willows to make the hundred-willow sweathouse. Another man is to get the creeping juniper to use in the smudge place in the medicine lodge, and still another is to cut out the smudge place. The moves are short. The people all move camp, as before, and the society goes on ahead and stakes out the camping ground. When the tipis are pitched at the new camping ground, the society comes in with the willows and the rocks for the sweathouse. They circle once around to the right of the lodges and stop outside of the circle, west of the medicine lodge. They must neither eat nor drink while building the sweathouse. They gather wood from among the tipis until they have enough to heat the rocks. Robes for covering the sweathouse are borrowed from the people of the camp. One man goes to the medicine lodge and digs out the smudge place.

When the sweathouse is ready for the medicinemen, four of the men who helped in the construction go and inform the men and women. They carry the parfleche with the tongues in it on a robe, each man holding a corner. The two medicinemen take the lead, the two women follow, then come the four men with the parfleche. Four stops are made before they reach the sweathouse. The instructor leads, and is followed in single file by the other man, and the two women walking very slowly and singing. They march once around the sweathouse in the direction of the sun. The other old men who are to join them and the two medicinemen go in while the two women remain seated on a robe just west of it with the parfleche beside them. A smudge is made with sweetgrass, and a crescent-shaped place marked out between the square hole and the rear of the sweathouse and live coals are placed on the dot in front of the crescent. A song is sung while the smudge stick is taken up and a man goes after the coal for the smudge. The sweetgrass is placed on the live coal and the two songs for the smudge are sung: "Spring grass I take. Where I sit is powerful." A pipe is handed in and the pipe bowl and stem painted red. The man holds the pipe over the smudge and prays for the one who gave it to him and then passes it to the last man to his right who lights it and all smoke it. When the pipe is all burnt out, the man who blessed it, takes it, and with a red-painted stick loosens

the ashes and empties some of them on the southeast corner of the square hole in the sweathouse, then on the northwest corner, on the northeast, and finally in the center.

After this the buffalo skull is brought in and the songs of the buffalo sung while the same man paints it with black and red dots, the left half black and the right half in red. Grass is stuffed into the eyes and nose of the skull which is passed out through the west of the sweathouse and placed on the earth taken out of the hole in the sweathouse. An extra buffalo horn wrapped with swamp grass is brought in and given to the man who paints it red and sings while doing so: "Chiefs of other tribes I want to hook." He throws the horn out and all the men of this society who remain near the sweathouse try to catch it. The one who captures it is considered lucky and he is supposed to capture a gun in the next battle he witnesses.

The men in the sweathouse all undress and as they pass their robes and moccasins out through the west of the sweathouse and the door, the buffalo songs are sung. The two medicinemen only wear a robe and moccasins when they go into the sweathouse. While singing, the forked stick is taken up and one of the outsiders goes for the heated stones, stopping four times before he brings them in. One of the men who is inside takes the stone with two straight sticks and places it on the southeast corner of the hole, the same is done with four more stones which are placed on the southwest, the northwest, the northeast corner and the fifth is placed in the bottom of the hole at the center. When a sixth stone is placed in the hole, they are all rolled to the bottom of the hole. Water and a horn spoon or wooden bowl is brought in.

A little water is thrown on the stones to wash them, the curtains are lowered, and prayers to the sun, moon, and stars, and earth begin. In groups of four, sixteen medicine lodge songs are sung. The curtains are raised and four more songs are sung; the sweathouse is opened and four songs are sung, until the sixteen have been completed. The two medicinemen go out through the west of the sweathouse while the rest go through the door. The men dress, and the parfleche containing the tongues is opened and the tongues given to the members of the society who made the sweathouse. The medicinemen and women do not eat. After all are provided with the tongues a piece is broken off each and while all hold the pieces up a prayer is said and the piece of tongue placed on the ground. Then they all begin to eat. After this the robes are all returned to their owners, the buffalo skull placed on top of the frame of the sweathouse with the nose pointed towards the east and the medicinemen and women return in single file while four men follow behind carrying the empty parfleche. The men who belong to the society may now eat and drink as they wish.

THE DANCING LODGE.

The dancing lodge may be said to take its origin on the fourth day, by which time the medicine woman has her tipi in place near its site and the camp circle has been formed. In construction, nine forked tree trunks about nine feet in height are set in a circle. Across their tops, except the eastern face, are laid stringers about fifteen feet long of the same

material.¹ In the center, is another forked tree trunk much higher than the other (this we shall call the sun pole) connected with each of the stringers by a rafter. Green boughs are placed thickly against the outside of the lodge. On the inside, at the rear, is a booth screened and roofed with boughs. The material is cottonwood. That other woods were occasionally used, is attested by the fact that a locality is known as "the place of sweet pine dancing lodge."

Some informants claim that in former years each band was required to furnish two rafters, a post, a rail, and their proportionate amount of boughs. Two rafters were used instead of one as now, each band furnishing the section opposite their place in the circle. The contradiction between the number of bands and the size of the dancing lodge seems not to have troubled our informants. Now, the young men go out during the early part of the fourth day to cut the poles and boughs. This is done without ceremony. A crier usually rides around the camp circle reminding the various bands of their duty. Formerly, the young women went out on horseback to drag in the poles and brush. On this occasion, they dressed in the best costumes and used the finest horse trappings obtainable. The men cut the poles and brush, hitching them to the drag ropes with their own hands. As the procession galloped toward the camp circle, the men rode behind, shooting and yelling. In recent years, the men bring the material in on wagons without demonstration.

Men of some prominence are selected to dig the holes for the posts. The posts are erected and the stringers put in place, excepting one on the west side nearly opposite the entrance. The rafters are leaned against the stringers, ready to be pushed in place and the green boughs piled up at convenient places near by.

The cutting of the sun pole is attended with some ceremony. Some informants claim that formerly this was to be carried out by the medicine woman's band; others that one of the men's societies was called upon for

¹ Obviously, this would make the dancing lodge very large. In reply to this objection it was said that they were large; that it was necessary to select as a site places where very long rafter poles could be cut; that formerly societies and others performed evolutions within on horseback. The late Little-plume is credited with having introduced the present custom of reciting deeds, requiring horses, outside the dancing lodge. It may be of interest to note that the Arapaho also made very large sun dance shelters.

In 1908 Mr. Duvall measured the dancing lodge. The sun pole stood sixteen feet from the ground to the fork. The posts were eight feet and approximately sixteen feet apart. The diameter of the whole was fifty-two feet. The fireplace was east of the sun pole six feet and was four feet by two feet and five inches deep. The booth for medicinemen was five feet eight inches wide by seven feet six inches deep. The two holes were about a foot forward from the sod walls, eight inches across and six inches deep. The man who has been marking out the site for the lodge during the last few years, begins by selecting the place for the sun pole and stepping off seven paces as the radius.

this service. In any event, they go out as a war party and locate a suitable tree. A man with a war record, preferably one having struck an enemy with an ax, comes forward, takes an ax, paints the blade as he recounts some event in which he killed an enemy, and then strikes the tree. Four such deeds must be told before the tree can be felled. Then one or two men cut the tree as the others stand around. As the tree begins to fall all give the war cry and shoot at its top, then rush up, and tearing off branches, wave them in the air as if they were trophies from an enemy. Indeed, the whole proceeding, from start to finish, is a mimic attack on an enemy.

The pole is cut to approximate form and taken to the site of the dancing lodge. One end is placed on a travois (in recent times on a wagon), while the riders assist with their ropes, their horses massed around the travois horse.

The hole for the sun pole is dug without ceremony by relatives of the medicine woman. When it is in place, they tie a bundle of green boughs in the fork,¹ making everything ready for the raising in the evening. The sun pole now lies on the ground with the butt over the hole and the forked end supported by a piece of timber. The fork points to the west. It seems that formerly the pole was painted. Just below the fork it was circled by two black bands and two red ones beneath these.

CUTTING THE THONGS.

A fresh cowskin (formerly two buffalo hides) is provided that thongs may be cut for binding the rafters to the stringers and the objects placed on the sun pole. There seems to have been no hunting ceremony for providing this hide and there is now no symbolic hunting. After the medicine woman is in the shelter, the ceremony of cutting the thongs takes place. If no one volunteers, men are "caught." The men who cut the thongs last year may do the "catching" or engage representatives to do it. Formerly, this function was exercised by old warriors who had captured enemies alive. The "catchers" go quietly about the camp looking for eligibles. While pretending to pass one by without notice, they suddenly lay hold of him. The victim may pull back, but is not allowed to resort to other means

¹ The bundle of boughs is neither spoken of as the thunderbird's nest nor given a name of any kind; though some old men seemed to know that other tribes so designated it. We made diligent inquiry on this point and feel that the above statement is correct. Reference to published photographs will show that the brush is merely gathered into a bundle and not made into the form of a nest as in case of the Crow.

of resistance. He is then led up to the hides near the front of the medicine woman's shelter. In former times, four such men were brought up for the ceremony. They must have coups to their records, otherwise they would not have been selected. In the ceremony of 1904 we observed an attempt to "catch" a man on horseback, but the struggles of the horse enabled him to escape. In former times, the friends of the interested party would have gathered around the rear and sides of the horse forcing him forward in the lead of the "catcher". This whole catching procedure is said to symbolize the capture of an enemy.

In order to understand the ceremony that now takes place, it is necessary to know that the right to cut the thong is to the Blackfoot a medicine to be transferred for gifts of property as in case of other medicines. The men who did the cutting in the previous year are to "sell", or transfer, this year. It is they who do the "catching", either in person or by deputy. Should no one be brought forward, those who performed the rite on the previous year must again serve. As soon as a man is caught, his relatives are notified; they come out with all kinds of property to support him in the transfer. The initiate is brought into the presence of the present owner of the right, his hands and face are painted, accompanied by ritualistic prayer. While this proceeds, an old man (usually a relative) stands somewhat apart and shouts out praise for the initiate. However, this may be done by a woman, if no man comes forward. A horse and other property is then given to the former owner of the right, whence it ceases to be his. The deputy "catcher", if there is one, then receives a small present or two from the former owner.

The cutting of the thong then takes place. The new owner of the right, standing up by the hide, shouts out his coups. He holds the knife in his hand and while pointing in different directions with it, he tells of a war deed. At the end of each tale he makes a pass with the knife as if to cut the hide. After four deeds are told, he cuts the hide. For example, he may say, "At such a place I captured a horse which gives me the right to cut this, etc." If there are other men with the right, they follow in turn. After this, the thongs are cut with the assistance of other men and distributed at the places where they will be needed. A thong with the tail attached is used to bind the bunch of boughs to the sun pole, the tail hanging down.

While this ceremony is going on, gifts of flour, beef, etc., made by white people are distributed among the old poor people. This is regarded as a recent intrusion.

The following extract from an unpublished version of the Scar-face myth accounts for the thong-cutting ceremony:—

Her husband could tell by her eyes that she had been crying and he said, "I told you not to dig up that turnip, but nevertheless you have done so. Since you are lonesome and wish to return to your people, I will take you back." Then Morningstar went out and killed some buffalo. After he had skinned all of them he cut the hides into long strands, fastened them together, and tied the woman and her child to one end and let her down from the sky to where her people were.

Before she reached the earth, a little sore-eyed boy was lying on his back, looking up at the sky and saw a very small object coming down. The boy told the men who were playing the wheel gambling game what he saw, but they laughed at him and threw dirt in his eyes and said, "You must see the gum on your eyelids or lashes." As the falling object came closer others noticed it and when it came among the group they knew that it was the woman who was missing from the camp. They untied the rawhide strand and noticed that some of the buffalo tails were on the ends of the long rope which lay piled up high before them.

This woman came down with her digging-stick. As she was not a wicked woman and only lived with Morningstar as her husband, she gave her digging-stick to the medicine lodge woman and the natoas was named for the turnip she dug up. When the sun dance was held, this woman told them always to cut up a rawhide into strands and tie the posts with them. Also that the center post and the birch on it must be tied with them. The tail of the hide is to hang down from the center post. These rawhide strands are a representation of the rawhide rope with which this woman was let down to the earth. Later, the moose hoofs are tied to this digging-stick. The plumes on the natoas are to represent the leaf of the large turnip this woman dug up while in the sky.

RAISING THE SUN POLE.

While the hide is being cut, all the woman who made vows to take some of the tongues come forward to the *parfleche* placed near the medicinemen and women. Each woman takes one of the tongues and stands with the person for whom her vow was made and makes a confession to the sun in a loud voice, so all may hear. Then she prays to the sun for the beneficiary. After all the women have taken their tongues, some of the men tie the cloth offerings to the ends of the poles and a bunch of birch is tied between the forks of the center pole.

The preceding ceremony comes to a close as the sun gets very low. About time for the sun to set, a procession of pole raisers starts from each of the four quarters of the camp circle. Tipi poles are tied near the small ends in pairs, each pair carried by two men. The four parties advance in unison by four stages and at each pause sing a special song. In the last move, they rush upon the sun pole and raise it in place. In the meantime, the father and son go and stand on the center pole while their wives stand to the west. The men make wing movements with their arms toward the east. According to some informants, the medicine woman may make hooking motions at the pole, to symbolize the mythical Elk-woman.

Four men are called upon to assist the father and son. As the latter stand upon the pole, they encircle and screen them with their blankets and join the father in singing. The songs call for good luck in erecting the dancing lodge. The son does not sing. Four songs are sung. At the end of each the father blows a whistle while someone shakes the pole. The last time they jump off the pole. The son drops his blanket (some say the father also, some add moccasins) painted black as a sun offering. Another blanket is handed him at once.

As soon as the men leave the pole the advancing raisers rush in, raise the center pole, put on the rafters, tie them with the rawhide strands and place brush all around to form the wind-break. This is accompanied by much shouting, but without shooting.

While the sun pole is being raised the daughter and mother stand watching it. They pray and make movements with the corners of their robes as though steering the rising pole. As it sways from side to side, they gesture as if righting it.

As soon as the pole is set, the natoas, robe, and moccasins are taken off the daughter by the mother. She may call on someone to do this and pay a gun or a horse for the service. The mother and other attendants then lead the daughter to her tipi where she resumes her ordinary routine.

The father and son go to a sweathouse where all the paint is washed off. This is not the hundred-willow sweathouse and is the fifth sweat-house, if it were counted. The two men go in and some sagegrass being handed to the father, he takes off the feathers tied to the son's hair, the hair necklace, and whistle. After the first opening of the sweathouse he takes the sagegrass and wipes off the black paint on the son and hands out through the west side of the sweathouse the necklace, whistle, and feathers which are to be taken home. At the same time, the two women are in the ceremonial lodge, the mother caring for the daughter.

When the men have completed the sweathouse ceremony they go to the medicine woman's tipi. The father and his wife wrap up the natoas and place it in the badger skin. After this is done, they no longer have to eat sparingly. This ends the ceremony of the medicine woman.

Early the next day she and her husband must obtain the cotton-wood brush with which the booth for the weather dancers is made. Another man digs out the place in the booth, making it the same as the smudge place in the medicine woman's tipi, with the sod on three sides and creeping juniper on top of it. The fireplace is dug out to the west of the center post and is made as in the medicine woman's tipi. When going for and returning the brush, the woman rides one horse and leads the one dragging

her travois. While when the other brush was brought in there was much shooting and shouting, there are now no demonstrations of any kind, but absolute silence.

THE WEATHER DANCERS.

Early on the fifth day, a booth is built inside the dancing lodge opposite the entrance. A slight excavation about six feet square is made over which is erected a shelter of green cottonwood boughs, open on the side facing the sun pole. Before the middle of the day, a procession of one or more men supposed to have power over the weather, attended by drummers, proceeds by stages from the medicine woman's tipi to this booth. They pause four times and dance, facing alternately the east and the west. They hold whistles of bone in their mouths, which are sounded in unison with the dancing. The procession is of two transverse lines, the dancers, in front, the drummers and singers behind. A great deal of dancing is done between the entrance to the dancing lodge and the booth. At intervals during the day they stand before the booth and dance to the east and west: the drummers are now stationed on the south side of the booth where women also assemble for the singing. The dancing is chiefly an up and down movement produced by flexing the knees, the eyes are directed toward the sun and wing-like movements of the hands are made in the same direction. The dancers wear breechcloth and moccasins and usually a robe around the waist. Their faces and bodies are painted according to their own medicines and medicine objects worn on their heads.

It is stated that there is but one weather dancer, but others may join under certain conditions. In practice this seems to amount to there being a director or leader in the dance, at least such was the case in 1903 and 1904. In 1904 the two assistant dancers went to the medicine woman's tipi to paint themselves and began their procession from there, while the leader approached in a similar manner from his own tipi, the two forming one procession before the east side of the dancing lodge was reached. The leading dancer wore a special ceremonial robe, headdress, and several medicine objects, which have been described in Volume 7 (pp. 98-99).

These objects and their medicine functions may be regarded as esoteric in so far as they are not absolutely essential to the office of leading dancer. Yet, this same individual seems to have performed this function for a number of years. Clark mentions strings of feathers tied to the finger of this dancer.¹

In 1904 there were two assistant dancers. Both wore headdresses

¹ Clark, W. P., *The Indian Sign Language* (Philadelphia, 1885), 72.

somewhat like that of their leader. One was fully dressed with a blanket around his waist; the other was nude to the belt. The latter was painted chiefly in red with a circle in blue on the back and one on the breast. The former had a pair of horizontal lines on each cheek, those on the right, black, on the left, red.

It is said that formerly these dancers were nude, except for the breechcloth and moccasins. The entire body was painted. There seemed to have been no fixed painting, but the sun, moon, and stars were usually represented. Around the head, they wore a wreath of juniper and bands of sagegrass around the neck, wrists, and ankles.

The weather dancers are not permitted to eat or drink during the day. Formerly, they remained in the booth continuously until the evening of the fourth day of their dancing; in recent years, they spend the night at home and return to the booth in the morning.

The functions of these dancers are not clearly understood. They seem to be held responsible for the weather: i. e., upon them falls the duty of preventing rain from interfering with the dancing. Whether they do this because they happen to have independent shamanistic powers or whether it is a mere function of their temporary office in the ceremony, cannot be determined. Other medicinemen often attempt to control the weather during the days preceding the formal entry into the booth as well as during the later days. In 1903 (Piegan) there was a contest between a number of rival medicinemen some of whom conjured for rain, others for fair weather: strange to say, clouds would threaten and then pass away during these days, which coincidence was interpreted as proof of evenly matched powers. Several times one of the partisans of fair weather came out near the site of the dancing lodge and danced to the sun, holding up a small pipe and occasionally shouting. He wore no regalia and danced in a different manner from that observed among the weather dancers at the booth. However, the man who led the weather dancers for many years until his death in 1908, was famous for his control over the weather. Once, it is told, he became enraged at the power making the weather bad, shouting out "Now, you go ahead, if you want to. I have great power and can stop you when I will."

In former times, the dreams of the weather dancers while sleeping in the booth were considered of special supernatural significance, since, it is said, they were *en rapport* with the sun. This *rappor*t may account for what seems to be one of their chief functions — blessing the people. During the days they are in the booth, individuals come to them "to be prayed for." They come up and stand before the booth. The dancer takes black paint and paints their faces. Then he prays to the sun for their

welfare. During this part of the ceremony the recipient faces the sun. Again, the medicine-pipes and other ritualistic objects are brought up for the dancer to present to the sun. The pipes he holds up with the stems towards the sun, whom he addresses at some length, offering him a smoke, making requests, etc., after which he smokes the pipe. All the persons present are then permitted to put their lips to the pipe from which they are supposed to derive great benefits. The dancer also receives offerings made to the sun. A young man may fill a pipe and approach with his offerings. The dancer takes the pipe, smokes, prays, paints the man's face, and makes the offering. A woman or child may do this; or a whole family. Formerly, a great deal of old clothing was offered at this time, a custom still practised by the Blood. Also children's moccasins and clothing were offered in this way. As they grew out of them they were given to the sun to promote well-being. In last analysis, it seems that while these dancers are spoken of as weather priests, they are rather sun priests, since through them appeals to the sun are made. It should be noted that they are regarded as independent of and in no way associated with the medicine woman ceremonies or the erection of the dancing lodge, but upon entrance to the booth, the leading weather dancer is said to become the chief and director of all succeeding ceremonies. The length of the ceremony depends entirely upon him and formerly continued as long as he kept his place.

Like other rites this one was bought and sold, but it was usual to continue in ownership many years. Anyone could make a vow to dance with the weather dancer and join him in his ceremonies, but such vows were usually made by former owners of the rite. When one makes a vow to purchase the rite, its owner must sell, however reluctant he may be. The transfer must be in the sun dance. It is said that two men once alternately sold to each other for many years so that both could appear in every sun dance.

DANCING.

The first ceremony of this character is named the cutting-out dance (to cut out a hole in a robe). It seems to have been performed by a society and occurs early on the fifth day. About four or six old men dance in line with a rawhide which they hold in front of them, singing and beating time on the rawhide with rattles similar to those of the beaver men. The society now divides into two parties, one placing itself north of the center pole, and the other party standing in line south of the center pole. The two parties dance back and forward in front of the pole shooting at it. The

old men on the west side of the center pole dance in their places. The rawhide held in front of them, hangs down like an apron. They beat time on it, holding the rawhide in one hand, and the rattles in the other. An old man counts deeds and marks out with a knife the fireplace and the booth for the weather dancers. These are dug while the dancing and shooting take place.¹

The hole, or fire pit, is dug between the sun pole and the entrance to the dancing lodge. It is about three feet by two and "two hands" deep. A warrior is then called to start the fire. Warriors now come forward in turn to count their coups. In this a man took a piece of firewood and holding it up, called out in a loud voice how he once struck a Sioux, a Snake, etc., then placed it in the fire. When he had recounted all he gave way to the next. Stories are told of men having enough coups to make a fire large enough to threaten the destruction of the dancing lodge. We were able to confirm the statement of Clark² that the height of the flame as determined by a buffalo tail hanging down was the criterion for determining a great warrior. One informant states as follows:—

There is always a cow tail hanging down from the center post. In olden times this was a buffalo tail, to the end of which a blackened plume was tied. This hangs down over the fireplace which was used at night to furnish light for the proceedings. The assembled people were entertained by narratives of warriors as they came forward to narrate their deeds; each threw a stick on the fire for each deed counted and he whose fire blazed high enough to reach the tail was considered a great warrior. It was a great honor when a man could tell enough war deeds to scorch the tail. All this time there was singing (the cheering songs) and drumming, while berry soup was served to all. The persons taking part are designated as those "who are about to make the fire." In recent years, this ceremony has been performed in a very perfunctory manner.

After the ceremony, the fire was fed in the ordinary way and kept going during the greater part of the succeeding days. The origin of this dance is often ascribed to Scar-face.

¹ It will be recalled that in the sun dance of the Dakota type (p. 110) there is a ceremonial shooting at the sun pole. Here the shooting takes place in a perfunctory way, while the pole is dragged to the sun dance site. Yet, McQuesten claims to have witnessed the driving of evil power from the sun lodge at a Blood ceremony in 1912. ("The Sun Dance of the Blackfeet" *Rod and Gun in Canada*, March 1912.) As this is not noted in older accounts and we failed to get information as to it, we suspect it to be due to foreign influences, or perhaps the author's own interpretation.

² Clark, *ibid.*, 72.

SOCIETY DANCES.

In former times, the succeeding days were apportioned to the men's societies (the ikunukats) in the order of their rank, beginning at the lowest.¹ There seems to have been no fixed allotment of time to each, only the order of succession being adhered to. The ceremonies were determined chiefly by the respective society rituals, though the recounting of deeds in war was given great prominence. As a rule, each society closed its ceremonies by offering parts of its regalia, etc., to the sun, a custom still observed by the Blood (See vol. 11, this series, fig. 19, p. 411). After the highest society had completed its function, the leading men of the tribe held a kind of a war dance in which coups were recounted. In this dance, again, rattles were beaten upon a rawhide. The organizations or persons having charge of the day's ceremonies must furnish the feast and all necessities. The medicine woman and her husband usually repair to the dancing lodge each day. The man usually takes his pipe and tobacco and furnishes the smoking for the guests who sit around. His wife wears the buckskin dress and elk robe, but not the natoas. They sit on the north or right side of the booth and merely are spectators. This closes the ceremonies and camp is broken.

THE TORTURE CEREMONY.

The torture feature, especially prominent in the ceremonies of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Dakota, was formerly given a place among the dancing lodge ceremonies of the Blackfoot. The information we have seems to indicate that this ceremony had not become thoroughly adjusted to its place in this series at the time of its prohibition by the United States and Canadian governments. The claim is made by some of the Piegan that it was borrowed from the Arapaho and was not looked upon with much favor. As one man expressed it, "None of those taking the cutting lived to reach old age." It was said that a few Blackfoot warriors once visited the Arapaho at the time of their sun dance where they were put through the cutting ceremony. According to the Blackfoot mode of thought, this means that the medicine rites (and rights) were transferred to them. When they returned, they induced others to take the cutting, to whom, of course, the rites were transferred. Whether this historical statement is accurate or mythical, we have no means of knowing, but we are inclined to give

¹ This series, Vol. 11, 365-474.

it some weight as evidence. It seems, however, that warriors took the cutting because of a vow, similar to that of the medicine woman. Sometimes a man dreamed that the sun required it of him. The giving of property and the conditions of the transfer were the same as for "cutting the thong," though we have no information that "catching" was permitted. Such may, however, have been tolerated.

The men taking the cutting were nude to the belt. Sage was tied around the wrists and ankles. The hair hung down, held in place by a wreath of cedar (some informants say sage). They were painted white. Rows of spots in blue extended down the sides of the face, over the shoulders and down the arms. Wavy lines of the same color were also drawn down the arms. A circle representing the sun, was made on the breast, also upon the chin and probably on the back opposite the one over the heart. On the forehead was another circle representing the moon. Other informants say a crescent moon in black was used instead of these circles.

According to one informant, vows were made to purchase this ceremony when ill or in great danger. If the promise brought results, the vow was fulfilled at the next dance. The suppliant calls upon one having purchased the rite. They enter the booth of the weather dancers, a blanket is held up to shut out the gaze of the others. The transferrer then paints the purchaser. He cuts a hole through the skin of the right shoulder, over the scapula, and a hole over each breast. A small sharpened stick is thrust through each. A shield is hung on the back. Long cords were fastened to those on the breast, the ends of which were tied fast, high up to the center pole. The purchaser goes up to the pole, embraces it, and cries for a time. Then he backs off, and dancing, throws his weight on the ropes. The transferrer jerks the shield from his shoulders and if necessary, assists him in tearing loose. At once, the purchaser goes out into the hills and sleeps in different places to receive power.

It is said that all who take this ceremony die in a few years, because it is equivalent to giving one's self to the sun. Hence, the sun takes them for his own.

The cutting was similar to that described by Catlin and other writers as observed elsewhere. Some informants say the dancers held whistles in their mouths and gazed at the sun as they danced. When all the thongs were torn out, some of the lacerated flesh was cut off as an offering to the sun.

McLean reports the following observations upon this ceremony at a Blood sun dance:—

.... The chief attraction to the pale-face is what has been ignorantly termed "making braves." I desired very much to see this ceremony *once*, that I might know the

facts from personal observation, and draw my own conclusions after conversing with the Indians.

Two young men having their whole bodies painted, wearing the loin-cloth only, and with wreaths of leaves around their heads, ankles and wrists, stepped into the center of the lodge. A blanket and a pillow were laid on the ground, and one of the young men stretched himself upon them. As he lay, an old man came forward and stood over him and then in an earnest speech told the people of the brave deeds, and noble heart of the young man. In the enumeration of his virtues and noble deeds, after each separate statement the musicians beat applause. When the aged orator ceased, the young man arose, placed his hands upon the old man's shoulders, and drew them downward, as a sign of gratitude for the favorable things said about him. He lay down, and four men held him while a fifth made the incisions in his breast and back. Two places were marked in each breast denoting the position and width of each incision. This being done, the wooden skewers being in readiness, a double edged knife was held in the hand, the point touching the flesh, a small piece of wood was placed on the under side to receive the point of the knife when it had gone through, and the flesh was drawn out the desired length for the knife to pierce. A quick pressure and the incision was made, the piece of wood was removed, and the skewer inserted from the under-side as the knife was being taken out. When the skewer was properly inserted, it was beaten down with the palm of the hand of the operator, that it might remain firmly in its place. This being done to each breast, with a single skewer for each, strong enough to tear away the flesh, and long enough to hold the lariats fastened to the top of the sacred pole, a double incision was made on the back of the left shoulder, to the skewer of which was fastened an Indian drum. The work being pronounced good by the persons engaged in the operation, the young man arose, and one of the operators fastened the lariats giving them two or three jerks to bring them into position.

The young man went up to the sacred pole, and while his countenance was exceedingly pale, and his frame trembling with emotion, threw his arms around it, and prayed earnestly for strength to pass successfully through the trying ordeal. His prayer ended he moved backward until the flesh was fully extended, and placing a small bone whistle in his mouth, he blew continuously upon it a series of short sharp sounds, while he threw himself backward, and danced until the flesh gave way and he fell. Previous to his tearing himself free from the lariats, he seized the drum with both hands and with a sudden pull tore the flesh on his back, dashing the drum to the ground amid the applause of the people. As he lay on the ground, the operators examined his wounds, cut off the flesh that was hanging loosely, and the ceremony was at an end. In former years the head of a buffalo was fastened by a rope on the back of the person undergoing the feat of self-immolation, but now a drum is used for that purpose.

From two to five persons undergo this torture every Sun-Dance. Its object is military and religious. It admits the young man into the noble band of warriors, whereby he gains the esteem of his fellows, and opens up the path to fortune and fame. But it is chiefly a religious rite. In a time of sickness, or danger, or in starting upon some dangerous expedition, the young man prays to Natos for help, and promises to give himself to Natos if his prayers are answered. Upon his return, when the Annual Sun-Dance is held, he fulfills his vow, gives himself to his god, and thus performs a twofold duty. Of course the applause of the people and the exhibition of courage are important factors in this rite, but its chief feature is a religious one.

Instead of being a time of feasting and pleasure, the Sun-Dance is a military and religious festival, in connection with which there are occasions for joy, and the feast enhances the pleasure.¹

It may be well to note that the offering of bits of flesh to the sun was a general practice not necessarily associated with the sun dance. Many comparatively young men now living (1904) bear numerous scars testifying to such offerings. When in perilous situations a finger would sometimes be struck off with a call upon the sun for help. Among the Blood, such sacrifice of a finger by women as well as men was common at the sun dance.² These facts concerning the more general practice of mutilating the body to win the approval of the sun suggest that if the cutting ceremony is intrusive, it either found on hand a series of analogous customs or brought with it a concept that afterwards gave birth to them. It may be observed that the form of costume and dance is strikingly like that employed by the present weather dancers.

Since there seems to be no good published data on the sacrificing of skin and fingers we append the narrative of Split-ears:—

Sometimes, when warriors are on an expedition and come in sight of the enemy they will sit in a circle while the leader, or the oldest member of the party, offers prayers that they may succeed in their undertaking. Then they proceed to offer bits of their own skin to the sun. The one who prayed sits down by one of the party, takes up a needle or bodkin and a knife, thrusts the former under a small section of skin and raising it, cuts off a small slice with a knife. This leaves a circular wound a quarter of an inch or less in diameter. It is understood that the operator pulls the skin up with the needle and slices off a small section underneath that instrument. He then takes up some black paint and dips the bit of skin into it. Then he holds it up to the sun and prays for the success of his victim. The bit of skin is then placed upon a piece of cloth and another is removed from the victim in the same manner and so the operator goes to each of the party in turn, each time removing a piece of skin, dipping it in black paint, and holding it up in a prayer to the sun. While each person is expected to give two pieces, they are not limited to the maximum number, some men giving four and some still more. The bits of skin thus collected are tied up in one corner of the cloth which is mounted upon a stick wrapped with wild sage, the whole being fastened in a tree or set up on the top of a high hill as the

¹ McLean, John, "The Blackfoot Sun Dance" (*Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, third series, vol. 6, Toronto, 1888), 235-237.

² McLean, as an eye-witness to such a sacrifice, gives the following:—

"As I stood outside the lodge, a young Indian friend of mine, went to an old medicine-woman and presented his sacrifice to Natos. During the year he had gone on a horse-stealing expedition and as is customary on such occasions had prayed to Natos for protection and success, offering himself to his god if his prayers were answered. He had been successful and he now presented himself as a sacrifice. The old woman took his hand held it toward the Sun and prayed, then laying a finger on a block of wood she severed it with one blow from a knife and deer's horn scraper. She held the portion of the finger cut off toward the Sun and dedicated that to him as the young man's sacrifice." (p. 235.)

sun's offering. This sacrifice is always spoken of as feeding the sun with flesh from one's own body. The cloth is fastened to the stick in the form of a flag or banner so that it waves in the wind with the flesh offerings tied in one corner. This sacrifice is considered one of the greatest a man can make.

Now, as I have said, some men only give two small pieces of skin, while others give a great many more, but as they do this each time they go on an expedition, it so happens that a man who made many war expeditions has many small scars on his arms and legs. Thus, we can still tell those of our old men who went upon the warpath many times in their youth. We can tell by the scars made from feeding the sun their own flesh. But, again, it so happens that men while at home may have dreams in which they are commanded to feed the sun. Now it is believed that unless a man heeds such a command, he is certain to be visited by misfortune or

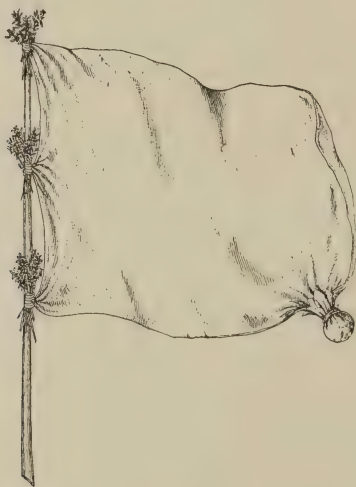


Fig. 1. The Offering of Human Flesh. The bits of flesh are tied in the corner of the banner. Drawn from a native sketch.

even death, so he always makes haste to comply with the command. After such a dream he makes a sweat-house and invites in an old man who prays and makes the offering. The procedure here is the same as previously described and the offering is made into a banner and placed in a tree or upon a hill. Then again, the men who are at home in the camp but who have relatives in a war party may so wish for the safety of these that they themselves offer bits of skin in their behalf. Thus, you see there are many times when people will offer bits of skin, so that it was not uncommon for a man to have one hundred or more scars upon his body. These are generally arranged in rows up and down the arms, down the legs, down the breasts and the back. I have even heard of cases where a man is said to have offered one hundred pieces of skin at one time. This, however, was unusual.

Sometimes, instead of offering skin, the warrior would offer a finger. Thus if beset by very great danger on the warpath a man may make a vow to the sun

stating that if brought home safely he will sacrifice a finger. This sacrifice can be made at any time; either when on the warpath or when at home in camp or at the sun dance. In such cases, the finger is offered to the sun in the precise manner as the pieces of skin described above.

There are, however, occasions upon which fingers are cut off that are not offerings to the sun. Thus, people who are in mourning sometimes sacrifice a finger. In those cases it is usual to call upon some old woman who is skilled in the amputation. She cuts off the finger, usually reciting a kind of ritual, but it is not offered to the sun. It is simply thrown away. Then again babies' fingers are sometimes cut off to give the child good luck. Thus, if a woman lost many children she would call upon an old woman to make the sacrifice for her newly born. In this case, the tip end of a finger is cut off and wrapped up in a piece of meat which the mother is required to swallow. This is supposed to insure the child's living to maturity. It had no connection with the sun.

I have told you how men are called upon to cut off pieces of skin and how certain old women were selected to amputate fingers. You should also know that in olden times there were some women and men who might be called upon to cut open dead persons for various reasons. Sometimes they did this on their own account in order to get information as to the cause of death.

These accounts show for one thing that the cutting ceremony in the sun dance is but one of a type of blood and flesh offerings made to the sun, in fulfillment of a vow. The sacrifice of a finger is more frequent and less specialized, though frequently done at the sun dance. Then comes the very frequent offering of bits of skin, a sacrifice common in war raids at all times. The offering of bits of skin in the precise manner described here is found elsewhere in the Plains. The writer has observed men so scarred among several divisions of the Dakota. The method of removing the skin was here the same as followed by the Blackfoot. The thrusting in of the awl has a curious similarity to the cutting and skewering in the sun dance; one may even be pardoned for wondering if it did not so arise.

SUN DANCE SONGS.

Two songs have a special place in the ceremony. They are sung by the men as they ride into camp with the willows for the hundred-willow sweat-house. They are sung again when the procession of pole raisers moves up to raise the sun pole. Formerly, they were sung by any considerable body of the tribe approaching the camp of strange Indians. Likewise, when they approached a post to open trade.¹

Red-plume, a Piegan, has a smudge stick on which are notches said

¹ For musical notation see McClintock, Walter, *The Old North Trail, or Life, Legends and Religion of the Blackfoot Indians* (London, 1910), 311.

to represent the number of different songs used in the ceremonies of the medicine woman. There are 413 which is said to be the full number of songs. These, as has been stated in Volume 7, are in reality a part of the beaver bundle ritual.

The singing at the dancing ceremonies after the sun lodge has been erected is usually confined to the songs of various societies concerned. There are, however, a few with characteristic airs that are regarded as peculiarly appropriate to the occasion, regardless of who may be dancing.

THE SUN DANCE CAMP.

In a previous paper, we called attention to the belief that the camp circle was formed expressly for the sun dance. Our informants say that formerly the circle was formed by the assemblage of the bands some time before the medicine woman began her fast. In winter, the tribes scattered out, usually two to five bands in a camp, often many miles apart. At the approach of summer, the husband of a woman having made a vow to give the sun dance sends a man to look up the camps and invite them to join his band. He carries tobacco and presents some to each head man with the invitation. As the head men receive the invitation, they order their bands to move, forming the circle at the medicine woman's camp. Once formed, the circle is not broken until after the sun dance, a period estimated at from two to four months. The whole body may move about and even make long journeys aside from the four ceremonial moves required while the medicine woman is fasting. After the sun dance, they split up into parties for the fall hunt and finally went into winter quarters. The import of our former statement is thus apparent. The suggestion is that the camp circle is intimately associated with the sun dance. At least, one point is clear, the camp circle is initiated by the woman who starts the sun dance and even so is one of the preparatory steps.

As previously stated in Volume 7 of this series, there is much uncertainty as to the order of bands in the circle. We doubt if it ever was absolutely fixed beyond change at the will of those in charge of the sun dance proceedings.

MYTHOLOGICAL NOTES.

The way that several distinct myths are used to account for different features of the sun dance might be taken as a suggestion that the ceremony grew up among the Blackfoot. We suspect, however, that we have here an example of pattern phenomena. Those familiar with the detailed

study of rituals in Volume 7 will recall that tradition recognized the obvious fact that rituals were not produced all at once, but grew by accretions. This is so marked in the mythical accounts of ritual origin that we may suspect its appearance in the mythology of the sun dance. On page 241 we have enumerated the myths accounting for important features of the ceremony. Among these are not included the parts taken by societies or the cutting sacrifices, they, as we have stated, not being regarded as integral parts of the sun dance.

For the sake of completeness we offer some extracts from an unpublished version of the Scar-face myth:—

We will take up this narrative at the point where Scar Face has killed the cranes and reported with their scalps. We are told that had not Scar Face killed these birds, they would always have killed people, but that since he overpowered them they now fear people and have done so ever since.

Now, the Sun, the Moon, Scar Face, and Morningstar had a scalp dance while the Sun and Moon sang the praise songs in honor of Scar Face. The Sun addressed Scar Face: "When your people kill enemies they should scalp them and then give a scalp dance. Whenever anyone counts coup or recounts his war experiences, the praise songs should be sung." We have followed this custom ever since. Whenever anyone related his war deeds, some old men or old woman sang the praise songs, repeating the narrator's name during the singing.

The Sun was pleased with Scar Face. He directed Morningstar and Scar Face to build four sweathouses, standing side by side, with their entrances facing east. When they were completed, the Sun, Morningstar, and Scar Face entered one of them, the Moon remaining outside to close the door. After the Sun had worked over Scar Face, he ordered the moon to open the door and they went into the next sweat-house, again choosing the moon to be the door attendant. Now, the Sun asked the Moon to point out her son. The Moon designated Morningstar. They moved into the third sweathouse where the Sun had Morningstar and Scar Face exchange seats. Again, the Moon was asked to pick out her son. Though she noticed that the scar on the young man's face had disappeared, she pointed to her own son. They proceeded to the fourth sweathouse. Again, the Sun had the two men exchange places. The Moon looked in and pointing to Scar Face said, "This is Morningstar." The Sun replied, "You have mistaken him for Morningstar, the other is our son." Ever since that time, Scar Face has always been called Mistaken Morningstar.

Then the Sun gave Scar Face a buckskin suit decorated with porcupine quills. On the breast and back of the shirt were quill-worked rosettes representing the sun; the side seams of the leggings and sleeves were covered with strips of quillwork three or four inches wide. In addition, the sleeves and leggings bore hair fringes representing the scalps of cranes killed by Scar Face. The Sun also gave Scar Face, a bow with a lock of hair fastened to one end, a whistle made of a hollow reed, a bladder, and the robe worn by Scar Face. To represent the scalping, the Sun painted the upper part black. The whistle and the bladder were to be used on the woman who had refused Scar Face. The bow too, is a reminder of the killing of the cranes and is still used in the sun dance lodge. The Sun gave Scar Face a circle of creeping juniper which the women that build the lodge (the sun dance or medicine lodge) are to wear on their heads.

The Sun told Scar Face of the sun dance, the lodge, and the sweathouse, and added, "When you return to your people and wish to make an offering to me, you must first build a sweathouse and there make your offerings. Then I will hear your prayers and accept them. You may also make offerings to me in the sun dance lodge. He covered Scar Face's face with the "seventh" or red paint, drew a black circle around his face and a black dot on the bridge of his nose, and a streak of black around each wrist. He said to Scar Face, "This is the way the people must paint when they make offerings to me in the sun dance lodge. For the victory or scalp dance they must paint their faces black." The Sun also gave him a necklace, in the center of which were strung two small shells and a pendent lock of hair, flanked on either side by four beads. This is the necklace worn by the husband of the woman owning the natoas. The Sun's lodge was made of white buffalo robes and some the color of beaver skins. The door of the Sun's lodge faced the east. For this reason, tipis were always turned so the doors faced east. Now Scar Face decided to return to the place where Spider waited.

The narrative then proceeds in the usual way, except that the hero calls all the men of the camp to take revenge on the young woman after which he by magic turns her into a cripple.

THE BLOOD AND NORTH BLACKFOOT.

The writer has upon two occasions seen the ground where a Blood sun dance had been held. The dancing lodge, the sweathouse, etc., were still standing and all these were just as noted among the Piegan. The Blood lodge was a little larger, but the Piegan said that it was formerly so with them, they now having very poor timber to work with. We have in addition two brief published accounts of eyewitnesses.¹ The chief difference we could detect was in the secondary dances of the society where the Horns and the Matoki² took a very prominent part. As there are now no such organizations among the Piegan, this gives merely an outward appearance of difference.

The Northern Piegan, as may be expected, also had the same form. As to the North Blackfoot, we have only the statement of other Indians that the sun dance was the same. The Sarsi³ also had the very same form and we may suspect the Kutenai as well. At least, my Piegan informants asserted that the Kutenai had the sun dance from them. The problem here, however, must rest until we have more data, though Hale is of the opinion that the Blackfoot gradually displaced the Kutenai and took over many Plains traits from them.⁴

¹ McLean, *ibid.*, 231-237; McQuesten, *ibid.*, 1169-1177.

² This series, volume 11, 410-418, 430-435.

³ Goddard, Pliny Earle, "Sarsi Texts" (*University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 11, no. 3, Berkeley, 1915), 192-195.

⁴ Hale, H., "On the North-Western Tribes of Canada" (*Report, Fifty-seventh Meeting, British Association for the Advancement of Sciences*, 173-200, London, 1888), 198.

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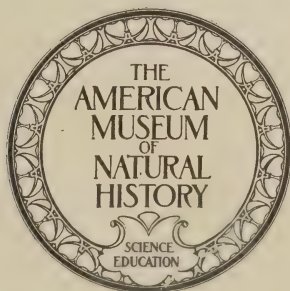
Notes on the Sun Dance of the Sarsi. By Pliny Earle Goddard.

The Sun Dance of the Plains-Cree. By Alanson Skinner.

Notes on the Sun Dance of the Cree in Alberta. By Pliny Earle Goddard.

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NOTES ON THE SUN DANCE OF THE SARSI

BY PLINY EARLE GODDARD

THE SUN DANCE OF THE SARSI

The information here given concerning the Sarsi sun dance was secured in 1905 on a joint expedition for the University of California and the American Museum of Natural History. A fairly complete, if condensed, running account of the sun dance was recorded as a text in Sarsi and has been published.¹ This text is accompanied by word for word translation in English. The text itself was dictated by Eagle-ribs who was probably born about 1840, a younger son of the head chief of the Natsilt'inna, one of the four Sarsi bands. He was a particularly trustworthy informant, highly respected by both whites and Indians. His exploits as a warrior, probably in the Cree rebellion of 1884-1885, entitled him to the first place among the warriors in reciting the coups during the sun dance and on special occasions.

In addition to this text, secured of course without questions or promptings of any sort, the account was considerably amplified by questions, the answers to which were recorded in English. The following account has been put together from the above-mentioned recorded material.

The ceremony² was held when such wild fruits as chokecherries and saskatoon berries were ripe. This would be in late July or early August. It was probably held annually, although the conditions of vowing the dance mentioned below theoretically permit its being held only when a special occasion demanded it.

The place selected was in or near tall timber, not too far from the regular camping place occupied at that season of the year. It was once held on the north side of Elbow River downstream from the wagon-road bridge south of Calgary. Tall timber in the Sarsi country would ordinarily be found only in the neighborhood of a stream.

The structures required for the celebration of the sun dance were the following:—

A sweatlodge was built before work was begun on the sun dance lodge itself and, from the order of the narrative, apparently before the camp was moved to the site chosen for the sun dance. For the building of this sweatlodge one hundred willow³ poles were required. Young men went out on horseback for these and as each one returned with his stick

¹"Sarsi Texts" (*University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. XI, no. 3, Berkeley, 1915), 192-197.

²The Sarsi name, *tsisdai'uwu'*, perhaps refers to the lodge as "twined."

³Willow in Canada is not a very definite term but the comment, "long leaved ones which grow on the river" clearly indicates a *salix*.

he held it up and sang a song. The information indicates that one hundred young men went out, each coming back with a single stick. However, the size of the Sarsi tribe makes it doubtful if this requirement could be literally carried out. The sweatlodge, when built of these poles, was said to be of the size of one standing in the Sarsi camp at the time the information was given. It was therefore not of unusual size. The poles, after being set in the ground, were bent toward the center where their tops were interwoven. After this was done red paint was applied to them. One hundred stones were provided for use in this sweatlodge. To receive them a square hole was excavated.

The dance lodge consisted of a central post or good-sized tree set about four feet into the ground. A circle of forked posts surrounded this central post but a considerable opening was left toward the east. From the forked tops of these encircling posts long poles sloped upward and rested near the top of the center post. Finally, branches, or small trees, with the leaves still on them, were leaned against the outside of the structure. The trees employed for these various parts were poplar.¹

Within the main lodge and directly back of the central post a small enclosure was made for the seclusion of one or more men during the ceremony. This structure was horseshoe-shaped, made of small poplar trees stuck in the ground and left standing straight up, there being no roof except that of the main lodge. The grass within this booth was all removed, the space leveled off and covered with white earth² from the river bank.

A similar lodge was constructed within the dance lodge, just to the north of the one last mentioned, for the use of those who elected to undergo torture. When this lodge was occupied a blanket was hung before the entrance which faced the east. The Sarsi tipis were arranged in a circle around the sun dance lodge. This camp circle was said to be irregular in form and without special order as to the positions occupied by those who camped in it.³ The tipi of the woman and her husband who were giving the sun dance stood to the west of the sun dance lodge and, according to a diagram, practically in the center of the camp circle. Directly north of this tipi stood the lodge of the *likuwa*, dogs; and north of this

¹There are at least two species which are common, a black poplar locally called balm of gilead, and the aspen.

²White leaf mold is probably meant since the notes say the material was not sand or clay.

³At the time this information was secured it was not known that the Sarsi consisted of four separate bands. Therefore, no questions were asked as to the positions of these bands in the camp circle or whether each band camped by itself.

the lodge of the *nagultcosna*, preventers; and sometimes, still further north, the lodge of the *tasgilna*, police. The three societies mentioned preserved order during the sun dance ceremony.¹

The persons who conducted the sun dance and participated in it belonged to several categories more or less unrelated. First of all was the woman on whose initiative the ceremony was held as is related in the published text (p. 193). Some woman whose husband or other close relative was very ill made a vow. She promised to give the sun dance if the person who was ill, recovered. Such a vow would not be taken by a woman whose character was not above reproach. Her appeal to the sun was based on the premise of absolute faithfulness to her husband. If a woman taking such a vow had ever been unfaithful it was believed that her husband would not recover. It may be assumed that the converse would also hold; that is, if the vow were taken and the husband did not recover the presumption would be that the misfortune resulted because the woman's life had not been faultless. Even after the ceremony had taken place any irregularity in her conduct would result in her early death. The vow to give a sun dance and its accomplishment was a marked distinction for the woman concerned. The mother of the interpreter employed, Charlie Crow-chief, had given the sun dance four times, and this fact was mentioned with very great pride.²

Associated with the woman, was her husband, who shared the duties and honors of the occasion. The hair, face, hands, and clothing, including the moccasins of the pair were painted a dark red and remained so during the five days of the ceremony. During four days the couple remained sitting in their tipi without food and drinking only a little water.

A married woman of good character, familiar with the sun dance, was employed to make a prayer and the offering when the buffalo tongues were eaten. Other women who were acquainted with the sun dance were asked to assist in cutting the tongues. The text (p. 193) indicates that the woman who offered the tongue makes a declaration of her complete fidelity, but that the other women did so is not stated.

A middle-aged man spent the four days of the ceremony in the small inner lodge of the sun dance mentioned above. He was required to

¹Compare this series, vol. 11, 467-469.

²She was the wife of the second chief of the *Natsilt'inna*, one of the Sarsi bands.

fast during the ceremony, being allowed a little water but no food. He remained constantly in the enclosure, sleeping there at night and only leaving it for the relieving of urgent calls of nature.¹

An aged man was chosen² to make the prayers at the sweatlodge ceremony and other elderly men were invited to take the sweatbath with him. Eagle-ribs said that he had never been in the sweatlodge on this occasion since he was not old enough to be invited when the sun dance was last given.

Two young men cut the thong with which the nest was secured to the center post. Before doing so they related the circumstances of scalping an enemy and it is to be inferred that they must have such coups to their credit. A statement that they or their relatives paid horses or clothing to those who last performed this duty indicates a transference of this office by purchase.

The warriors of the tribe came into the sun dance lodge daily and recited their exploits,³ acting them out with the aid of their wives.

Young men who had taken vows to do so underwent torture during the ceremony. It is stated that in a crisis, when in danger on the war-path or at other times when help was needed, a young man would take a solemn vow that if his petitions were answered he would permit himself to be "tied up" at the next celebration of the sun dance.

The men who prepared these candidates for the torture and who assisted them must themselves have been tied up on a previous occasion.

The young men who brought in the material for the sweatlodge have been referred to above. They were rewarded for this service by a special participation in the feast of the buffalo tongues.

Those assembled for the celebration were policed or directed by two or three of the Sarsi societies, the placing of whose tipis has been mentioned above. The same informant, in 1911, when asked about the various societies, denied that it was the duty of anyone of them to bring in the center post.

The objects employed in the ceremony are only incidentally mentioned. As far as noted, they are the following:—

The "bundle" of the Sarsi sun dance may be referred to in the text (p. 193) where it is said "they give them (the vower of the dance and her

¹The words of the text are not quite clear in regard to the number of men occupying the enclosure. Supplementary notes indicate that there was only one man. Big-plume was said to be the only Sarsi living in 1905 who had performed this office.

²"They pick out some old man each time; there is no name for him," was the comment. "They, the woman and her relatives, give him something, horses."

³Such men rank as chiefs according to Sarsi estimation.

husband) the first sun dance clothes." The hat or hats are referred to in the text; and a cane painted red is hung with the hats behind the couple in their tipi during the four days they spend in fasting. The hat is described as being made of large plumes. The husband, it is stated, has only a crow's tail tied to the side of his head. This may or may not be taken in a sense which excludes the possession of a regular ceremonial hat. The cane, if a woman's, would be identical with the digging stick, both being called *tis*; it is very probable the same implement served the double purpose. The mother of Charlie Crow-chief gave her dress, perhaps the entire bundle, to a daughter of George Hudson, government interpreter for many years on the Sarcee Reservation.

One hundred buffalo tongues were required for offerings and for a feast. Many offerings were made of clothing, cloth, moccasins, and similar objects, which were attached to the center post and other parts of the lodge. Drums and hollow bone whistles were used throughout the ceremony. Pipes were in constant demand as accompaniments of the numerous prayers which were offered from day to day.

It would appear from the accounts that the sun dance itself had a duration of seven days, three days for the construction of the lodge and four days for the ceremony itself. This period evidently does not include the day devoted to the building of the sweatlodge and to the sweatlodge ceremony. It was at first supposed that the sweatlodge ceremony directly preceded the construction of the sun dance lodge, but a careful interpretation of the text narrative indicates that the sweatlodge was built before the camp moved to the site chosen for the sun dance.

The first day is called *tsisda'uwa sinnis*, "sun dance day." This is the day on which the forked posts and the long poles are cut and brought to the place chosen for the lodge. On the second day the center post is cut, brought to the site, and erected. It is called *iwus natsitditsa sinnis*, "legs stuck up its day." This indicates that the material gathered on the first is not put in place until the second day. The third day is called *nitsidinila sinnis*, "they finish building day," when the branches are all up around the outside of the lodge. The fourth day is called *kukacina sinnis*, "they go in day." On that and the following days the ceremonies proper take place.¹ Although the narrative and notes are not clear it may be inferred that the "givers of the dance" fast and are in control for five days, one of which precedes those named above and

¹A note says there was one day for the sweatlodge and four for the dance.

during which the sweatlodge is built. The four days during which the man fasts in the inner booth must date from the completion of the dance lodge and continues three days at least after the last day assigned a name above. However, the last day of the fast of the givers and the first day of the fast of the secluded man may coincide.

The activities of the ceremony given briefly by Eagle-ribs are as follows:—

A woman of good character, capable of giving the sun dance vowed that she would give the ceremony in case her husband or other relative who was sick recovered. Some time in advance of the season for the sun dance, buffalo were hunted and one hundred tongues secured and stored in parfleches. When the time had arrived, young men went out on horseback and brought in one hundred small willow poles with which a dome-shaped sweatlodge was constructed. This had its doorway facing east. An old man, familiar with the proper prayers, was invited to conduct the sweatbath ceremonies in which other old men were invited to participate.

The woman who was giving the sun dance and her husband, were seated outside the sweatlodge, opposite its entrance. A young man, their attendant, came to them, for a pipe which he held ready filled while the chosen old man offered a prayer.¹ The young man then took the pipe to a nearby fire, lighted it, and returned it to the old man who conducted the ceremonial smoke. The sweatlodge was then covered with blankets and the hot stones passed in and deposited in the square excavation provided for them. A vessel of water with a dipper was also taken into the sweatlodge. Four dipperfuls of water were poured over the hot stones, songs sung, and prayers offered. About twenty prayers were recited during the sweatbathing ceremony.

Following the construction of the sweatlodge and the sweatbathing the buffalo tongues were distributed to those present. The young men who had supplied the material for the sweatlodge are especially mentioned as included in the feast. Before the feast one of the tongues was given to a virtuous woman by her husband. She held this tongue toward the sky and said: "Pity me my father, I have lived faithfully with my husband." She and her husband afterward ate the offered tongue.

The details of the securing of the center post are omitted in the text of the sun dance. It is described as having been brought to the site of the lodge and suspended by ropes, held on either side by mounted men.

¹Probably while seated in the sweatlodge.

The tree was not allowed to touch the earth while it was being brought in. It was raised to its position by means of pairs of poles lashed together at their tops. Before being raised, however, a nest of small willows "like a hawk's nest" was built. A buffalo skin was spread on the ground with its head toward the east. On this robe two young men sat while their relatives brought horses, clothing, and articles for offerings. The young men stood up with their knives in their hands and related how they had scalped Cree, their enemies. Drums were beaten and songs sung for them. They then proceeded to cut the buffalo skin into one long line with which the nest was securely lashed into place in the crotch of the tree which was to be the center post. The tail of the buffalo, left on one end of the long thong, hung down from the nest and to it a small nest was attached. Horses and clothing brought in by the relatives of the young men were given to the men who had cut the buffalo skin during the last preceding celebration. Considerable quantities of clothing, cloth, and similar objects were brought and attached to the nest and to the center post itself. When such an offering was brought a filled pipe was passed to some old man sitting by who prayed before the offering was made. At any time during the ceremony additional offerings could be brought. These were raised by means of poles and deposited in the nest or hung to some part of the lodge. One might climb up on the outside of the lodge, sit on the nest, say a prayer, and leave his offering. Mothers in particular were accustomed to offer the small, out-grown moccasins of their children.

The details of the ceremony proper are meager. The man who was secluded in the sun lodge arose whenever the drums were beaten, blew his whistle, and danced. When the drumming and singing ceased he again seated himself. It may be inferred that this dancing and singing was fairly continuous during certain portions of the day. It is mentioned that on various days different companies of men came in and danced. There is nothing, however, to indicate that these dances belonged to definite societies. About midday of each day the chiefs and warriors entered the lodge. They recited and acted out their exploits. Their wives brought them food which they ate while the less distinguished looked on.

If young men had taken vows to undergo torture the ordeal took place earlier in the morning. Not more than two men were "tied up" on any one day. They entered the enclosure prepared for them, divesting themselves of their clothing, except their breechcloths. Fillets of sage¹ were placed about their heads, ankles, and their wrists. Their

¹The Sarsi name given, *Putcidicaie*, "herb gray," is used of *Artemisia ludoviciana*, Nutt., a sage.

bodies were rubbed with a white clay. In addition to the breechcloths already mentioned, they wore belts and had whistles suspended about their necks.

When so adorned they came out into the main lodge and lay down on their backs on robes spread for them. Men chosen for the purpose, who themselves had undergone the ordeal, then proceeded to attach the thongs. The breasts of each young man were kneaded and he was asked whether the cut should be deep or shallow. The reply was always interpreted opposite to the words spoken. If the young man said "shallow" it was known that he wished a deep cut. The skin and flesh were drawn up and a cut made entirely through. In this a small stick was thrust. The attendant then went to the center post where two ropes hung from the top. These he secured with a loop, one over the stick in each breast.

The young men then arose, approached the post and, embracing it, offered a silent prayer. When they had prayed they came to their dancing position, looked up and crossed their arms four times on their breasts. They then pulled at the ropes jerking out and elongating the loops of skin. The singing then began and the young men danced toward the east and then toward the west going through a semicircle on the north side of the post so that they constantly faced the sun. They blew on their whistles and leaned back as they danced. If after long dancing they did not succeed in breaking the loop of skin their attendants took them by the shoulders, jerked them back, and tore the skin loose. The broken pieces of skin were cut free and placed as an offering at the base of the post by the man who cut the breasts and attached the thongs. The length of a man's life was believed to be proportional to the time consumed in dancing before the skin tore away.

When the four days were ended the camp circle was broken and the Indians moved away leaving the sun dance lodge with its offerings intact.

SWEATLODGE PRAYERS

Eagle-ribs, the informant, was able to give examples of some of the prayers used in the ceremony. In several instances, however, he was unable to furnish them because he himself had never performed the particular duty, or had not heard the prayers offered by others. It is not probable that the exact phraseology is prescribed. In fact many of the prayers are probably extemporized. These given below however are no doubt thoroughly typical.

1

Old man, father, may I be a person favored with a long and happy life. Have pity on me, father. May I live long on the earth and become an old man. May I live to see the hot sun rise, and may I experience happiness from you. May this woman with her husband reach old age. They have made your house and given you these tongues to eat.

2

Mother, pity me and all these people. Pity me. May I see you, whenever you appear as a full moon, for a long time. Oh! old woman, my mother, grant that my days may be long and happy. Pity me, my mother. Permit me to acquire property. Oh! old woman may I live to be old, together with my relatives.

3

Oh, old man, help me. A sweatlodge has been made for you. Oh, old man, a sweatlodge has been made for you, that you may help me. Help those who have given this sweatlodge and grant that they may become old men. Help me that I may again hear the thunder and voices of the birds. May I live happily here under the enclosing sky. Oh, father, pity me. May I live long on this island which you have made. Oh, my father, let my days continue to the end. Pity me, give me something to eat. Father, I am poor. Pity me and give me something.

It may be of interest to include here the "coups" of Eagle-ribs as dictated by him, probably in the form in which he was accustomed to recite them in the sun dance lodge.

The two tribes, Blackfoot and Sarsi, went to fight the Cree who had built and were occupying a fort. During the fight a Cree was seen lying (dead). Then I with a Blackfoot old man caught hold of the body. I tore one side of his scalp and stabbed him in the back many times, while I was stabbing him with a knife the Cree were shooting at me but they did not hit me. On this account I am called a chief.

When I was over there, there were camps in two places. Three of us were going along in advance. I saw them coming toward us. We came back just as they were finishing putting up the lodges. I called to them: "They are coming toward us." Notwithstanding this we hurried with the setting up of a tipi and charged them. A Cree man threw his wife on a horse, but while his horse was running young men came up to her and killed her. My brothers and I killed her husband. I caught the man's scalp just as he fell and tore off one side of it. I stabbed him in the back with a knife only twice. This we did at that time.

I went to war over there. There were only ten of us and I went ahead at night. A Cree had captured my brother's horse and overtook us while riding it. He perhaps thought we were Cree. We hid in front of him. He tied his horse and advanced with his gun. I had a quiver over my shoulder. As he walked toward us we charged him. He ran back where his horse was tied. I was running in advance of the others. Not being able to mount without turning his back to me, he let the horse go and turned around to shoot at me, although I was then running close toward him. I was about to grab hold of him when he turned and ran. He did not shoot me although I was still

pursuing him. Meantime one of the others, a Blackfoot, mounted the captured horse he had abandoned and chased him with it. The Blackfoot's gun did not go off and the Cree ran again. The Blackfoot rode at him again, but again the gun failed to go off. The Cree ran again. When the Blackfoot caught up with him he tried again to shoot him but the gun did not go off. He charged the Cree who dodged behind the horse so he could not be shot. Then the Cree ran out under the horse's neck. The Blackfoot shot the Cree and hit him in the hip. When the Blackfoot ran up to him with his knife, the Cree also drew a knife, and the Blackfoot ran from him. The Cree ran on and the Blackfoot picked up a stone and chased him with it. Just as he threw the stone the Cree turned again. The stone missed him and he ran on. The Blackfoot sat down and I chased the Cree alone. When I overtook him I shot him through the back with an arrow. I shot all the nine arrows that were in my quiver. They were all gone and the Cree was not dead. He was holy (charmed). I caught hold of his gun which he held in his hand as he sat there and threw him on his back with it. Then he lay on the ground.

THE SUN DANCE OF THE PLAINS-CREE

BY ALANSON SKINNER

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THE SUN DANCE OF THE PLAINS-CREE

The so-called "sun dance" is termed *Nipagwêtcimun*, or "Abstaining From Water Dance" by the Plains-Cree since the host and the participators fasted and denied themselves drink throughout the performance. The title "sun dance" is a misnomer as applied to the Cree ceremony, for the function was devoted particularly to the thunder, or to one of the other important gods, especially *Gitce Manitu*. Dr. Goddard informs me that this is practically identical with the data which he secured among Cree bands farther to the west (p. 306).

The ceremony, before it was prohibited by the Canadian Government, was regarded as a locally annual one, and, according to my informants at the Round Lake Reserve, it could only be given by a man who had dreamed of the thunder and was a supplication for rain for the public benefit and for long life for the maker.¹

Miss Amelia Paget² states:—

[that the ceremony] was primarily a thank-offering to the Great Spirit, Kichie Manitou, for the re-awakening of all nature after the silence of winter. It was a time for the making of braves, or, rather, an opportunity for the test of courage and endurance; it was a time for mourning their dead, and a time of petitions through their Pow-wah-kuns (dream guardians) for future blessings and love.

Most of these concepts were apparently present in the minds of the Cree whom the writer visited, but Mr. Robert Jefferson of the Canadian Indian service, referring to the Cree of Red Pheasant Reserve, Saskatchewan, gives conflicting testimony (p. 306)

The dance is projected during the fall or winter previous, and is the result of a promise, made in sickness or trouble, or may be an endeavor to secure some favor from the Powers Unknown. The same idea actuates the dancers.

This more closely resembles the Blackfoot concept, and, as has been stated, is not substantiated by the data of Miss Paget, Dr. Goddard, or the writer, except with regard to the individual dancers, who often vowed that they would take part and undergo the torture of fasting or mutilation.

When an Indian decides to give a *Nipagwêtcimun* he prays to the Great Spirit and offers him the pipe, asking his blessing on the project. Next the Indian prays to his dream guardian and offers the pipe to it. He tells his intentions and begs favor, adding a prayer for long life. As a

¹A brief account of the Cree sun dance is given in F. E. Peeso, "The Cree Indians" (*Museum Journal, University of Pennsylvania*, September, 1912, 50-57) presumably referring to the Montana Cree. The same group have held the dance at Pryor, on the Crow Reservation, and at Havre, Montana (Humphreys, J. Lee, *Twenty Years Among Our Hostile Indians*, [New York, 1902], 333).

²*People of the Plains*, (Toronto, 1909), 29.

matter of fact, it is generally known some time ahead that so-and-so intends to give a sun dance, and thus there is no chance of conflict in case some other person should be inspired to do the same thing.

Mr. Jefferson remarks:—

Certain persons only undertake to “make” a dance, those whose dreams or spiritual acquirements warrant them in assuming the great responsibility it entails. And they must be males. Until quite proficient the “maker” associates himself with one more expert, and the two are called “makers.” Or a single person may do it.

The ceremony takes place early in June; there are a number of places that are famous grounds. These are situated on high gravelly ridges, well drained, and suitable for camping. Such places are used



Fig. 1. Sun Dance Structure. Round Lake.

season after season, or were, until the Canadian Government began to prohibit this and other Indian ceremonies. When the appointed time drew near messengers were sent bearing pipes and tobacco to the host's tribesmen, telling them the time appointed and the place fixed upon. The invited guests would then migrate to the spot and erect their lodges in a great circle in the center of which the dance was to be held.

When the guests had arrived, and the appointed day was at hand, it was announced through the camp by a crier that the time had come to cut the central pole. Only the *okitcatau* were eligible for the function of finding it. They set forth to seek it as though they were stalking the

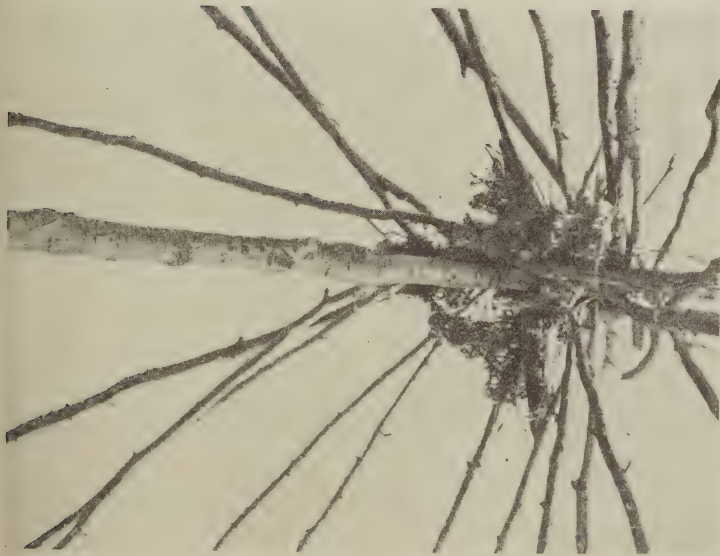
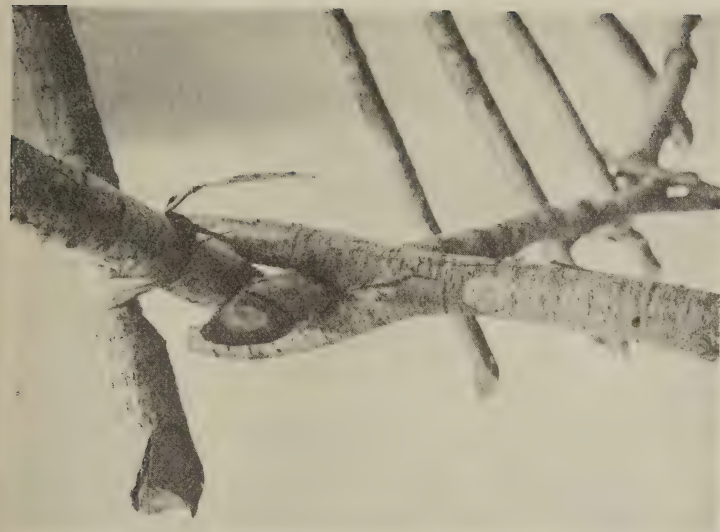


Fig. 2. The "Thunderers' Rest" surmounting the Central Pole of the Cree Sun Dance Lodge.
 Fig. 3. Detail of Construction of Cree Sun Dance Lodge, showing Bark Lashings, Round Lake Reserve.

enemy and when they had selected a suitable pole they reported back to the camp. The others then went forth, carrying four guns and four axes in the party. When they arrived at the selected tree, the party halted, and a fire was made by the elders. A sweetgrass smudge was prepared for incense, the pipe was lighted and offered to the Great Spirit, and his blessing on the procedure was asked. Then the pipe was offered to the tree itself with these words:— "We want you to side with us to beg for favor from the Great Spirit."

The pole was then cut and when it tottered preparatory to falling, four volleys were fired. The branches were then trimmed off and left behind and the pole was lifted off the ground and carried in.¹ When the site for the sun dance lodge (Fig. 1) was reached, a hole was dug and the pole set up with prayer and singing. This was to be the center of the lodge. Mr. Jefferson says that when the pole is placed upright, "the master of ceremonies may be hauled up with it, seated in a 'nest' at the top," but the writer failed to get any information on this point.

Crotched poles were set up in a large circle; on these other poles were horizontally placed, these in turn upheld the roof beams which met at the center pole (see Fig. 2). All lashings were accomplished with bark (see Fig. 3). At the top of the pole was a bunch of twigs made to represent the thunderers' nest. Two doors were left at the sides. At the north end an altar was constructed by cutting away the sod, making a bare spot about two feet square, and two inches deep. Behind this was placed a buffalo skull, painted, and with the eyes and nostrils stuffed with dry grass. The host sat behind this, on either side of him were rows of booths made of boughs. These were about four feet high and are divided into little individual compartments for worshippers (see Fig. 4). Miss Paget says:²

The roof was also made of poles covered over with the green branches of the trees.

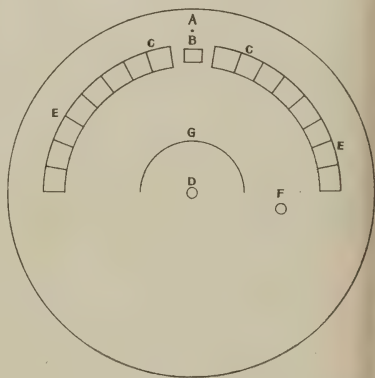


Fig. 4. Plan of Cree Sun Dance Lodge, *a*, host; *b*, altar; *c-c*, booths; *d*, center pole; *e-e*, galleries; *f*, drum; *g*, torture dancers.

¹Miss Paget (32) says that the tree was dragged into camp by ropes and there shorn of its branches.

²Miss Paget, 33.

In the inside fully half, or even three-quarters, of the north side of the lodge was divided off into numerous small compartments by short posts set in the ground, with a lattice work of thongs around each. All the spaces would be filled by a basket-work of green boughs, but in each cell or compartment was a small opening, just large enough to permit a person to crawl in. These openings were at the back of the cells facing the large space left in the lodge. . . . Around the opening at the top of each ran a piece of rawhide thong to give strength to the structure, but this was usually hidden by the green leaves and branches forming the basket-work.

Behind the booths was an open space or gallery for spectators. The outside of the lodge was hung with tenting to shut it off from the world. In the northeast of the lodge was a drum, surrounded by a group of singers who kept up a general chorus. The booth dancers performed two days and two nights, fasting all the time and dancing at intervals. They looked constantly skywards, and blew on little bone whistles as they "danced" that is, bent their knees without lifting their feet.

When the ceremony was about to commence the dancers took their places and the host made a sweetgrass smudge on the altar, and from that time on no one was permitted to pass this sacred spot. The host then prayed to the Great Spirit, again beseeching long life, rain, and his blessing on the ceremony. Last of all he addressed a prayer to the pole. He turned his pipestem to all four points of the compass, up and down, and burned sweetgrass in all four corners of the altar that all the gods might be appeased, and concluded by burying a small piece of tobacco in each corner of the altar for the same purpose. Offerings of calicoes and other gifts were then hung up, "thrown away," as a sacrifice to the powers, and the dance proper commenced. The drumming and singing started and the fasters in the booths suddenly stood erect and began to blow their whistles. At intervals there was a lull, but they soon started again. These dancers usually had as a motive the desire to gain the mediation of the gods for a sick relative or friend. Others danced in fulfillment of a vow made when some person was sick on a previous occasion.

The motives of those who tortured themselves were different. In the most ancient times, according to Four-clouds (Kanewûsk'wûtham), who tried to give the sun dance in 1911, no torturing was undergone; later, it was an invariable feature. Although some underwent the pain to cure sick friends or in fulfillment of a vow, others took part merely to show their bravery. The Rev. Dr. Hugh Mackay of the Round Lake Mission says that one of his pupils, a boy of sixteen, danced for the following reason. His brother had two wives, one of whom was the daughter of a chief. The wives quarreled and the chief's daughter was killed. Her father vowed that he would slay her husband. When a

little later, the chief gave a sun dance, it was to his honor to get as many dancers as possible to undergo the torture, and the youth, brother of his son-in-law, offered to submit if the chief would spare his brother's life. His offer was accepted.

Those who were to submit to the torture came forward during the dance and presented themselves to the host, who called on certain medicinemen who were present. These men pinched up the flesh in two places on the breast, slit it with a knife, ran in wooden skewers, and made them fast to thongs attached to the central pole. The dancers flung themselves back, tugged, whistled, and gazed skyward. They stayed for "one pipe" in this position according to Four-clouds. The Rev. Hugh Mackay made the period between five and ten minutes. Some fainted, and were cut down, disgraced. No effort was made to tear loose, but if this occurred, as sometimes accidentally happened, the person was instantly freed. During the torture the sufferers wept and prayed continually.

Outside the lodge men made the entire circuit of the camp trailing several buffalo skulls attached by thongs and skewers to their backs or arms, or with several guns carried in the same manner. Some, apparently those who had dreamed of horses, would make their steeds fast also, and would try to lead the horses, fastened by thongs made fast to skewers in their backs, into the lodge and around it. As the horses balked, reared, and pranced, when frightened by the drums and the people, the Indians thought this an exceedingly painful test.

Miss Paget¹ says that no one ever boasted of his deeds of torture in the sun dance though others often talked of them. She adds:—

The women also underwent certain forms of torture, and these, too, required a great deal of courage. These self sacrifices on the part of the women were, properly speaking, memorial offerings for the departed ones. The woman who wished to undergo this suffering had her arms from the elbow down, slashed with cuts from a sharp knife; this was also done by the medicine men. In the case of the women, the torture was inflicted after they had taken part in the dance. Some women, and men also would have their hair cut short, as a memorial for their dead. As every Indian was proud of his hair, these offerings, though painless, required great self-sacrifice.

During the time the sun dance was in progress, any Indian taking part gave to the spirits of his departed friends, according to his means, offerings which were hung upon the trees or poles for three or more days, after which lapse of time, they were taken away by friends of the donors, if they wished to appropriate them. It was a real gift, as they never resumed them. In this interval of two or three days, it was held that the spirits had used them fully, and after that time they might fairly be taken and utilized by the living.

¹Miss Paget, 38.

She adds that these offerings at this time were voluntary on the part of the donors and not demanded by custom. The Cree at Round Lake assured the writer that sacrificed objects should never be touched by anyone. If they were disturbed, disaster would overtake the culprit. The sun dance seems to have lasted four days and nights, in former days, but now two days and two nights is the usual limit. Jefferson says the time was optional with the maker and gives the time as one or two nights.¹

¹The following note appears in the *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute* (Toronto, vol. XXIV, 1888), 40:—

Mr. T. B. Browning had seen one of these Sun dances by the Crees, a very large one. There were no less than ten or twelve chiefs and about 140 tepees. The ceremonies were substantially the same as those described by Mr. McLean [for the Blood]. He saw four undergoing the torture. They were smeared with a white chalk clay. When strung up they rested wholly on the heel, and skipping round described about the third of a circle, the chiefs cheering them on. He witnessed another ceremony at the same time, that of adoption. A medicine man brought forward a little girl, crossed his hands over her, took her from her mother and handed her over to the man who adopted her. His informant, a half breed, told him that the medicine man called upon the gods to witness the rite.

NOTES ON THE SUN DANCE OF THE CREE IN ALBERTA

By PLINY EARLE GODDARD

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THE SUN DANCE OF THE CREE OF ALBERTA

While engaged in collecting ethnological specimens among the Plains-Cree near Battleford, Saskatchewan, in June, 1911, information was received that a sun dance was soon to be held near Hobbema, Alberta. Since there was nothing to prevent, plans were made to witness the ceremony. A Cree-speaking driver was secured at Wetaskiwin and the place of the dance, four miles southeast of the Hobbema railroad station, was reached about 6:30 p.m. Monday, June 19th.

A considerable number of tipis and tents were already arranged in a large circle. At one time 120 tipis and tents were counted, but the number varied from time to time as parties arrived or departed. Each band was grouped by itself in a sector of the circle. The site to be occupied by the sun dance lodge was indicated by a small tree lying on the ground. The tipi of the givers of the dance, two men, was in the center of the circle. It consisted of two tipi covers united to form one large lodge.

When we arrived a "tea dance" was in progress on the south side of and beyond the camp circle. At about 10:00 p.m. certain old men gathered in the tipi of the dance givers where the drum was heard until after midnight. About 4:00 the next morning, Tuesday, a crier went around the circle and a gun was fired. At 6:00 the crier went around again, this time threatening to use his stick if the people did not get up. A quarter of an hour later a number of men gathered near the tipi of the givers of the dance and formed a semicircle. A few minutes after they were charged by about eight older men who rushed in from the bushes with poplar branches in their hands. Those who had taken up their position in the semicircle grabbed up branches lying ready in a pile and pretended to repel the attack. The contest lasted only a few minutes.

At a quarter past eight a mounted crier began making circuits around the camp on the inside of the circle. His white horse had a disk of feathers tied to his tail and was painted on his hips with a blue disk and on his shoulders with designs among which a cross was noted. A second man, to whose horse bells were attached, rode behind him. They continued in sunwise circuits around the camp until a large number of horsemen had joined them.

Five small poplar trees were stood up on a small knoll within the camp circle on the east side where a fire was kindled. The tambourines warmed at this fire were beaten and the horsemen rode in sunwise circles

around the knoll. A prayer was said and the old men, one or two at a time, danced between the trees. The chief of the Protestant band of the tribe, Samson, addressed those present urging them to build the sun dance lodge well and not to ride their horses recklessly.



Fig. 1. Horsemen at Sun Dance, Plains-Cree.



Fig. 2. Horsemen setting out to bring the Material for the Sun Dance Lodge, Hobbema, Alberta.

The younger men then rode off in a body to the southeast to secure the tree which was to form the center post of the lodge.

At 9:30, a man, one of the two giving the sun dance, came from the east carrying four banners of white cloth, two in each hand, one above the other. The staffs of the lower two of them at least were used as canes. He wore only a breechcloth. Having encircled his tipi sunwise he paused at the rear and entered.

While the younger men were after the center post the older men were engaged in beating the tambourine, singing, praying, and exchanging presents of blankets.

At 10:00 an old man made a formal announcement and a few of the older men proceeded to mark out the circumference of the circle to be occupied by the sun dance lodge, using small sticks for the purpose. Gun shots were heard at about this time from the direction that the men had gone for the tree.

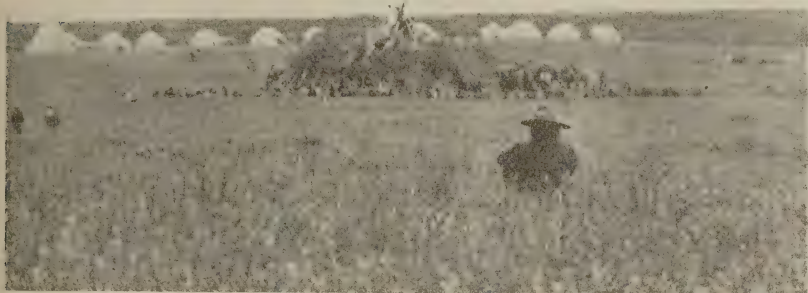


Fig. 3. Sun Dance Lodge, Hobbema, Alberta.

At a quarter past ten an old man called for knives to be brought with which the hole was dug to receive the main post of the lodge. The man standing in the hole had his hips level with the ground when the hole was completed. At half past ten the old men were seated¹ singing, accompanied by tambourines. The large tree for the center post was brought in at 10:40 by eighty men. The tree was brought in top foremost. Two long branches had been left near its top. When it had been brought to its place it was left resting on braces so that the top of the tree was about nine feet above the ground. The horsemen, who had brought in the tree, immediately rode around the old men and sat on their horses while there was singing and praying. At 10:50 the company returned to the site chosen for the lodge.

At 11:10 an old man rode part way around the circuit telling the girls and married women to get ready to go for the building material. He told them not to be afraid to do so since their men were not permitted to be jealous on this occasion. The men rode around the camp circle,

¹Evidently on the knoll mentioned above but the notes do not state so definitely.

the girls falling in behind them on horseback. These young people began coming back with the smaller material to be used for the sun dance lodge at about 12:35. For the most part the girls were by themselves but in a few instances a girl and boy were riding double on the same horse. Some of the trees were dragged in tied behind wagons. The posts used for the outside of the structure were brought in by older men.

The outer posts were in place at 12:55. On these posts poles were placed horizontally to form a plate. An opening was left toward the south¹ and another opposite, toward the north.

A nest was made of green branches and placed in the tree which was to form the center post while it still rested on its supports.

The herald rode around the circuit at 2:15. Two men put cloth on the nest and on the trunk of the tree below the nest as well as on the rafters for the upper third of their lengths. One of these men wore only a breechcloth while the other had on a blanket in addition. The center post was raised at 4:40 by means of two pairs of poles tied together near their tops, and six ropes attached to the post itself. The rafters were then pushed up from the plate to the nest, supported at the inner ends during the process by means of poles tied to form shears. Large quantities of brush were then leaned on the outside of the lodge inclosing it, except on the south. The rafters were not covered, leaving the roof open to the sky.² At one time during the dance, however, pieces of canvas were placed over the lower part of the roof.

About 9:00 that evening two men wearing only breechcloths came out of the dance giver's tipi carrying buffalo skulls which they held to their breasts. After standing for a moment they went slowly around the sun dance lodge crying as they walked. They were followed by two older men who also cried.³ According to an informant,⁴ a man who had fasted ten days came carrying banners during the evening. He was met at the entrance of the sun dance lodge and a series of little fires were built on which incense was put. The last of these was near the back of the lodge by the altar where the man warmed himself. The man "came to begin the dancing." The same informant said a man brought a bundle, from which two sticks projected, out of the dance giver's tipi

¹The openings were first assumed to be east and west and were so recorded. Afterwards it was noticed that the entrance of the lodge was south, admitting the noonday sun. It will be noted that the ceremony coincided in its time with the summer solstice.

²This was said to be a Blackfoot style of lodge, the first to be built at this place. The old type was covered with skin lodge covers which were left on the sun dance lodge as an offering.

³Events from six to nine were not observed, but were reported by a white man, a camping companion.

⁴Mr. Crandall, son-in-law of Ermineskin, the older of the two chiefs.

and placed it by the altar as soon as it was completed. Shortly after nine a drum summoned the dancers who took their places. The drumming and, presumably the dancing, continued all night with intervals of rest.

Wednesday morning about 8:30 one of the dance givers passed our camping place. He did not look up or around. He carried banners on both sides of himself.¹

When the lodge was visited the internal arrangements could be observed. At the back of the lodge was an altar. A buffalo skull rested on a cushion of red cloth. On either side a row of canes stood in the ground, their tops bent over like shepherd crooks and tied down. On both sides on the outer sides of the canes were two small frames. The skull was placed with its nose towards the center post.² The nose and eye sockets of the skull were said to be stuffed with sage. At one time six men were counted on the west side of the altar and three on the east. At least one of those on the west and the three on the east were naked and painted yellow. One of them had a fillet about his head resting low on his forehead. There was white paint on his face through which his brown skin was showing.

On the center post, on the side facing the entrance was painted a thunderbird in blue. Above the thunderbird was a crescent. Banners were displayed by the center post upon which were also painted thunderbirds and the figure of a man. A fire was being maintained south of the center post and two small ones by the base of the post on either side. On these small fires incense was sprinkled occasionally. The chorus was seated on the west side of the center post forming an oval and facing each other. They were all elderly men. They beat the drum, shook rattles, and sang. It was said that in former times these drummers ate buffalo tongues when they were hungry.

On either side of the altar, running well toward the entrance, were barriers built of sticks and brush. The men dancers occupied the west side and the part of the east side next to the altar. On the east side near the entrance were seven women, one of whom stood some distance from the others and nearer the entrance. Two of the men dancers on the east side wore masks. One of these appeared to be of cloth or buckskin and was painted gray. On the last day of the dance a woman appeared twice, wearing a mask which resembled a cat's head. This barrier came

¹We were told he was simply returning from the bushes.

²It was said that when the skull was being placed one man held it and another sighted by the main post in order to line it up precisely.

about to the waist of the dancers when they were standing. When the singing began all of the dancers arose and moved their bodies up and down, looking up and blowing on the whistles. As soon as the songs ended they sat down, disappearing from view. The singing and dancing re-occurred at frequent intervals during the day and night. These dancers were said to endure the ordeal without food and with water only in case rain fell during the ceremony. Women, probably relatives, were seen passing food through the walls of the lodge to certain of the dancers. One of the dancing women appeared to be heavy with child. An old man told the interpreter that the dancers see their spirits in the center post and that the post itself moves up and down while the spirits dance around it.

Once during the day several men came in together carrying in their arms wood for the fire. The leader had a poplar branch in his hand. They danced just as they entered and again by the fire on the south. One by one they threw the entire armfuls of wood on the fire. An attendant removed most of the wood. Later one man came in by himself, counted his coups, and threw a stick on the fire for each coup. There was general laughter at one of these recitals. Most of this wood was afterward removed.

During Wednesday night it rained very hard and little drumming was heard. Sufficient rain was caught with a canvas stretched over the dancers so that they were able to drink.

Thursday morning about 9:15 Samson and a band of old men came from the southeast. They stopped about one hundred yards from the sun dance lodge and danced, shouting occasionally. They then entered the lodge going to the fire behind the post. Several of the old men talked, apparently concerning their exploits. After all had spoken they circled the post, dancing. One elderly man faced the entrance and talked about selling the reservation. Samson, the chief, made a speech and then the dancers came out from behind their barrier and danced, standing in a circle, but not moving around. The women came in through the entrance and stood on the west side. About 10:20 the dancers returned to their regular places and the ordinary dancing was resumed. Later, Ermineskin's band came in and related their exploits. The chief spoke first, telling how he had captured a gun. During the fight he was in a rifle pit and saw a gun sticking out of another pit occupied by a Blackfoot. He grabbed the gun and was pulled into the pit. He cut the Blackfoot with his knife and escaped, taking the gun with him.

One of the men made a joke about himself for the amusement of those present. Ermineskin's band then went outside to the west and gave away property. Currency was attached to sticks. These bills were pulled off one at a time and presented to different individuals. Ermineskin and his band then danced west of the lodge and a second time south of it. The movement was a violent jumping about.

A boy rode a horse into the lodge where it was given away. The man giving it stood with his family before the tree to the south. He prayed a long time and very rapidly. Before the prayer coals were placed at the base of the center pole and incense was put on them.

The surrounding tribes, Cree, Stoney (Assiniboin), Sarsi, and Black-foot were represented by invited guests. The chiefs or leaders of these bands were given presents which they distributed to their followers. These gifts consisted largely of clothing. It was remarked that the women hosts had divested themselves of their last petticoats in order to make presents to their guests. Food was served each day about noon.

The dancing ceased and the celebration terminated about 4:00 p. m. It had been the former practice merely to leave the lodge with its offerings intact. It was said, however, that in other years some of the offerings had been taken by white people.¹ It was therefore the intention to take down the offerings and carry them to the timber where they would be again hung up.

Very little was learned about the sun dance except what could be directly seen or inferred. The man employed as a driver and interpreter was able to speak Cree but he was living in town, as a white man, and knew little about the ceremony. He seemed to have few acquaintances among those present. On arriving, advances were made to the elderly chief who was then assumed to be the only one or at least the most important chief. Later it was learned that the ceremony was being given by the Protestant band of which the younger man, Samson, was chief. By that time he was already alienated by the unintended slight and could not be won over to a thoroughly friendly attitude.

From what was observed and the few comments obtained, it seems that the sun dance, while outwardly not differing markedly from that of the tribes further south, in its underlying conceptions is quite different. The dance is given by one or two men upon whom it is made incumbent by a dream. These men undergo a prolonged fast. There

¹The sisters from the school had taken the new cloth and made it into clothing for their charges, was the report.

was no evidence of a woman connected with the ceremony who had taken a vow to give it. The main feature seemed to be the prolonged dancing of the men and women who tax their endurance to the utmost. As a result, they came to see visions in which spirits, their own or ones bearing certain relations to them, are *en rapport* with the center post which itself comes to life. The ceremony itself is locally known not as the sun dance but as a thirst dance. It seems to be held in part for the purpose of inducing rain. Nothing transpired to indicate any relation to the sun but all the information indicated that thunder was the deity concerned to whom the offerings are also devoted.

Mr. Robert Jefferson has kindly contributed the following account of the sun dance of the Plains-Cree as observed on Red Pheasant Reserve, Saskatchewan:—

The dance to which white men have given this name is peculiar to the Plains Indians, though it is now being adopted, with alterations, by the inhabitants of the wooded country to the north. It is known among the Cree by a name which means "denying-one's-self-water," in the same way as "fasting" is denying one's self food. Also, though the pantheon of the Indian is indiscriminatingly inclusive, the sun seems to have been neglected. So, how the sun dance acquired the name is a mystery. The booth of the sun dance is the temple of the thunder; the dance itself is a locally annual ceremony of supplication and thanksgiving.

Certain persons only, undertake to "make" a dance, those whose dreams or spiritual acquirements warrant them in assuming the great responsibility it entails. And they must be males. Until quite proficient, the "maker" associates with himself one or more experts and the two are named as "makers," or a single person may do it. But each has some side lines in which he slightly differs in ceremonial from the others.

The dance is projected during the fall or winter previous and is the result of a promise, made in sickness or trouble, or may be an endeavor to secure some favor from the Powers Unknown. The same idea actuates the dancers. They vow to dance for whichever time they choose, one night or two nights,—fasting or modified fasting, dependent, of course, on some one making a dance,—or, at the next dance.

Before spring, it is heard that this or that man is going to "make" a dance, at such and such a place, or, the maker may send a message round inviting people. Everyone learns of it anyhow. If he thinks it proper, he wraps small pieces of tobacco up in parchment, and dispatches young men to distribute them. These will travel round, going to the head men. They will present their little package and say, "Smoke this. So-and-so says thus to thee, 'I intend to make a sun dance. Come, and help me and all your people.'" If the receiver of the message assents, he, and the crowd of men assembled solemnly and in silence smoke the pipe in which the tobacco has been put, and an affirmative answer is given to the request. The time is given in the moon's phases. All this is done in quite a ceremonious and dignified style. When the official part is completed, the assemblage allows itself to discuss matters in a gossip way with the messenger until he leaves.

Apart from its religious significance, the sun dance marks the yearly gathering of people whom the exigencies of life compel to spend the fall and winter in isolation, and it is looked forward to as such. The young make, and the old renew acquaintances, and it is a general holiday.

In the early part of June—in the North—when the leaves are full-sized, the “maker” pitches his tent at the appointed place. As the people arrive they arrange their tipis by tribes and families in a circle calculated to hold all expected to attend. When the circle is complete, an old man, chosen for his loud voice and strong lungs, marches slowly round, crying out that operations are to be commenced and people are to get ready at once. This means that every young man that owns or can borrow a horse, arrays himself and his steed in all the finery he can muster. If he can persuade a girl to sit behind him, all the more glory. And, oh! if he has a prancing horse.

First, the convener, as master of ceremonies, followed by all the men, young and old, marches to a tune round the circle, the music composed by the maker, or his familiar, or perhaps one of the tunes used on such occasions. Then they set off to the bush, old and young, the first with axes, the others, mounted and provided with long lariats. The horsemen and women gallop off, making their ponies rear and cut up, to show off, the dogs bark, girls squeal in coquettish fear, guns are fired, and everybody has a great time. The older men chop down the necessary trees, the young attach lines and haul them. The pole for the middle is perhaps twenty feet long and six or eight inches through, with two or three stumps of branches left at the top. A lot of shooting is done at and over this stick. When the hauling is done, a hole is dug and the tree for the middle is pulled into perpendicular by lines. The master of ceremonies may be hauled up with it, seated in a “nest” made at the top. Uprights, with crothed top are set in the ground say ten feet apart, in a circle with a radius of about twenty feet from the tree. Rails are placed round in the crotches and rafters join the sides to the “nest” in the tree. Several tipis which partly cover the enclosure are borrowed. The door is on the south. A few feet north of the tree a hole eighteen inches square is dug, and an old buffalo head placed beside it. A barricade of leafy branches goes round the north side of the booth where the dancers stay, and is continued breast high in front of them and at the ends of the line, so that they are fenced in, back, front, and sides, in a semicircular lane, about six feet wide. With the green of the boughs enlivened by varicolored prints, the gifts of votaries, the grotesque decoration of the dancers, and the generally barbaric surroundings, the scene is one to be long remembered. On the pole in the middle are hung articles dedicated to the “Great Bird,” guns, rifles, pieces of cloth or print—anything the giver likes. When the dance is over these things will be taken and hung in some out-of-the-way spot in the bush, to be safe from the mocker or marauder.

The actual dance begins in the evening. A small fire is lit on the far side of the pole—apparently for the sake of smokers. To the right of this, round the big drum, sits the choir—men with small drumsticks in their hands. They are the best singers and gangs relieve one another at intervals. Men have the left side and women the right and as many as will join in the singing. Some of the men and numbers of the women have very good voices. Each dancer has a small whistle made from the leg-bone of a goose, which sounds a shrill “toot-toot” in time with the drum. They dance or rest as they like. All are arrayed as fancy and means dictate; paint of all colors disguises their countenances, and the general effect is frequently diabolical. Dancing is not continuous. Each night all stop for a few hours’ sleep, and there are

frequent intervals during the day. A slight bending of the knees, to allow the body to move up and down, constitutes the dance. A song will be raised and the drum started. The dancers—a few, many, or all—bob up from behind their leafy screen, whistle in mouth, “toot-toot toot-toot”; the singing stops, the dance ends, and down they drop into their places.

There are many diversions. Once the master of ceremonies had the top joint and a half of his left little finger chopped off in fulfillment of a vow. A block of wood was brought in and placed beside the fire. The victim made a little speech, telling how he had promised to do this when his child was sick. The child has died, but he was going to keep his word. Some would not have done so, but he was one who did what he said. He sat down on his crossed legs beside the block, and began to sing. He laid his fingers on the block, and an old fellow, with a business-like air, held the hand, while with one sweep of a long heavy cleaver-like knife, he chopped off a piece of the finger. The song stopped when amputation was complete. The finger was terribly butchered; the bone shattered into fragments so that it took a long time to heal. All interest in the event vanished as soon as the deed was done. Or the vow may be of other mutilation. A couple of inches of loose skin on each side, just above the breast are caught between the finger and thumb and held tightly while the sharp blade of a jackknife is pushed through, making a slit just big enough to insert a small wooden skewer about four inches long, on each breast. These allow room for fastening a line, the free end of which is attached to the top of the middle pole from the outside. The victim then dances, or staggers round and round outside the booth, straining on the line. He must break loose, and he does it by throwing his weight on the line till the skin gives way. But this does not always happen quickly, and it may need the added weight and nerve of friends to end the man's torture.

Similarly, skewers by which to drag one or two old buffalo heads are run through the skin of the shoulder blades. A line is tied to the heads, which trail on the ground behind, and much careful choosing of the way is needed to bring the burden into the tent with a minimum of jerking. Arrived at the pole the line may be untied and the skewers withdrawn. If the ordeal is prolonged, these skewers swell with the moisture, and are often pulled out only by catching hold with the teeth and giving a sharp jerk.

Again articles may be suspended from the skewers. In one instance, two men, carrying ten guns, went off behind a knoll some distance away. The total weight must have been sixty or seventy pounds; this was borne into the booth, a gun hanging by a thong on each of ten different skewers run through the back, while the bearer, the whole distance sang as heartily as the pain would allow. In the tent, the master of ceremonies unhitched the strings from the skewers, every one of which he pulled out with his teeth. He piled the guns near the pole, and their owners came up singly and claimed them.

A horse may be tied to a skewer and led into the tent, perhaps he is led round the circle. This is a trying ordeal as everything tends to make the animal shy and he often breaks loose. The penitent will be fastened to the bridled horse in the open, anywhere, and he will make the round of the circle of tipis, singing. The round completed, he will enter the tent and go up to the pole, on which he will lean, with bowed head, and folded arms, face downward.

Ludicrous incidents are frequent. Once, a brave undertook to lead a dog into the booth by a skewer fastened in the skin between the shoulders. The dog was a great big brute, for an Indian dog, a monster. The man made the round of the circle,

led the dog up to the center pole, and bowed his head there in lamentation. His wails grew louder and louder. During this time the dog was uneasy, being evidently suspicious of his surroundings. Whenever the man's devotion vented itself in sudden and loud bursts of wailing, the dog tugged at the line which confined him; and, as the animal was about as heavy as the man, the latter found it hard to preserve that equilibrium of mind and body which the solemnity of the occasion demanded. But, the trouble was bearable, until in the course of his penance it became necessary for the Indian to fire his gun in the air. At the explosion, the dog gave a fearful jump, and, howling, jerked the man over backward, dragged him out of the booth and through the crowd, till he finally broke loose, and left the astounded worshipper to recover himself amid the roars of the hastily assembled Indians.

The large audiences, too, offer an opportunity for the braves to recount their deeds of daring in some such manner as the following. A number of select warriors, practically naked, with bodies smeared all over with white mud picked out in red with the signs of their brave deeds, file into the arena, singing and dancing. They "dance to somebody for somebody," and their aim is to enhearten the dancers. After a while they stop dancing and one or the other tells the story of some successful raid. His oration will run as follows:—

"We were camped at such and such a place. From there a war party went out. I was one. We numbered so many. So many nights we walked, hiding in the daytime. Suddenly we felt the enemy. We sent out scouts. They found a large camp. Three days we stayed there; we saw them every day, but they never felt us. We brought away twenty horses. I cut loose one tied to the door of a lodge. Three days we fled. They never overtook us.

A tap or two on the drum at each sentence and a loud and long rattle at the end, show the appreciation of the audience. Or the speech may run thus:—

"We started out from the Elbow on a hunting tour. We came across people on the edge of the Eagle Hills. We were a large camp. We struck out on the prairie. On the tenth night the Blackfoot attacked us. We beat them off. For three days we fought as we traveled. I was riding a buffalo runner, a bay with three white feet. I exchanged shots with a Blackfoot. I rode at him. He ran away. I caught him, and pulled him off his horse. I stabbed him with a knife."

These accounts are usually greeted with deafening applause of drum beats.

The story is perhaps acted in dumb-show, if Indians of another tribe, Stoney, for example, are in camp. It is astonishing how the untutored actor can convey the required impression to the spectator. But, at least some slight knowledge of the sign language of the Plains Indians is necessary to a complete understanding of the performance.

It has often been remarked by old Indians that the tales told by braves during the sun dance, are, to say the least, outrageous exaggerations. Each event narrated has been witnessed by someone in the audience, so the truth of each is well known. So, it may safely be taken that these stories have merely a foundation of truth; interwoven with this, are all the embellishments that the imagination and oratorical powers of the narrator allow.

On the second day most of the offerings are made. Wearing apparel, ornaments, household utensils, guns, horses, and equipments, any of the things that enter into Indian life, either as necessities or superfluities are offered as sacrifice. The small things are piled in the open space in the tent, lifted up one by one by the master of

ceremonies for some one to come forward and take. Horses are led into the tent. A few words will accompany most gifts, a reminder to listeners of the giver's virtue. The takers are mostly old people—the cheekiest. The underlying idea of the offering is, that it may buy something the giver desires—health, long life, success of some kind, which will be contributed by the recipient. So the oldest and poorest, who have very little to lose, elect to take chances. They will give reasons why they are the proper persons, with better right than any other, to receive the gift. But a listener will conclude that impudence is their principal attribute. A crowd of spectators sits three or four deep round the edge of the booth in the space not taken up by the dancers; men on the left, and women on the right; the men in breechleout, leggings, and moccasins, with a blanket thrown over their shoulders. The number of horses a man has stolen will be told by the horse hoofs marked on his blanket; hands indicate the times he has grappled with the enemy, while the feather in his head will be tipped with a little red branch for each foe killed. The women wear all the finery they can muster.

By this time, if the weather is hot, the zeal of the dancers has visibly waned. When a tune ends, they all drop out of sight as abruptly as possible, to while away time in smoking and gossip or in the pleasures of the toilet. Little mirrors and paint are part of their equipment. They may leave the booth when compelled by any necessity.

The most stirring tunes will now be started and the drum pounded with all the vigor that a full stomach can put into a stroke, to enhearten an empty one. The helpers will come and dance frequently. The votaries will be reminded by the master of ceremonies that their time is now short, at sundown they will be free; and that the thunder will be invoked to send a shower to refresh them. They may drink any rain water they can catch. He will then sing his own particular song, composed by himself, and always distinguished to a greater degree by vigor than by harmony. There is invariably rain during a sun dance, sometimes a shower, perhaps only a sprinkle, but always enough to convince the Indians that their supplications are heard. Nevertheless, some of the dancers collapse and have to be taken home for revival.

The joker now has his part to play in the ceremony. As though to recount some brave deed, an old warrior will leave the circle of spectators and advance into the arena. His harangue will run thus: "On a summer hunt once, camp was made in Round Valley"—drum beats here—"A party went off for horses; I was one."—beat—"A long way off we came up to the Blood."—rat-tat-tat—"They felt us."—rat-tat—"But we gathered some horses together and fled before them."—rat-tat—"Three days we fled. The land was dry. We were thirsty."—rat-tat-tat—"All the springs and lakes to which we came were dried up."—rat-tat—"We were very thirsty."—beat—"As thirsty as you are now."—burst of drum beats—"We thought to perish. Any kind of water, we wanted."—rat-tat—"Only a little."—rat-tat—"The third evening we came to a spring at Tramping Lake."—roll of drum beats—"And we all had a good drink. Just as you will this evening. Persevere."—Fusillade of drum beats, and murmurs of applause.

The dance ends at sundown, when the exhausted devotees repair to their tents for much-needed refreshment, with that peace of mind which only a sense of duty fulfilled and obligation paid can bestow.

THE SUN DANCE OF THE PLAINS-OJIBWAY

BY ALANSON SKINNER

THE SUN DANCE OF THE PLAINS-OJIBWAY

Like the sun dance of the Cree, from which the Bûngi presumably derived their ceremony, the Bûngi *Nipagwêtcimun* or "Dance of Abstaining from Water" is a locally annual performance.

It was very hard to get any of the Bûngi to admit that the sun dance was practised by them in recent times, inasmuch as it has been sternly repressed by the Indian agents because of the torture features. However, questioning soon elicited the fact that it is still held secretly at night. The information here given was obtained from Ogimauwinini; his son, Charlie Assiniboin, a man of about forty, Tobacco, Joe Pasoin, and my interpreter, Dauphin Myron, all of whom had seen this ceremony frequently and had probably taken part in it on one or more occasions, though fear of the punishment by the government made them deny it.

The number of those who have the right to give the sun dance is very limited, only those who have dreamed of the thunder may do so, for the first man who ever gave one had it revealed to him by the thunder, who commanded him to cause the ceremony to be performed. It is primarily a rite devoted to the worship of the thunder, secondarily, to the sun and all the gods. As a ceremonial, it is second in importance only to the midéwiwin.

When a thunder dreamer decides or is told by the thunderers to make a sun dance, the announcement is made in midwinter, and the time set at the middle of the following June. Everyone is invited to come, but it is stipulated that the warriors must be willing to fast and do without water during the entire ceremony. When the appointed day arrives all the guests are gathered and camped together.

The young men adorned themselves with paint and feathers and their best clothes. They caparison their ponies with beads and bells, and the girls and old folks assume their dress clothes. The youths then ride out and fell a large tree, about twenty feet high, and trim it except for the topmost branches. They then bring it into camp and erect it, placing a bundle of leaves, representing the nest of the thunderers, in the top. Other young men and maidens ride out and secure saplings which they tie with lines and drag in with their horses, and the lodge is erected. It is finished at noon. It is a large, round, open bough structure. To conclude the first day, a dog feast is given, and prayers made by the dreamer and all his guests. These supplications are to all the gods, especially the thunder, asking them to protect and aid the Indians.

The dreamer goes out and announces that on the morrow, very early, the dance will commence, and asks all those who desire to attend to come, stipulating that they must neither eat nor drink.

The next day the participants come, even children being sent by their parents, and the dance begins, lasting two days and two nights. Those who take an active part and fast, are ten or sometimes more in number, they are men, and generally *okitcita*, who are usually expected to take part, though it is not demanded of them. These men are attached to the central pole by thongs attached to skewers put through the muscles of their breasts. They have whistles made from the hollow wing bones of the goose or swan in their mouths. They strain back, whistle as they dance, and fix their gaze on the thunderers' nest at the top of the central pole. It is said that they only dance for a minute or two in this fashion, and are then released and do not have to tear loose, though they try. This may be a modern development, if true, due to governmental objection, or it may be only an attenuated phase of the typical Plains custom that was never any stronger among the Búngi. Besides the ten sufferers there are some who, in obedience to a command received in a dream, and, as I understand it, those who have dreamed of the buffalo, have buffalo skulls fastened to their shoulders by thongs and skewers, others have stones of considerable size and weight attached in like manner to their arms. In this condition these performers are said to dance and wail the livelong night. On one occasion Dauphin Myron could not sleep for their weeping.

The giver of the sun dance does not dance himself, as a rule, though he may. He usually stands in the center of the lodge with his back to the sacred pole, looking towards the door, which faces the south. There is an altar in the rear of the lodge, opposite the door. It is composed of a number of twigs hooped over and placed in two parallel rows leading up to several buffalo skulls varying from one to four in number, for the Indians cannot always find enough nowadays. Before these skulls four long stemmed stone pipes are supported on sticks. Sometimes a "spirit rock," a queerly shaped stone supposed to contain a spirit, is also placed there.

Although not supposed to drink, Ogimauwinini² said that at a dance which he attended the performers told the host that they could not stand it any more without water. He danced up to the center pole, blowing his whistle and holding a kettle. When he reached the pole he thrust his whistle against it, and held it there. Water gushed out of the

pole through this improvised spout and he caught it in the kettle and gave it to the others to drink. The water was undoubtedly the gift of the *Inîmikiwâk* (or *Pinâsiwuk*), the thunderers, for this man had power over them and could call them whenever the country needed rain.

Another man wanted his little boy to get strength to dream. He tied him to the center stake and left him there, forcing him to do without food or drink. When exhausted, the lad fell asleep, and when he awoke he no longer felt pain, for power to withstand it had been granted him.

During the dance speeches were made about the gods in whose honor the rites were performed, and sermons were preached on upright living. Women could never give a sun dance, but might take part with the common herd. They were never starved nor cut.

THE SUN DANCE OF THE CANADIAN DAKOTA

By W. D. WALLIS

FOREWORD

The following account of the sun dance of the Dakota Indians was obtained by Dr. W. D. Wallis from native informants in the summer of 1914. Dr. Wallis spent the season under the auspices of the Division of Anthropology of the Geological Survey of Canada in a general study of the religion, mythology, social life and organization, and ceremonial life of the Canadian Sioux, a comparatively recent Manitoba offshoot of the Dakota (chiefly Wahpeton, it would seem). The present study is a selected portion of the voluminous manuscript submitted by Dr. Wallis. By authorization of the administrative authorities of the Geological Survey of Canada and by the courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, Dr. Wallis's paper is published in the present series.

E. SAPIR

Head of Division of Anthropology,
Geological Survey of Canada.

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INTRODUCTION

The accompanying discussion of the sun dance is taken from a large manuscript presenting the data collected by the author from the Dakota at Portage la Prairie and Griswold, Manitoba. The two groups of Indians concerned are in the main refugees from the Wahpeton of Minnesota who were participants in the massacre of 1862. Thus, their fundamental cultural traits should be those of the Eastern Dakota and the account here given of their sun dance ceremonies may be taken as fairly typical for the Eastern Dakota, in contradistinction to the western, or Teton division, as presented in a preceding section of this volume.

Since but a small section of Wahpeton culture is to be discussed its true perspective cannot be had unless we call attention to a few of the fundamental traits made clear in the larger manuscript of which this discussion is a part. Thus, from the unpublished data it is clear that with this group the sun dance is a shamanistic procedure. It is the initial ceremony for anyone taking up a shamanistic career. Thus an informant made the following statement bearing upon this point:—

A medicineman is known as *witca'stawakan*, "wakan man." Nearly all of them were with the thunders, so they themselves said, before they came to earth and were born here. While with the thunders, they traveled around with every thunderstorm, hunting a place wherein to be born, sometimes among the Indians, sometimes among the whites. Spying out the best place for nativity, some of them said they were to be born among whites, but they refused to have it so, preferring to be born among the Indians that they might have their customs and their dress. Some said that before birth they were warned that should they be born among the whites and not do what the thunders bade them do, they would be killed by the vengeful thunders. Wherefore all medicinemen chose rather to be born among Indians where they might do as commanded by the thunders (*waki'A*).

Some said the thunders told them *wakantanka* (most *wakan*)¹ had told the thunders to tell the medicinemen that they were to do as bidden by the thunders.¹ They were *wakantanka's* messengers. As soon as a man starts his career as a medicineman, he must announce to all the people the message given him by the thunders before birth, and, with the message, the fact that he was then bidden by the thunders to announce also that he had been bidden by them to deliver this message.

¹The thunders, while plural, are thought of collectively, not distributively, as a unity and "all the same," "only one thunder." But the converse sometimes occurs.

These medicinemen, prior to their birth, know everything that is going to happen: into what family they will be born and every event of their future life. In this, according to the informant, the testimonies of all concur. They must take part in every dance except the *wakanatcipi*.

Before birth they are promised by the thunders a sign as to the time when they are to start their career as medicinemen. The man or woman must be over twenty years of age, that is, old enough to comprehend and remember anything told them. When they have reached this stage of mental development, they make themselves ready to receive the sign which has been promised. It comes in a dream in which the thunders announce to them that the time is at hand when they are to begin their career.

The first thing they are assigned is the making of a sun dance which may last one, two, or three days, according to the directions which have been given them. The season of the year in which it is to be given—summer, winter, autumn, or spring—is also specified. This informative dream comes only in the winter. In it they are told that the sign will be such things as the appearance of leaves or blossoms, as the case may be, or a certain plant or flower. Four days after the appearance of the “sign” they make the sun dance.

While performing this they may neither eat nor drink. They turn their faces upward toward the sun, following it in its course across the heavens and without moving from their tracks while it is visible. Here they remain through the night. They may not speak, though they may smoke if a pipe is offered them.

In the sun they see different signs. They pray to it to have pity on them, to give them long life, promising to obey the sun throughout life; they ask it to tell the thunders that they will do their bidding through life. They ask power for their whole life even in its declining stages, telling the sun they are then doing what they have been bidden by the thunders to do, asking the sun on the strength of this good intention to impart strength for the carrying out of the thunders’ behests. The power for their career they get from the sun. After this, in spite of the fast, however long it may have lasted, the man is stronger than before he entered upon it.

The ceremony is *wakan* and can be performed only at the time specified, yet all may see it. In fact, three days previously the man announces to all the people that he will hold a sun dance on the fourth day. On that day they make a place for him. They put up an oak pole; at the foot of this they place a stone painted red. Before birth they were told to use a

stone of this kind. Stone told them that *wakantanka* had told him he (stone) would help the medicineman in everything, giving him all the strength he might need.¹

The pole is painted red. "Now," say the medicinemen, "the thunders are angry because the white man has stopped the sun dance and they strike the Indians because of it, also the buildings of the white people and anything else belonging to them. In some towns the servants of the thunders, the winds, blow down buildings and scatter them into pieces as tokens of their anger. But stone that is used even after being ground up into fine pieces by the white man (to be used in concrete) still has power. They are the servants of the thunders and the lightning will therefore not disrupt them. Accordingly, stone houses stand, while wooden ones are blown down or destroyed by lightning.

About five years ago a medicineman was given a message by the thunders to the effect that the wind would turn over the buildings of the Indians no matter where they might be, but, at the same time, the winds would not injure the Indians.

The medicinemen have power to do anything they wish, yet they cannot do this of themselves but must pray to all the powers, the sun, trees, stones, river, lakes, grass, etc., asking first if it will be proper to do the contemplated thing. Old man Pashee saw one medicineman, whose power was discredited, put a large pot over the fire and boil meat in it. He removed the pot, reached down into the boiling water about three feet, and pulled out the piece of meat which was at the bottom of the vessel, without suffering scald or the least discomfiture.

The familiar way of becoming a medicineman, is, as described, by acquisition of the power from the thunders previous to birth. It seems, however, that the clown, who is looked upon as the most powerful medicineman, acquires his power from the *wakan* clown, directly or indirectly, and other accounts show that specific powers may come from any of the *wakan* beings, such as the stone, spider, buffalo, gull, dog, turtle, etc. The distinction may not be absolute, but in general, medicine powers acquired in the orthodox manner before birth remain with one during the greater portion of one's life and these are the most common, whereas those acquired from specific *wakan* beings such as we have mentioned, are specific and occasional.

¹The Indians use the stone for power. So do the white men; of it they build the houses that last the longest.

THE SUN DANCE

Those performing the sun dance look up steadily at the sun and pray to it. The thunders grant long life to those who perform it and they will return safely from the subsequent war party against the Cree, as will also every member of the party, and they will kill as many Cree as they wish. While gazing at the sun, the performer asks for strength to complete the dance. The flesh to which the man was tied was sometimes torn out at the end of the ceremony, sometimes not. When this happened the singers gave the war whoop, for this was always the end of the ceremony.

Those who tear out the flesh are not the powerful medicinemen, but are those who cannot longer endure the torture and fatigue. Those who endure it four nights and four days are afterwards powerful medicinemen. Medicinemen always say they do not feel the pain—the *wakan* beings give them assistance and power to endure it, so that they neither become fagged, nor do they feel hunger and thirst. The thunders told them that if they could endure it as they were told, they would grant them long life and assist them when treating the sick.

The pole which is used may be gotten and set up only by chaste unmarried men. All those who help do this are previously asked if they have had intercourse with women; if they confess to this, they may not participate. This requirement is said to have acted as a strong deterrent on the passions of the young men of the tribe. If one not qualified fails to confess and subsequently participates in the preparation for the ceremony, he will be killed in the next fight. This restraint is now gone and morals are going too, say the old men. No such test applies to the singers.

The sun dance seems never to be held during the winter, nor after the leaves have fallen. This is said to be because there are no thunderstorms then and it is always the thunders who announce that the time has come to perform it. The man who is to perform it does not do so until directed by the thunders.

Women are not allowed to come close to the ground where a sun dance is being performed, though they may watch it from a distance; nor may they stand to the windward of the devotee. That would take away all his strength and all his *wakan* would desert him—he could not endure it half an hour. If the performer be a woman, these taboos do not apply to her sex. A woman may not touch the pole or any of the objects used in the ceremony. After the completion of the dance, every-

thing is removed except the pole; this is left standing until it rots and falls to the ground. When the ground has been cleared, women may pass over it, but under no circumstances may they pass close to the pole.

The buffalo skulls which are used in the dance are old ones from which the flesh has rotted so that only horns and bony framework remain.

The man making the dance always takes a sweatbath before, as well as after, the performance. He selects whomsoever else he wishes to assist and they take the sweatbath with him.

During the intervals of rest, denoted as the time for smoking, the calls of nature are attended to. If the devotee stops four times a day to smoke, the periods will be at noon, sunset, about the middle of the morning and of the afternoon. Similar intervals are observed through the night. Through the night there is a gradual reversal of the change of direction observed through the day, perhaps owing to a belief that this is facing the sun in its return to the east. The dancing at night is in the tipi erected for this purpose, the devotee going out to the ceremonial ground a short time before sunrise.

There is no organization of those who have performed the sun dance, and it appears that no bond of fellowship or of mutual aid holds them together.

It was stated that generally a man performs the sun dance but once in his lifetime, those cases in which several performances are to be placed to the credit of an individual being exceptional. This is probably true, and the exceptional cases are frequent in narration, because they are exceptional. It was said that but seldom is a dance performed by the son of a man who has performed one—a statement equally difficult to challenge or to corroborate. The reason given for this lack of filial following is that one must be told by the thunders, before birth, to perform it and the thunders later indicate when the appointed time has arrived. A man never assigns paternal advice as the reason for making the dance. The story told below, in which the performer handed the dance to his grandson, was said by the informant to be the only instance of the kind known to him. In the instance referred to, the boy had not had dreams, but was taught everything by his grandfather who, at the same time, prayed the *wakan* beings to make his grandson like unto himself, so that he might carry on the work which the grandfather had been performing.

The skull of the buffalo is used because the buffalo has more power than the other animals; it was born first, is the "head" of all the

animals, and so has more power than any of the others. No other skull was used, and this was used only in case the devotee was so directed in his dream.

The feathers of the wild goose were used because, in a dream, the wild goose declared that it was the first bird created and would impart strength in the sun dance to endure it through the days and nights; it could fly faster than any other bird, keeping on the wing for four or five days, or longer. So, if they used it in the sun dance, they could march for any number of days and also would be able to run fast. Other birds were stronger; but the wild goose was friendly with these birds and would also ask them to impart strength to the devotees.

The sweatbath is taken both before and after every performance. This is to tell the stone first of all that the devotee is about to perform the sun dance. The stone had said it was the first thing made on earth, and, no matter what enterprise one was about to embark upon, the person was to pray to the stone first, and the stone would give him strength for the undertaking.

After the stone is heated, water is poured upon it, and it is asked to wash the performer clean for the sun dance which he is about to undertake. When the performance is over, another sweatbath is taken in order to wash the paint off hands, face, and body. The ground on which the devotee has been standing is *wakan* and all the earth from it must be washed from his feet. He asks the stone to grant him long life, adding that he will be ready at any time to do whatever he is asked to do.

When a man intends to perform the sun dance, and has had a dream directing him to do so, he invites an old man or old men, who come and sit in his tipi and listen while he tells his dream. He says that before he was born the power in the east told him to perform the sun dance, after birth, at a designated time (for example, when the first child was born, or at a certain time of the year specified.) After being handed over to the thunders, he was told by them to make the sun dance at a certain time, saying the sun must guard him during the day. The sun tells the thunders to tell the man when the time has come to perform the dance. If the man does not comply, the sun carries this information to the thunders and they will punish him. If he fails altogether in the performance, the thunders will kill him.

The buffalo skull, the stone, the wild goose feathers, are used as the result of a dream from them severally, they having gone to the thunders and asked if the man might use them in the dance. The man is warned that if he does not do exactly as bidden, he will be killed. Everyone who

performs the sun dance is so directed by the person in the east, then by the thunders, and then by the sun. What he is to offer to the thunders, for example, a cloth, or a calf hide, is told him by the man in the east or by the sun, and the thunders know what is expected of him. Sometimes the thunders tell the man to offer them specified things. This is merely repaying them for their telling the man what he is to do. If, before birth, a man is told by the man in the east to perform the sun dance, the thunders, the sun, and all the *wakan* beings to whom the man prays, are immediately aware of this without being informed that he has been so directed.

The man in the east is the only one who directs people to perform the sun dance. When the devotee has led out the war party, returned, and celebrated the war dance, all the powers to whom he prays in the sun dance go to the man in the east and dance there because they rejoice that their directions have been followed. All of the Dakota pray to the sun and the above-mentioned powers and obtain strength from them when they go out to fight. The Cree, perforce, have prayed to other gods for victory. Hence, if the Dakota are victors, the *wakan* beings to whom they have prayed accept it as a victory of their own and hold the dance because they rejoice at having won against the other *wakan* beings.

In the old days, every medicineman was directed to perform the sun dance and was promised ability to kill all the Cree he might wish, when he led out a war party. The thunders make no mention of the war dance, for this is invariably celebrated when scalps are brought to the camp. Every dance must be held as the thunders have directed and the devotee will then win the fight when he leads a war party. Such a war party is certain to vanquish the Cree. In fact, they never went out on a war party without first celebrating one of the dances, though this need not necessarily be the sun dance.

It is said that if the flute used in the sun dance be loaned to another, the owner will hear it whenever and wherever it is played.

One man said he had seen those performing the sun dance cry, not with pain but "because he feels so sorry, just as your preachers do sometimes when they read the Bible. I have seen them cry when reading it, they feel so badly. It is just like that, not from pain, when the man cries while making the sun dance."

A woman at Portage La Prairie was told by the thunders in a dream to make the sun dance when certain (unidentified) grass went to seed. She did not do it.

Later, she told the people that in a dream she had been directed to make the sun dance, and asked them to prepare the ground for it. They did so, erecting an oak pole painted red. She began the dance about three hours before sunset. It was a perfectly clear day. Just as she was about to begin, loud rumbling of thunder was heard, although the sky was cloudless. In an hour or more a heavy thunderstorm came; the lightning struck the pole and split it in two, though it did not injure the woman. This was a warning to her that she must perform the dance at the time set and not later. The thunders could have struck her with the lightning if they had wanted to do so, but they wished merely to give her this warning.

If the sun comes to a man and tells him to do a certain thing which the man fails to perform, he will be killed. A man was told to perform the sun dance on a certain day. When the appointed day arrived he had made no preparations. The sun rose and still no preparations were made. The man remained within his tipi. About noon he went out. As he left the tipi he fell dead. As a punishment for his disobedience the sun had burned his chest.

A Wahpeton at Portage La Prairie gave a description of a sun dance which he had seen performed by a Blood Indian when a boy. This man preferred singers of another tribe and chose Assiniboin for this service. A red pole was put up. To this he was tied by a thong fastened to a stick, the two ends of which were inserted under the flesh on either side of the sternum. This thong was about the thickness of a moccasin lace and could be broken without much difficulty. After being painted red in preparation for that dance it became so strong that no man could break it. He danced four nights and three days, announcing on the fourth morning that he was going to break the thong that day or tear his flesh. He did the latter, thus freeing himself. He walked away as strong and as vigorous, seemingly, as any other man. When seen walking about among the people next day he did not appear the least bit fatigued or weakened by his four days' and nights' performance.

PERSONAL NARRATIVES

The contents of the following sections are individual narratives of particular sun dance performances, including one covering the sun dance activities of a distinguished shaman. They are given in this concrete form for notwithstanding the unavoidable repetition of details in their entirety they give a fair idea of the place of the ceremony among these Indians.

1. The following is an account of a performance of the sun dance by one who made it a few years ago. To start at the beginning: I was sick. All the medicinemen and physicians from town treated me, giving me different medicines, whatever they thought was remedial. When I found that one was making no progress, I tried another. Nothing helped me in the least; nothing seemed to be in the least efficacious. I invited Wanduta, a clown medicineman living at Griswold, who was at that time in Portage La Prairie. He treated me. The old man said he thought he saw something, but he could not clearly understand its significance; he would treat me four times and try to discover the cause of my sickness. When treating me for the last time, he said he learned that I had been directed to perform the sun dance and had not done so and this was the cause of my illness. I must do it at once. I was to procure an oak tree, a black cloth with blue stripes along the same to represent the moon. Also, I was to have a white cloth with blue stripes for the sun. He said that when I had performed the dance I would recover.

After making the sun dance, I was as well as before and have been well ever since. The cause of my illness had been hidden from the other medicinemen and from Wanduta himself. Other medicinemen have difficulty in finding out things, but a clown medicineman can find out anything.

In the very first place, when I was a boy just beginning to walk, I had a dream in which men were bringing me down to earth in a nest. They said they would inform me later what that nest was. That is all I remember about it. Wanduta said these men had not instructed me in another dream when to perform it and some of the *wakan* beings were keeping me 'in the dark.'

I grew to be a young man and married the woman who is now my wife. Three sons were born to us. All died. Three daughters were born to us and they died. There were six children and we lost all of them. After the death of all my children I thought that the nest in which I was brought down was a token that I should perform the sun dance. If I had performed this ceremony before I married, thought I, all of my children might still be alive.

In a dream I received a name which I gave to my grandchild. The name was Ide' Amani. Walk-burning. It is a thunder name; for the thunders set fire to all that they strike while they are walking around. That is the only name I had ever bestowed. After that I never named anyone until the old man found out about my failure to perform the sun dance.

The *wakan* beings had taken away all of my children, severally, to punish me. My sons became sick. Medicinemen and physicians treated them, but to no purpose. Thus it was with the first four children. The fifth child fell sick, suddenly, about noon, and died about noon on the following day. No one could learn the reason for its death. A little while after this, the sixth one, while playing about with some other little girls, fell in front of the house, and lay there quietly. We picked her up and found her dead, her neck broken. There was no way in which she could have broken her neck, yet broken it was.

A short while after this I became sick. Later, I found out about my failure to perform the sun dance and was told I would improve if I performed it. Every summer thereafter, during the remainder of my life, I was to get two cloths of the kind described, paint them as they were painted in the dance, and offer them to the sun and moon. This I have been doing every summer since making the first sun dance.

While I was sick, I weakened gradually, one part of my body being first affected, then another. So, day after day, my strength ebbed away. Thus, during the early part of the summer, I was sick several weeks before the performance and, a few weeks after the ceremony, I was better. My leg was very sore.¹

One afternoon after the clown had given me this information and had gone away, I bade two of the grown men procure a pole, and arrange the grounds. I painted a stone blue and the cloths as above described. These latter I told the men to fasten to the pole. Then, in a dream, I heard the song. When all was ready, I did not (as is usual) take the sweatbath. When the singers came I taught them the song. My leg was sore and I remained seated in front of the pole. Because I was sick the singers stopped at frequent intervals to allow me to rest. The ceremony started at dark and was over before sunrise. The singers wanted me to continue the dance through the day, but I told them I was afraid to do this because it was against the law to have the sun dance. When I danced only at night the white people would not be apprised of it, and, as for continuing during the day, the *wakan* beings knew that it was contrary to law: So it would be all right if I performed it at night and not at all through the day.

A few days before preparing the ceremony, I suddenly heard the song. Some person may have told me in a dream; but, now that the powers who had been concealing this from me knew that the clown had

¹Here the narrator exhibited a long severe scar on the upper leg, such as gangrene or a carbuncle (?) might leave.

told me about it, the song came to me suddenly during the day, as though it were a voice. (My wife today when picking berries heard a voice singing a sun dance song. She sang it to me an hour or two ago, but I paid no attention to it. The person who is about to perform the sun dance receives the song either in a dream or from a voice heard during the day). The song given me was as follows:—

waki'ya itca'kmâia

Thunders brought me down to earth.

makpi bobAdu'

Clouds blowing in every

bAdu' wai'ye

direction I came through.

While dancing I saw the spirit of my cousin who was one of the singers. The following winter this man died suddenly of heart failure.

Other songs used by him were as follows:—

wa'wa yika' hinAzi waye' (repeat ad. lib.)

Look on they stand I make them.

"I make the spirits come and look on." (i.e., the good spirits of all game)

en'ka tama'dja hi'kta sA'dja wa'nahi

Dog thin he will be here I think he has come.

waga'sotA (repeat ad. lib.)

(He) kills everything.

"I think a thin dog will be here. He has come now. He kills everything." (Meaning, 'He will kill all the evil spirits about the man making the sun dance.')

Another informant gave the following description of the sun dance as performed by this man about 1901:—

He had lost two children. A boy fell from a wagon, was run over by it, and died in about a week. Scarcely a month had passed when his daughter fell sick, dying in four days. The following spring he told the people he was going to make the sun dance as he had been instructed to do so by the thunders. Moreover, he himself was at this time very ill and believed he would die if he did not obey the command. Therefore, said he, "If I must go to jail for making it, then let them put me in jail, but I shall feel better for having done it." He asked the others to assist him, saying the time appointed by the thunders was the ripening of the saskatoon berries (i.e., about the last of July). Most of the men were then away; those in the settlement made the preparations.

Two men procured an oak tree about four or five inches in diameter. The limbs were allowed to stay on near the top, the rest were lopped off, the bark removed, and the pole painted with red earth. The ground was cleared in front of the man's tipi. In the center of this space the pole was erected. The cleared space was encircled with a row of leaves and a larger circle of leaves enclosed this. The smaller circle enclosed ground that might be entered only by the devotee himself. Between these two circles, where the ground was not disturbed, and farthest from the tipi of the devotee, sat the six singers about the drum. A circle of red feathers was put within the smaller circle of leaves, almost touching them. Around the pole was a circle of red feathers as also around the stone painted red and placed near the pole in the direction of the tipi, and about the pipe which was between the stone and the tipi. Between the pipe and the tipi was a bunch of red feathers on which the devotee was to stand. Red feathers were hung at the top of the pole in four pieces of cloth folded as nearly as possible so as to present a square bottom. About the middle of the pole two pieces of cloth were suspended. The circles of leaves and feathers enclosing the sacred objects were incomplete; instead of closing they opened out in a path to the tipi of the devotee.

Just before sunset the drummers took their places. The man who was to perform the dance had stripped naked except for a loin cloth, and had covered his whole body with red earth. He now sang the song that had been given him in his dream, repeating it three times. Meanwhile the drummers and singers were attentively listening that they might learn it from him.

When he had sung the song four times, he stepped out of his tipi along the leaf and feather-lined path leading toward the feathers, the pipe, the stone, the pole, and the drummers. After stepping on the feathers he might not move or speak. He stopped in front of them and made an announcement to those present in about the following words: "I had been told to do this by the thunders more than a year ago. Now it is too late to profit much by performing it for my boy is dead and my girl is dead. They lie yonder buried under the earth. Yet, I wish to save my own life. I would have done it at the time appointed a year ago, but for the fact that it is against the law and I was afraid to do it. But now I must do it. If I have to go to jail it will not matter for I shall save my life and I shall feel better when it has been done."

The sun was now setting. Having made this announcement he stepped on the feathers, standing erect, with hands dropped by his side and face turned up toward the heavens. This pose he must retain with-

out a variation save such as was involved in turning the pipe and himself toward the sun, during the entire time that he was there. The singers now began the song they had learned from him, keeping time on the drum. When there are enough men to be had they relieve one another. In this case the same men sang continuously. The singing must not be interrupted as long as the dance lasts. In this case it lasted through the night and all of the following day.

When the sun appeared in the east the devotee turned his face toward it, at the same time pointing the stem of the pipe toward it with the bowl toward the stone. This was moved from time to time, so that the stem would always point toward the sun, being elevated at the proper angle, and the bowl would be toward the stone. With his upturned face the man followed the sun until it sank below the western horizon. As it disappeared from sight he stepped from his place. The music ceased. He then thanked all of the people for their assistance, adding that he was very glad it had been done, and he felt much better for having done it, let the punishment by the white people be what it might. He withdrew to his tipi, the singers went home, and the dance was finished. After this he began to recover and has been hale and hearty since.

Before withdrawing to his tipi, he told the people that while standing there he had seen two people going along the road toward the east. They went to a house near by. Later, at this house a great many people were seen running about talking excitedly as though some one had been murdered. Later, a third person came out of this house, joined the other two and all proceeded toward the east. None of the spectators had seen any one passing by.

It turned out to be as he had foreseen. In August of that year a man died in a house to the west of the ground where the sun dance had been held; in the autumn a woman in the same part of the settlement died. In December a woman in a house east of this ground poisoned her husband, having put the poison in tea which she gave him to drink, and later confessed the deed. It was these two which he had seen going past (souls of the dead travel to the east); the house where he had seen the commotion and the third person joining these two came from the house of the man who was later poisoned by his wife.

2. A man invited an old man to his tipi, telling him he had had a dream about the sun dance and was ready to perform it. He bade him go and obtain men to assist him. The old man went out and obtained the young men. The man asked them to procure a buffalo skull, while

others were to bring the pole. He told them to paint the buffalo skull blue and place it at the base of the pole. He told them to wind a long leather thong about the pole.

Before beginning the dance he announced that he had not wound the long leather thong about the pole because he was going to kill Cree, but because he wished to steal their horses. When this had been arranged and everything was ready for him, he took the sweatbath. He passed the pipe around, but no one would accept it. He lighted it, smoked, and passed it around, saying that, though none of them were going to join him, still they were going to assist, and he wished them to smoke with him.

When all was ready, he began the dance in the tipi. Next morning, when he walked outside, he announced that he would dance four days. He danced until the end of the fourth day and stopped. He took the sweatbath. Having finished the sweatbath, he announced that while dancing he saw in the west a big thunderstorm; among the thunders a man was whirling about like a bit of paper in the vortex of a whirlwind. He feared this might be some person in the camp who had been told to perform the sun dance and had not done so, and the thunders were coming for him. He felt badly over this; still it was no fault of his, but the fault solely of the offender, whoever he might be. A man who knew he was told to do the sun dance, then told his parents that he had been directed to perform it, but thought the time had not yet arrived, and told the man who had made this dance, that the time had not yet arrived. Yet he was nervous and uneasy, knowing that he was the one referred to, and decided to perform the dance then. He had young men procure the pole and make ready for the dance. It rained so hard that they could not stay outside. A lightning bolt struck this man, killing him, while one struck the pole, one struck the stone, and one the ground which they were preparing. That was another lesson given by the thunders to the people that they might learn to obey them when told to make the sun dance. He knew he had been told to make the sun dance, and could not escape death, yet he had too often postponed it from time to time, thinking that, meanwhile, no mishap would befall him.

When men forget the dream telling them to make the sun dance, the lightning merely strikes their tipi, or the ground close to them, to remind them of what they have been told. Those who remember and still do not perform it, are killed instantly.

3. One night, while it was raining and thundering, a man who had been sitting in his tipi went outside. The lightning struck close to him,

but did not injure him. He was shocked and lay there a few minutes; then rose and went into the tipi, staggering like a drunken man. His wife attempted to catch hold of him, but he would not allow it, telling her not to touch him. She gave him an emetic. When he had recovered, she asked him if there was any reason why the lightning should strike close to him. He said he had had a dream about making the sun dance, but thought the time appointed had already passed. The other men told him he must make it. When he had heard them say this, he invited young men, telling them he was to perform the sun dance, but thought the time designated by the thunders had already passed. Even so he was prepared to perform it if they would procure the pole and make the ground ready.

They made four hoops, painted them red, and fastened them together with string. He bade them attach the hoops thus to the middle of the pole. Into a birch bowl of water he stirred red earth and placed the same at the base of the pole. Before beginning the dance he asked all the men present to drink of this water. A man went among them bidding them come and drink of the water. When the pole had been procured and everything was ready, he announced that he would dance two nights and two days. On the last day, about sunset, before finishing the dance, there would be a big thunderstorm, but this would do no damage. The thunders were coming to see him dance and would stop at the ceremonial ground. They began the singing and he danced the first night. Early in the morning, he went to the ceremonial ground, dancing there all day and all night. The second day, at the time mentioned, there was a big thunderstorm. He stopped, took the sweatbath, and invited all of the men in the tipi to smoke with him. All went in and smoked with him. He said he had not given the sun dance because he wished to fight or to steal horses, but was going to take care of all the children (meaning the sick ones in the camp), so that as long as he lived they should have plenty of meat; every man who went to hunt would obtain what he desired. After that he was one of the ablest medicinemen in treating the sick.

Every man who went to hunt always obtained buffalo, deer, elk, or other game.

4. This is a story about a young man who was married. He lived with his father and mother and brothers and sisters. They were eating their evening meal during a big thunderstorm. The lightning came through the smoke hole of the tipi and struck the fire, scattering ashes and firebrands all about. It did no further damage. All the occupants of the

tipi were shocked. Others ran to their assistance and gave them emetics. When the stricken people vomited they spat out matter which looked like a composite of gunpowder. After this vomiting the place had the odor of gun smoke.

The young man had been told to perform the sun dance upon the birth of his first child, and had failed to comply. He said he knew he was to do it then, but had postponed it too long, saying he had intended to do it later, and thinking that no mishap would befall him. The thunders had done this merely to frighten him. He asked the men to come to his tipi on the following day, and told them about the sun dance which he was going to celebrate. All prepared for it. He asked those who came over to procure a pole, while others looked for a buffalo skull. When all was ready, he passed the pipe around, asking if anyone wished to participate. Three men said they would join him. When all were ready he took the sweatbath with them.

Having finished the sweatbath they prepared for the dance, the leader asking them to cut the flesh above his shoulders. The others asked him what he was going to do. He said he would drag the buffalo skull without and would dance with a string fastened to his breast. The others thought he had not been told to do this and that, in consequence, he would be killed by lightning. He insisted that this was, in truth, his dream.

They cut the flesh above both shoulders and fastened the buffalo skull to him. When they had tied the skull to him, he danced with the three men.

Next morning they came out of the tipi and danced until sunset. He had a smoke and told them what the thunders had done to him, saying he knew he was to make the sun dance, but had waited too long. All the while he intended to do it later on, but after the thunders had frightened him he was afraid to postpone it any longer; all were ready to assist him when he needed them. He had gone around the ground dragging the skull behind him, and had said these words before stepping into his tracks. He now bade them unfasten the skull and tie the string to the flesh of his back. He stepped into his place and began the dance. They danced four days and nights.

On the fifth day he tore out the flesh. He took the sweatbath along with the three men, ate, dressed, and announced that he was glad to have finished the dance and was pleased that the singers had helped him. He said he was asked to do one more thing, namely, lead a war party. A few days later he told them that when the last quarter of the

moon was over he would lead out a war party; meanwhile, he was taking sweatbaths, and making fighting feasts. At the time appointed the party went out. On the fourth day they encountered two families of Cree, returned with the scalps and held a big war dance. After this all were pleased over what the man had accomplished.

5. This is the story of a woman who performed the sun dance and died shortly thereafter. Though a short story, it shows that some of the people who do not believe in the sun dance encounter misfortunes. One time a woman was sick. A few men went to her and asked her if she knew anything about the sun dance. She replied that she did. They asked her if she was going to perform it. She consented. She bade them get the pole and a stone for her. They procured the pole and the stone, painting the latter red.

When all was ready they began the singing and she danced, having her face painted red with a blue circle about it. She continued the dance all night and all day. After this she recovered and seemed to be entirely well. The fourth night after the sun dance there was a thunderstorm. The lightning struck the pole she had used and splintered it into small pieces down to the ground. Four days after the pole had been broken by the thunders, she died. The Dakota talked about her, deciding she might have made the ceremony when knowing nothing about it, merely imitating performances she had seen. If she had had a dream about it, the thunders would not have broken the pole in the way that they did.

6. A man made the sun dance in the autumn after the leaves had turned. The thunders, in a dream, had told him to perform the sun dance. He did not do it that summer, though this was the time designated by the thunders. His only child died suddenly. The boy had been playing outside of the tipi. Suddenly he fell and was unable to rise. They ran to him and picked him up, but he breathed his last, then and there.

The man had another dream in which another *wakan* being told him the thunders had taken the child because of the father's disobedience and told him that if he did not perform the sun dance the last thunder in the west, while going to his home in the east, would kill him.

When asked to perform it, the man said he would do it and perhaps would repeat it the ensuing summer, but, as to the latter, he was not sure. Next morning he invited some men to his tipi and told them he was going to perform the sun dance, saying he had been so directed by the thunders. He had waited too long; the thunders were angry, and had taken his child. There were other thunders in the west who would

be the last to leave; as they were traveling to their home in the east they would kill him. They procured a pole, put up a tipi and made all the preparations. That night he started the dance, continuing it throughout the following day. At sunset he stopped, had a sweatbath, ate, and then smoked. He thanked them for their assistance. His only regret was over his one child and he alone was responsible; he knew he should make the sun dance, yet he had failed to perform it.

He wished all the young men to go out hunting next morning. They would get a bear—he had secured it while dancing. He wished them to bring it home and cook a piece of it for the *wo'towa'hopi*, or hunting feast.

When he had finished the dance and the men had brought the bear to the camp, he made the hunting feast. In the autumn and winter he announced that he would make the hunting feast. In the following spring, when the leaves were beginning to bud, he would perform the sun dance, as he had been told and prior to which he had already performed one in order to save his life. I remember the time. All my brothers were invited to these feasts and took part in them. Upon their return from the feast I heard them telling what this man had said. During the remainder of the autumn and the winter he took the sweatbath at various times, then a few days later he would make the hunting feast, continuing thus until the eve of the time designated for the sun dance.

One day, after finishing the sweatbath, he announced that the time for him to make the sun dance was approaching. After the next sweatbath he announced that he had been told in a dream that the time for the sun dance was near at hand and that he would perform it the following morning. In the morning all the men came, for they had heard the night before that he was going to perform the dance the following morning. When all was ready—the pole, the stone and the pipe,—he took another sweatbath and passed around the pipe, saying that those who were willing to join him should smoke the pipe. One man said he would join him and lighted the pipe. Another said he would join him and smoked the pipe. Thus it went until four had volunteered. All of them prepared for the dance and painted themselves. They danced that night.

Next morning they went out to the ground; he announced that they would dance two days and another night; when these two days were over they would stop. They continued the dance through the day, the next night, and the second day. At the end of the second day they had the sweatbath, ate, and smoked. He told them he was glad he had finished the dance; he was still grieving for his child and during the dance had

been wondering why he had not performed the sun dance at first, as directed; he had performed it after the death of his child, but that was too late; he was glad to have finished the dance. He announced that in four days he was going out on a war party and all were to be ready. When the four days were over he started. On the fourth day at noon they encountered the Cree, as predicted, killed them, and returned with their scalps. All were pleased to see them return with the scalps. They had a big war dance.

7. One time a woman had a dream in which the thunders told her to make the sun dance. She told her husband she had been directed in a dream to perform the sun dance, and wished to do so, since the thunders had conveyed these directions to her in a dream. She had been told to perform it when a son had been born to her, had grown to goodly size, and could move around lithely. She was to perform the dance in company with this boy.

Her husband was pleased with the information and had young men procure the pole and assist in the preparations. When the pole was ready she put on a white gown with perpendicular red stripes, and painted her face red, encircling it with blue. The lad was painted red. They began the dance. She announced that she would dance but one day, as she did not wish to subject her son to hardships. They finished the dance at nightfall. She then directed her husband to take the sweatbath in company with her son, saying she was going to the river to bathe, and added, that there would be a big thunderstorm. The people urged her to take the bath. They fixed the boy and gave him the sweatbath. While she was bathing a big thunderstorm came. It was one of the heaviest thunderstorms and rainstorms ever known. She said the boy was still quite young, yet she wished him to have an eagle feather on his head while young and for this reason had performed the sun dance. Soon after this a war party went out. The lad was the youngest of the party, but killed two Cree.

After that he was a good fighter. Every time this woman went to bathe in the river there was a severe thunderstorm. This story is told about her because every time she went to bathe in the river there was a severe thunderstorm.

8. One time in the winter a man said he had had a dream in which the thunders directed him to perform the sun dance. The pole was procured the following evening. He danced all that night and all the following day, wearing snowshoes painted red. He finished the dance that day at sunset. A few weeks later he was taken sick. During the

remainder of the winter he did not feel well and his ill-health continued through the spring. The first thunderstorm killed the man. The Dakota said they supposed the man had made up the performance without being told to do so by the thunders, while some said that perhaps he had done it in advance of the time—for, on the day when he performed it, the sun was shining brightly. (When one performs the sun dance, the sun must shine all day so that the devotee can gaze upon it.) They tried to have the medicinemen find out why he had been killed, but none could do so.

9. A woman had a dream in which the thunders told her to perform the sun dance. She was to perform it on the second day. Next day she told her husband she wished to perform it, and he expressed his willingness for her to do so. That evening they procured the pole and arranged the ground. She wore a white gown, had her face painted red, with a circle of blue about it, and announced that she was performing the sun dance because directed by the thunders to do so; if she did not perform it that night the thunders would come on the following day and kill her; wherefore she wished to perform it now. She stepped into the circle. She danced all night. In the afternoon of the following day a big thunderstorm approached. It was the thunderstorm which was going to kill her in case she failed to perform the dance. She kept on dancing and the thunderstorm did not come near her. It appeared in the west, separated there, one portion going to the south of her, one portion to the north, and reunited when in the east. She danced throughout the day.

When she had finished the dance she told the men she was glad she had finished it and thanked them for singing for her. She said the thunderstorm which they had seen was coming to punish her, but when the thunders saw her dancing, they said they were pleased to see her holding the dance and would not punish her, but would go to the south or north and allow her to finish it. They were going to the person in the east to tell him she was holding the dance. She was thankful the thunders had not interfered with her, but had allowed her to finish the dance. She said she was not going to dance longer and stepped out of the circle.

When, a few days later, a party of Dakota went out to fight, she bade her husband join the party, saying they would encounter only one Cree; though there would be many men in the party, her husband, and no other, would kill the Cree. He got ready and went out to join the party. When the fight was over she heard a number of people saying that although there were a great many men in the war party, her husband was the only one who killed a Cree.

This story about what the woman said about the thunders, and about her husband going out on a large war party and being the only one to kill a Cree, is told to show that her words came true.

10. A man had a dream early in the summer in which he was told by the thunders that when the *wi'tcape'tcA* weed turned black he was to perform the sun dance. Everybody knew that he was to perform the dance. When the time came he announced its arrival. All were pleased that he was going to perform the dance. He requested four men to procure the pole. When they had the pole he told them to procure a red cloth, as he had given one to the sun. They prepared a buffalo calf hide and fastened it also to the pole, as he announced that he had given it to the moon.

He began the dance at dark. About midnight he sat down to smoke. He saw all of the people running about in great excitement and announced that in the morning, before he had finished the dance, something would probably happen. He danced until morning. In the morning he sat down to smoke, announcing what he had seen, and bidding the men be ready, as it was coming closer all the time. He then resumed the dance. At noon he stopped again to have another smoke. He announced that he had seen the Cree and bade them be prepared, as the happening he had referred to would take place before he had finished the dance. Toward sunset a boy went out to fix his father's tipi, without the knowledge of his parents, and was killed by the Cree. All the young men went out in pursuit, the old men taking the places of those who had been singing and thus finishing the dance.

When the dance was over he announced that he was glad it was finished and thanked all of those who had assisted him. He said the sun dance was a bit difficult for a man to perform, added that he was very grateful to them for their assistance, and stepped out of his tracks. When he had taken the sweatbath and had dressed, he ate, and the performance was complete.

The killing of the boy was the event referred to by him. While the old men were singing the young men went out for the Cree and returned with their scalps. This story is told about the man because he knew the Cree were coming, and knew beforehand what was going to happen.

11. A man told his friends he had been directed to perform the sun dance at a certain time and wished to do it before the time appointed. He asked whether it would be dangerous to perform it a little while before the time appointed. They told him that when one departed from the appointed time it was immaterial whether it was anticipated or

postponed. He said he was afraid to wait until the appointed time, because a few weeks previously a woman had been killed for failing to perform it; he was afraid to delay and wanted to perform it before the appointed time. When he had told them he wished to perform it, his friends put up a tipi in a clearing in the bush. He told them to make two hoops, one slightly larger than the other. To each of them he tied four strings. The small hoop was tied close to the top of the pole, the larger one near the center of it. He filled his pipe and asked each man if he would participate. Only one man volunteered to join him. This man said he had been told to perform the sun dance, and, though the appointed time had not yet arrived, he would take part in this one. The leader told the singers he would dance two days. They cut the flesh at his shoulders and fastened eagle feathers there.

He danced two days. Before beginning the dance he procured a birchbark bowl, put water into it, mixed in red earth, and said that when he had finished dancing the second day, he wished all the women, children, and men, to drink of it. On the first day he rested four times to smoke. The second day he danced until sunset. When he had finished they arranged the sweatbath tipi. After the sweatbath they gave him food to eat and water to drink. He said that at the full moon he would lead out a war party. He bade them watch the moon—which was then in the quarter—and be ready. When the moon was full he went out to fight. The fourth day he secured two Cree families. They returned with the scalps and had a big war dance.

12. In a dream a woman was told by the thunders to perform the sun dance at that time. She told her dream to her husband next morning, saying she was going to perform the sun dance. He said there was no reason for her to do so—that he was averse to seeing women engaged in such performances. Next morning she told him she had had another dream, telling her she must perform the dance, and added, that she wished to comply. He would not permit it, saying, that even though she performed it, she could not go out to fight the Cree and it would be useless for her to perform it. He knew nothing about medicinemen and medicine-women.

They were living in a tipi. On the following morning, when all the people had heard that the woman wished to perform the sun dance and her husband would not permit it, they begged her to do so. She replied that she would not do so since her husband would not permit it. There was a thunderstorm the ensuing night and the woman was killed by the thunders. At the time she was holding a small child in her arms and her

husband was sitting by her. Neither of the others was injured, only the woman was killed.

This story was told to show what the thunders could do if anyone disobeyed them. The woman had been anxious to perform the sun dance, but her husband would not permit it.

13. A man fell suddenly sick during the winter and was about to die. In a dream he learned that the *wakan* beings were angry because he had not performed the sun dance in the summer at the time appointed. He told the people the powers would give him another opportunity, but when the appointed time arrived, the following summer, if he failed to perform it, they would kill him.

When the snow had disappeared that spring he was still sick. He invited young men to his tipi, bade them make incisions in the flesh on his shoulder and fasten eagle feathers there. They made incisions in the skin on each shoulder and fastened feathers there. He filled a pipe, went into the bush, fastened the pipe to a branch, and the branch to an oak tree. Then, holding the stem of the pipe toward the west, he prayed to the thunders, asking them to forgive his disobedience, saying he had fastened eagle feathers to his cut flesh; he now cut out the flesh and put the feathers on the oak tree. "In the spring, when the leaves of this tree have reached the proper size, I will perform the sun dance," said he.

In the spring, when his condition had improved, he said he was going to perform the sun dance; he bade them get the pole and make everything ready. They built a sweatbath tipi. When it was ready he went into it and prepared himself by taking the sweatbath. He then came out, and, before stepping into the place where he was to dance, announced that he would dance two nights and two days. Before stopping at the end of the two nights and two days he announced that he had seen three Cree. He tied three feathers to the pole and said they would kill three Cree.

Having finished the dance he led out a war party. They slept five times. They saw three Cree. They brought home the scalps of these Cree and had a big dance in celebration. This man was a cousin of mine.

14. A man said he was going to perform the sun dance, having been directed in a dream to do so. He invited all of the men. They procured the pole, put up the tipi, and made all preparations. When about to begin he passed the pipe around, asking if some of them wished to participate. One of the young men said he wished to join him, took the pipe, smoked it, and passed it on. Another said he would participate, and then a third volunteered. They began preparations, all of them painting

their legs gray and their bodies red. The leader walked out of the tipi, announcing that he would dance two days.

They danced all night and the following morning. At noon he announced that there would be great excitement among them in the camp. There would be no Cree but the trouble would originate among themselves. He could not understand clearly but said he might see it more clearly next time, before the dance was over, as the event was to take place before the completion of the dance. He then finished his smoke. They danced all that night and until noon on the following day, when he stopped for a smoke. He said the excitement would occur in a short while and before they stopped dancing. He saw the spirits of dead buffalo, and, in their midst, a man. They resumed the dance and continued it throughout the afternoon. A little while before they stopped a large herd of buffalo came. All of the young men mounted horses and started in pursuit of the herd. One man was riding a wild horse. As he mounted, it reared and ran with him, throwing the man. As he fell to the ground his gun was discharged into his left side, killing him. When the dance was finished the leader announced that he was very sorry this sad accident had occurred before the dance was finished, but it could not be avoided. He had been anxious to finish the performance and said he was glad that it was completed. He thanked the men who had sung for him, saying this was all he would do, and stepped from his place. All that he said would happen did happen.

15. A man had a dream in which the thunders told him to make the sun dance. He intended to comply. Next day he announced his dream, saying he was going to perform the sun dance the following day and wished the young men to assemble at his tipi that evening. The next night he had another dream in which the sun came up clear in the morning, but toward noon the clouds gathered and there was a shower of rain and a thunderstorm. Though the sun was shining brightly he saw other portents in it. During the thunderstorm he saw a man among the thunders. Next morning he announced what he had seen in the dream, saying that the sun came up clear in the morning, it became cloudy, and there was a small shower and a thunderstorm; this lasted but a short while and during it he saw a man among the thunders. He supposed some one was to make the sun dance that year and this person knew it but was postponing it too long; if he did not perform it some misfortune would befall him. However he was not sure of the meaning of the portent and sent an old medicineman about the camp to ask every young and middle-aged man if he had been told in a dream to perform the sun dance.

Not being able to learn of any such person, they supposed he had postponed the performance too long and now was reluctant to carry it out. Early next morning, before sunrise, they prepared the pole and he made a small bowl of birchbark, bidding them mix water and red earth in it, place this before the stone, and put the pipe by it.

He began the dance. The sun rose clear on a beautiful bright morning. Toward noon some light clouds gathered. While taking the second smoke he announced that a man had been told to perform the sun dance, had not obeyed, and the thunders were coming for him. He had seen this person up among the thunders, but it was now too late to give him warning and the thunders would kill him. After the second smoke he resumed the dance. Soon there was a little shower of rain. The lightning struck somewhere off among the tipis. The people near this tipi were heard weeping. The thunders had killed a young man sitting in the tipi eating his meal. When the dance was over the performer announced that the thunders had told the man that he well knew he was to perform the sun dance; they had directed him in a dream to join the performer, but the man had told his dream to no one. They had decided to kill him to show the people what they would do when their directions were not heeded. He told them he was thankful that he himself was not the man who had been killed, and was glad he had finished the sun dance.

He invited all the young children and the women to drink of the water in the birchbark bowl. Each drank of it and consumed all of it. He had then finished what he wished to do. It had happened just as had been revealed to him in the dream. He had not understood the portent of the first dream. Everything happens as it is seen in a dream and announced by the dreamer.

This is what happened to the man who disobeyed.

The people put up the pole, arranged the pipe and a stone painted blue, and a man began the sun dance in the morning. All who perform the sun dance have been told by the man in the east to do so and the thunders in a dream give them warning when the appointed time has come. They then hold the dance.

About noon, when he had had the second smoke, he announced that something would happen a little while later; he did not know exactly what this would be, but it would involve some excitement; he would tell them more at the third smoke—for a performer may not speak between the smokes. If it did not happen before that time he might be able to give them details after the third smoke. Having finished

the second smoke he resumed the dance. Before the third smoke a man in the camp had quarrelled with his wife and had beaten her. The husband then arranged himself (it is the custom for all to paint their faces while the dance is on) and went to the performance. A little while after his appearance there the leader saw a number of women running to the man's tipi, weeping, amid great excitement. When the men arrived at the place they found the women had reached there ahead of them. A rope had been thrown over the top poles of the tipi and anchored at one end to a stake. The man's wife had removed the anchor rope, fastened it in this manner, then climbed the poles, put her neck in a noose, and hung herself. While swinging from it over the fire her clothing caught fire. This was the excitement referred to by the performer. Previously he had not been able to grasp the meaning of what he had seen and had intended to explain it at the third smoke, but, in the meanwhile, the event had happened. If she had delayed a while he would have warned the men of her intention and they could have prevented the suicide. In every sun dance the leader sees and foretells something, for he is a medicine-man. The men who perform the sun dance know that it is difficult, but they desire long life, know they are destined to become medicinemen, and perform it because they wish to help others—those who are sick as well as those who go out to fight.

16. Before he was born a young man had been told by the man in the east to perform the sun dance. After he was born, the thunders in the west told him he was to perform a sun dance. When ready to perform it he told his father he was going to hold the sun dance and would then go out to fight the Cree. If he went out to fight and would hold the dance before each war party, he would kill a number of Cree. They procured the pole, brought to it the stone and the pipe; also, a white and a red cloth on each of which dots were painted. These they hung about the middle of the pole. He began the dance, saying he would dance four days. As the sun rose the singers began, and the man started the dance. He continued it four days and four nights, neither eating nor drinking. He smoked four times each day and four times each night. Now and then he chewed a certain root which he had procured for this purpose.

Six men participated in the dance, and all of these were to be in the war party. Four other men prepared the ground. On the second day, while he was sitting and smoking, he announced to the onlookers that if what the thunders had said were true, on the cloths which he had caused to be placed on the pole he had seen the faces of many Cree, and they

would overcome the Cree every time they went out to fight them. He resumed the dance, stopping a little while after sunset on the fourth day. To the onlookers his abdomen seemed to lie flat against his spine, so wasted was he, yet the dancers seemed to be stronger than when they began the dance. A few days later, when they had satisfied their appetites, they went out to fight, returning with the scalps of all the Cree they had seen. Every time after this that the man went out to fight he returned with as many scalps as he could carry.

17. One time a man was told by the thunders in a dream to perform the sun dance. He selected four men to get a small oak tree. They procured one and brought it to the ground. They cleared a space of ground in the bush and over this erected a large tipi. They put up the pole. About the ground, in the form of a circle, they placed on end limbs about five feet in height, and about six inches in diameter. When all was ready they dug a hole, painted the stone the same color as the pole, and put the stone at the bottom of this hole (which was about three feet deep), the pole resting on top of the stone. The stone was placed at the base of the pole that the pole might remain there a very long time. The pipe was placed in front of the pole. The performer came out of his tipi. Before stepping on the place where he was to stand during the dance he announced that he would dance four nights and four days. He asked them to get a small buffalo hide and a small pot; to paint these blue and hang them about the middle of the pole. The pot he gave to the dogs and the hide to the moon, praying them to give him strength. When these had been arranged he announced that he would dance four nights and four days. Early in the evening he took his position on the spot where he was to stand. They began to sing and beat the drum. He danced all night. Next day at noon he rested and smoked. While smoking he announced that something would happen; there would be some excitement in the camp before he had finished the dance. He said he did not quite understand its nature as he could not see it clearly, but would explain it to them as soon as he understood what he had seen. He danced that afternoon and the following night. The second day, at noon, when he sat down to smoke, he said he had seen the Cree, and bade the men keep a sharp look-out, saying that two or three men should go to a place which he designated and there await the Cree.

He danced all of the ensuing night. Next day, the third day, at noon, he warned them that every Dakota should be watchful, saying the Cree were coming close and might encounter them at any time. He resumed the dance and danced throughout the night. The fourth day, at

noon, while smoking (he smoked four times daily), he said the Cree would come a little while before sunset; all of the women were to remain in the tipis and under no circumstances leave the camp. He had seen the Cree killing the women and all of them must remain in the camp.

A little while before sunset a woman went out for wood and was killed by the Cree. All this while the men were under arms and the Cree had not proceeded far before the Dakota had procured the scalps of all of them. The old men who had not gone to fight did the singing for the performer. It was nearly sunset when the Cree arrived and he had not long to dance after the young men left to pursue the Cree. That was the excitement which the performer had foretold.

There follows a long narrative of the many exploits of a famous sun dancer which are given in full as an illustration of shamanistic activities.

18. Before birth people are told in the east to make the sun dance. The person in the east told the thunders that men were to perform the sun dance. After birth people are told by the thunders in a dream that they are to perform the sun dance. On the following morning one who has been so directed will announce his dream to the young men of the camp. They go out into the bush and cut a small oak tree which they make ready for use. After planting this as a pole they place a stone close by, also a pipe with the stem pointing toward the pole. The singers then prepare the drum.

a

One man, whom the informant saw perform the sun dance, erected a tipi close to the pole. He procured a buffalo skull and prepared it for use. The skin of this man was perforated by a small sharp knife under each shoulder and skewers thrust through these slits. On each side of the pierced flesh and close to it, thongs were tied to the skewers. A thong on one side was tied to one buffalo horn, that from the other side was tied to the other horn.

When all was ready, the performer came out of the tipi weeping, dragging the buffalo head behind him by means of the thongs in his flesh, and went around the pole stopping behind the stone at the place where he was to stand. He removed the thongs and placed the buffalo skull in front of the stone. A slit was made in his flesh above the sternum as had been done below the shoulders. A long thong was tied to a stick, inserted through the cut flesh, the other end of the thong being tied to the pole. This was done before sunrise. He announced that he would finish the

dance a little while after sunset. As the sun appeared he began the dance. He continued it all day, taking neither food nor drink, but stopping four times to smoke. All day he continued the dance. A little after sunset he stopped. When he had finished he announced that he was glad it was finished, thanked all of those who had assisted him, and said he had been told by the person in the east to make the dance after being born. Having said this the person in the east turned him over to the thunders in the west, saying to them, as he did so, that he had told the man to perform the sun dance after being born on earth. To this the thunders consented, saying they would tell the medicineman when the time had come to perform it. After being born he was told one night by the thunders to perform it. The following morning he had announced his dream. He concluded by repeating that he was glad it was finished. Each man when told by the thunders to perform it is given the colors which he is to use.

The next dance was in 1901, at Portage La Prairie, Manitoba. About fifty years ago the cutting of the flesh was stopped.

The singing is accompanied by the blowing of a whistle made from the wing bone of the wild goose and used by the performer, and also by the drum which is beaten by the singers. The use of the buffalo skull is not a universal feature.

The men are willing to assist one who announces his intention of performing the sun dance for they know he will be killed by the thunders if he does not perform it.

b

This man performed the dance a second time. One day people were heard to say he was going to perform it again. The four men who had prepared things before procured the same pole, stone, and buffalo head.

They painted the pole with blue earth and put blue stripes on the face of the buffalo skull. The performer walked out of the tipi to the place where he was to stand. Before stepping into his position he announced that he would dance one day. As the sun rose he began the dance, continuing it throughout the day and until sunset. His flesh was cut in a new place over the sternum, a stick inserted, and to this was tied a string about the size of a small fishing line. He stated that he would smoke four times during the dance; at the second smoke he would see something but was not sure what this would be; however, he would give them detailed information when the time had come for him to smoke. When he had smoked the second time he told the young men they were to go out to a certain place and look about carefully for something was coming to see him perform the dance.

He continued the dance all morning. After he had smoked the second time the men kept a careful look-out. When he had resumed the dance after the second smoke, the men announced that a party of Cree were nearby on their return home. All of the Dakota were excited. A number of young men were assisting with the singing. When the Cree were sighted the Dakota had to go in pursuit of them. Some of the older men offered to take their place and thus release all of the young men to go after the Cree, except such as were to remain behind to protect the camp. They procured the scalps of four Cree. A little after sunset he said he was pleased to have again finished the sun dance. The Dakota then made him a leader because he had told them the Cree were coming and had done so even when he himself was not going out to fight.

c

This man performed a third dance. He announced he would perform another sun dance. He took a sweatbath. During the sweatbath he said he was going to perform the sun dance, but would first fight the Cree; after his return he would hold the dance; it would last four days. After taking the sweatbath he went out on a war party. Upon his return he directed the four assistants to procure the pole and make things ready for the dance. When all was ready he prepared himself in the tipi by cutting the flesh below the cuts made previously at the back of his shoulders, and attached the buffalo skull as previously. When all was ready he stepped out of the tipi and walked around the pole, saying that he was going to perform the sun dance again; he had before that finished it, but the thunders had again directed him to perform it. He inquired whether any of the young men present would like to take part; no one was willing to join him because four days and four nights was too long a period. Medicinemen, however, have power to go this long without food or drink. Others who are not directed in a dream cannot endure it more than a day and a night. The flesh was cut over the sternum and he was again tied to the pole. He began the dance. Throughout the performance he leaned back against the string keeping it taut.

He continued the dance all night and throughout the first day, the second night, and the second day; the third night and the third day; also the fourth night. On the morning of the fourth day he said that was the last day and asked the singers to stop four times during the day to allow him to sit down and smoke. (A performer must ask the singers to stop if he wishes a respite). A little after sunset, he said, he would stop. On the fourth day the singers stopped, saying they would allow him to rest. Accordingly he rested. Four times during the day he

stopped to rest. It seemed as though his stomach lay flat upon his spine—so thin was he. A little while after sunset he stopped. Two of the singers went to him and supported him, while another untied the string fastening him to the pole. They took him into the tipi, giving him food and water. When he had eaten he announced that he was going out on another war party and that they would sleep ten nights on the journey before reaching the Cree and starting home. Four days hence they were to start. During four nights he sang war songs. On the fourth day they started.

They traveled ten nights before reaching the Cree, of whom they killed five families. When they returned they were received with rejoicings and a big war dance was held. That is what this man accomplished on the war party which he led after finishing the dance. He was a powerful medicineman. The scalps which they brought home were stretched across two hoops made for this purpose. A cross (+) was painted on each scalp.

d

This man, who had now performed the sun dance three times, was again directed by the thunders to perform it. One morning he invited the young men to his tipi, saying he had an announcement to make to them. He bade them eat first, saying he would make the announcement when they had finished their meal.

When all had finished, he told them he had completed all the sun dances as they were assigned to him, but in a later dream the thunders had again directed him to perform the sun dance.

He asked the men to procure him a buffalo skull. All went to hunt a buffalo skull that would serve in the place of the one he had previously used. They planted the pole, placed the stone and the pipe in position, and, at the place where the man was to stand, drove into the ground two sticks about four inches square at the top, with the top about an inch and a half above the ground. The man said he would stand on them during the dance. That evening when all was made ready and the flesh was incised below each shoulder, he stepped into his place and told the men that the buffalo had come to him in a dream, saying he wished to be in the sun dance every time this man performed it; that he was made by *wakantanka* before any other animal was made, and that he has more power and strength than any other animal. For that reason he wished to be in every sun dance, for it was celebrated that one might obtain strength and power, and he could impart strength and power to complete the dance. The man said that this time, too, he would dance four days and four nights. He began the dance.

In the morning he went into his tipi, painted the buffalo skull blue, and tied a string to each horn, fastening one to one shoulder, and the other to the other shoulder. He walked out of the tipi and around the pole, dragging the buffalo skull behind him. When he had completed the circuit and arrived at the two sticks on which he was to stand he untied the strings, attached to the back of his shoulders, laid the buffalo skull at the foot of the pole, and stepped upon the two sticks where he was to stand during the dance. As he did so, the singers gave the war whoop and started the song.

In the camp there was always someone willing to perform the sun dance when another was celebrating it; but when this man asked if any one would join him there was not a response, for what he performed was difficult for other men to endure. He danced four nights and four days. When about to sit down to have a smoke he would remove the string which was tied to his flesh above the sternum. Having finished the dance he made a sweatbath; when he came out of this they gave him food. Always, when stopping the dance, either for an intermission or upon its completion, he would make a smudge of sweetgrass and over it hold whatever he was about to eat, drink, or smoke.

Having finished the meal he smoked his pipe. All the assistants were present. He told them that whenever he was to be sent out to fight he was told to make the sun dance, so that all the men he took with him would have power to kill Cree. The thunders told him that after finishing the sun dance he was to go out on another war party, and that this was why he was to perform it. He bade the men prepare moccasins and food for the approaching war party. When all were ready, they started. While eating the midday meal the leader, feeling drowsy, lay down to sleep while the others ate. Rising after his nap, he announced that they were to kill and eat a bear that night. In the afternoon they resumed the journey. When they had camped for the night and were eating the evening meal, a bear approached. They killed it and removed the hide, eating some of the flesh and keeping some for the rest of the journey.

Early on the following morning they started away. At noon the man slept again. When he awoke he told them that when they had camped for the night they would kill two geese, a male and a female, and were to eat them. Each night he sang the war songs. The second night, after singing these, he announced that on the following day, while on the journey, they would kill an elk and were to eat it for supper. Next morning they resumed the journey, killed an elk and ate it for the

evening meal. The third night while they were eating the elk at the evening meal, the man sang the fighting songs and then announced that on the following day, while traveling, they would kill a moose and were to eat it at the evening meal. When they had finished eating, he sang again. Next day, during the journey, they killed a moose. This was the second moose they had killed. They ate it during the evening meal. After supper the man sang again. Next day they were to kill an otter and have it for the evening meal. That night would be the last one they would spend before reaching their destination. The medicineman told them they were to dry the hide of the otter which they had killed, and were to fasten to it all the scalps which they took. After the otter was killed, and the party had camped for the night, the leader sang. When he had stopped he announced that there would be five Cree out hunting; he would give them two moose to take home; they should fill themselves with moose meat and early next morning the Dakota would kill the satiated Cree. Next morning the Cree went out to hunt. They returned to the camp and the Dakota party went to it early next day about sunrise. They encountered the Cree and had a severe fight, killing five of the enemy and bringing back their scalps, tied to the otter hide. When they had returned to the camp they held the war dance. After every sun dance this man did something remarkable. Stories are told about this man frequently because he was powerful in every way. He was granted a long life because of the severity of his performance.

e

One time he invited an old man to his tipi. When the old man had come he told him he had had a dream in which he was directed to perform the sun dance. The thunders had bade him perform it. They had now waited a little while longer than was fitting and wished him to perform it at once. He made the old man a present of a blanket and gave him a meal, asking him to invite all the young men and announce to them the host's dream. The old man, having finished the meal, picked up the blanket, went out of the tipi, and walked around the entire camp, calling out that this man was going to perform the sun dance and wished every young man in the camp to help him. They went to his tipi. That night he had a dream in which there was a big thunderstorm, and the lightning struck one of the poles of the tipi above his head; the thunders told him he had waited too long and they wished him to perform the sun dance at once.

To all the men gathered at his tipi he gave a meal, asking them to get the pole and hunt for an old buffalo skull that he might use. Some

went to look for the buffalo skull while others went to get the pole. They found a buffalo skull and brought it to the grounds, and the pole was planted. The buffalo skull was painted blue and placed near the foot of the pole; the stone was painted blue and placed by the pole, while the pipe was laid close by. He bade them make incisions in his shoulders and his breast and fasten the string to his breast. He danced that night. Before starting to dance he told those present that he wished to rest before sunrise.

Next morning before sunrise he stopped and announced that when the dance was over a herd of buffalo would come to the camp and that all should get as many as possible. Before the singers began the song he said they should sing one more song, then rest, and later resume the singing. To the slit made over each shoulder he tied feathers, and fastened to the pole the string tied to his breast, announcing that he would continue the dance until the string tore out the flesh, as he had previously been told to dance until he tore out the flesh. The men who had cut the flesh did not make deep cuts but left only a thin strip of flesh to hold the string, so that it would tear easily. He continued the dance all day and just before sunset tore out the flesh and fell backward on the ground. As he fell, all of those present gave the war whoop. Two men lifted him up and helped him to sit erect. He told them the performance was now over and on the morrow they would see a big herd of buffalo. He took a sweatbath, then went into his tipi and dressed. The assistants gave him food and water. All were up next morning before sunrise, for the man had told them that they would see a big herd of buffalo when they got up. One man went out and brought back word that a big herd was close to the camp. All went out to kill buffalo.

f

This man again invited the old man, giving him a meal and telling him he had had a dream in which he was instructed to perform the sun dance, the thunders having so commanded him. He said he had invited the old man to announce this to the young men, and presented him with a blanket. Having finished the meal, the old man summoned all the young men in the camp and announced to them that this man was going to perform the sun dance and wished all of them to come to his tipi. When the old man had returned to the man's tipi all of those who had been invited assembled there. He bade some of them hunt a buffalo skull for him while others prepared the tipi. When the skull had been brought, and all was ready, he bade them cut the flesh between the shoulder blades and tie the buffalo skull to the flesh at that place. That

night he performed the dance in the tipi instead of at the pole. Early next morning before sunrise he smoked. The pole was erected, the ground prepared, and the stone was moved to it. They began the singing as he walked out of the tipi dragging the buffalo skull from the flesh between the shoulders. A slit was made in the flesh over the sternum and he was tied by means of it to the pole. He announced that if he did not tear out the flesh that day, he would dance all day and night and continue it until the fourth day, and until the fifth if the flesh had not torn out. He began the dance. He did not tear out the flesh that day and continued the dance all day. He continued all night and next day until the third night. He danced through the third day and on through the night. (The night, in a way, does not count, for the flesh is never torn out during the night.) He danced all that night and the fourth day, without tearing out the flesh, and without exhibiting any signs of fatigue or exhaustion. He danced all that night and the fifth day. About the middle of the fifth day the flesh tore out. All this while he had taken neither water nor food, though he had stopped to smoke whenever he wished. As he tore out the flesh all those present gave the war whoop. All were glad he had finished the dance.

The tearing out of the flesh is a sign that a subsequent war party will kill all the Cree they encounter, wherefore all give the war whoop as the flesh is torn out. The men lifted him and carried him into the tipi. He took a sweatbath, dressed, went into his tipi and ate and smoked. He bade the men be ready as soon as possible, as he was going to fight as soon as they were ready. When all were ready the party started.

On the fourth day out they encountered the Cree. There was a severe fight. They killed four of the Cree and brought home their scalps. A big war dance was held. When the dance was over, all those in the camp, both men and women, shook hands with the leader of the party, for all were pleased by his feats. He lived a number of years.

Now and then the war dance was celebrated, thanks to him, for every time he went on a war party he returned with scalps.

9

Previous to the last fifty years I saw many sun dances and heard of many more. This is another story about the same man. One time he invited an old man, gave him food and tobacco, and asked him to invite the men, for he wished to perform the sun dance. All of the young men who heard about it were willing to come and assist.

When all had come he and they took the sweatbath. While in the sweatbath tipi he asked whether anyone present would like to take part

in the dance. None of the young men would volunteer, for it was his custom to cut the flesh, and tie himself with a string to the pole, and they could not endure such things. He added that if anyone wished to join him, it would not be necessary for that one to do the things he was doing; all they would need to do was paint themselves and dance. He was not going to do anything else; he was going out to fight and he wished more power that they might overcome the Cree. He passed the pipe around.

One of the young men said he would help the man, lit the pipe, and smoked it. Another said he would join, and smoked the pipe; so four young men in all, offered to join him. He said he would obtain for them power to stand so long as he danced. These four prepared themselves while some went to get the buffalo skull and others went for the pole. He told them that this time he would have a tipi around and over the pole; the first night they were to dance in his tipi where they were now preparing, and next morning would go into the tipi erected over the pole. The first night he danced in the tipi. In the morning, before sunrise, they brought the buffalo skull and tied the string attached to it to the flesh of his back. He danced thus in the large tipi erected over the pole. They made a small mound of earth about a foot high for him. On this he stood, two of the young men participating being on one side, the other two on the other side.

When he tied the buffalo skull to the flesh of his back, dragged it, and danced, it was a sign he would go out to fight after completing the dance. Before sunrise they fixed the ground and prepared two buffalo calf hides, painting one blue and one red. He gave the red one to the sun and the blue one to the moon, asking the sun and the moon to give power to him and to the young men participating, so that they might endure the dance as long as he and not suffer. He then went outside, dragging the buffalo skull. There, before starting the dance for the day, he smoked. Before beginning the dance he asked the men to untie the buffalo skull and place it at the foot of the pole. He said he would dance until the flesh tore from his breast. He told the singers that the other four men were not to do anything except dance as they were; he alone would tie a string to the flesh.

He stepped upon the small mound of earth. The singers started the song and he began the sun dance. They continued it all that day. The leader had said that the others were to rest four times each day until he tore out the flesh; at night, when he stopped for the third smoke, they might rest and sleep until daylight. He, however, could endure it

day and night. He danced all day and all night. At the third smoke, during the night, the young men stopped, resuming the dance next morning as the sun rose.

They danced all the first day, resting four times, and, similarly, the second day. During the second day the parents (fathers ?) of the four men gave away many things to the poor, saying they were pleased that their sons were enduring the dance so well. They danced all that night until the third smoke. They danced throughout the third day and until the third smoke of the ensuing night, resuming it on the fourth day. He did not tear the flesh the fourth day.

Throughout the performance all of the devotees kept in their mouth a root which they chewed to allay hunger and thirst and to keep their thoughts away from food. They continued the dance until night. At the third smoke the young men stopped and rested until morning. They danced all of the next day. Before noon the stomachs of the four young men were stuck to their spinal columns,¹ so empty were they. Even so, all had strength. They danced throughout the fifth day, the man tearing out the flesh a little while after sunset. As he did so, he fell back prostrate instead of into a sitting posture, as he should have done. All gave the war whoop. Two of the singers ran to him, raised him into a sitting posture and gave him a smoke.

They carried the other four men from their places and set them by this man. All smoked. Before the beginning of the dance the assistants had procured a hard stiff hide which they cut out into the shape of a horse, making a perforation near the back of it and tying it by means of this hole with a thong to the wrist of the leader.

When the men had finished smoking, the assistants made ready the sweatbath tipi. When this was over they went into the big tipi and had food. Having finished the meal, they smoked. The leader bade one of the devotees come and remove the image of the horse, lift the stone, and place the image of the horse under it.

When this was done the leader said he wished to go out and bring back every horse the Cree had; for this reason he had worn the image of a horse. He bade the men get ready their guns and arrows, and two or three extra pairs of moccasins, saying they would go four days hence. On the fourth day they started. The third day out, two men who had been sent ahead, returned, saying they had sighted the Cree camp. The others sat in the bushes while the scouts counted the tipis and ascertained

¹A literal translation of the Dakota expression.

the number of horses there. The scouts returned, giving the number of horses and tipis. The leader said he did not want any of the Cree but did want all their horses and was going to the camp when all were asleep. I do not know whether it was because the man had put the image of the horse under the stone, but all the horses were away from the camp, untied, dragging their tethers with them. That night they secured every horse they could find and started back home. They returned with a large number of horses. All were glad to see the man return with the horses. They did not bring back any scalps, but even so they held the war dance just as though scalps had been brought.

h

Another time this man said he was going to perform the sun dance. He procured the four men who had helped him before and also other assistants. The others arranged the tipi while these four arranged the ground, erected the pole, put by it the stone and the pipe, and had all in readiness. The tipi was above and around the pole. On all the previous occasions when he had performed the dance, the day was clear, the sun shining. He announced that it would rain a little on this occasion; when the rain came they were to remove the tipi, as he wished to be washed by the thunders. When the tipi was ready he sent men to get another buffalo skull. This they procured and painted blue. The tipi was pegged down securely for the young men understood from his words that a big thunderstorm was approaching. The buffalo skull having been procured and everything arranged, he bade them have the tipi ready by morning, saying he was going to dance in the smaller tipi where they were to build a small mound of earth on which he would stand. He would go out into the big tipi next day, a little while before sunrise. He danced all night in the smaller tipi. He told them to put two small stones before the pole. About daylight they moved out the ceremonial objects and he rested for a smoke. He bade them fasten to the flesh of his back the string attached to the buffalo skull. As the sun appeared he walked out of the tipi and encircled the entire ceremonial ground. Having completed the circuit, and being about to step upon the two stones,—which had been painted blue—he announced that he wished the string, attached to the buffalo skull, removed from his back and tied, one end to the pole, the other to his breast, saying he would dance until he tore out the flesh. Before stepping upon these two stones he announced that he had had intercourse with a woman a few days before; the rain would wash him and thus the thunders would remove the impurity. As he stepped on the two stones the sun rose clear. In a little

while it became cloudy and before ten songs were sung it was raining. By noon the rain was over. He danced all day, resting four times to smoke; all night, and rested before sunrise. He danced the second day and the third night. He danced all of the third day and all of the fourth night. The fourth day, as the sun rose he tore out the flesh and fell backward. The men present gave the war whoop; two of them lifted him into a sitting posture and gave him a smoke. He had painted his legs gray between the ankles and the knees. When he had taken the sweat-bath and had eaten, he smoked. He then said that he had painted his legs gray because he wished to go out to fight the Cree during the winter but not sooner. He bade the men be none of them impatient for the arrival of winter. I never heard any more about this performance. He was a great medicineman and I suppose he went out to fight.

i

One day an old man came to the camp crying out that the man who made the sun dance continually was going to perform another and wished all the young men to gather at his tipi to see what the man might wish them to do.

When all the young men had assembled at his tipi, he told them that every time he completed a sun dance he thought he had finished all that the thunders desired him to do; it appeared to him that he was the only man whom the thunders were after continually. He would not remonstrate, however, because his power was derived from them and he was pleased every time he was told to perform the sun dance, because he procured assistance from them when on the war party; still, he was sorry to trouble the young men. If, however, they did not object, he would be pleased to have their assistance. He gave all of them a meal. When they had eaten he bade some procure a buffalo skull while others arranged the tipi. Accordingly, some procured the buffalo skull while others prepared the tipi. The tipi was always about thirty yards from the pole and faced east, as he wished the sun to see him come out. He always walked out as the sun was rising. He bade them procure two hides, one of which they were to paint red, for the sun, the other, blue, for the moon. When all was ready he asked them to dig two holes in the ground for his feet, about six inches deep and the shape of a foot. When that was done, *hopa'wakan* (*Wakan* wind) (for that was the name of the man, a name he had bestowed upon himself when he performed the first sun dance, saying that the thunders could go around many days without eating or drinking, and he was assuming this name so that he might endure many days without eating or drinking) took the sweatbath,

inviting all of the men to participate with him. Some of them accepted the invitation. He filled a pipe and passed it around, saying that those who were willing to join him in the dance should light it and smoke it. One man said he would join him, lighted the pipe, and smoked it; another one volunteered and smoked the pipe; then another and another until six had volunteered. These six were then painted.

The first night he danced in the tipi. Early in the morning he stopped to rest, saying he would give the others a rest. They slept awhile and returned to the tipi when the day gave signs of breaking. He bade them all make ready. All prepared themselves. He asked them to cut the flesh below his shoulders and attach the buffalo skull to these parts. They did so. He walked out of the tipi, dragging the buffalo skull, the others following. He walked around the ceremonial tipi. Before stepping into the holes dug for his feet he announced that he would dance until he broke the string; the other men were not to copy his example, but dance as they were; he would rest four times during the day in order to allow the others to rest; likewise, at night; he would dance until he broke the string; this time he would not tear the flesh. Before stepping into position he said that the person who had sent him down to earth had told him he was going to send him down to earth and that he would be firmly planted there. With that assurance he was sent down. He said that his name before he was born was Hopa'wakan, wherefore he could go for days without eating or drinking. Neither the thunders nor any gods upon earth had given him power; one alone had made everything on the earth and he it was who had given him power to perform all these feats. To that *wakan* being alone he was looking when he performed these dances. Tearing out the flesh was not so difficult as breaking the string and he was going to look to that power which had made everything on earth; by virtue of this he would be able to break the string.

Having said this, he added that he was glad more men were assisting him this time. He would see to it that these six men procured help from that same being on whom he was depending. He then stepped into the holes which had been dug for his feet, the men standing, three on each side of him. The singer began and they started the dance. They continued the dance all day, stopping only to smoke. During the night they stopped four times to smoke. The second day passed without the string breaking, also the third night. The third day passed without the string breaking. Meanwhile the parents of the six participants were giving presents to the poor, telling them they were glad their sons had

continued until the third day without difficulty. The fourth day passed without the string breaking, and they continued the dance on the fifth day. On the fifth day, just as the sun passed the meridian, one of the six participants fell.

The leader had given them medicine to prevent their thoughts dwelling on food or water. As the man fell, the singers stopped. The medicineman knew why this man had fallen, but did not speak until after the dance. When the dance was over he told the men sitting by him that this young man had fallen because less than four days prior to the dance he had had intercourse with a woman; he was sorry to announce that the transgressor would die before the summer was over, adding that any man who was well enough aware that he had had intercourse with a woman during the previous four days should not participate in the sun dance. It was now past noon. The leader bade the fallen man sit where he had fallen and he with the other five continued the dance. Thus they continued through the night.

Early the sixth morning the leader bade the fallen man go to the tipi and sit there quietly. The leader and the others continued the dance through the sixth day and the following night. At noon, on the seventh day, the string broke. Six and a half days they had danced without food or drink.

After the string had broken the leader smoked. They carried the other men from their places, put them in a sitting posture, and permitted them to smoke. They arranged a sweatbath tipi and all the performers took a sweatbath. When they had finished the sweatbath they took food. When the meal was over, the leader told them he would lead out a war party four days hence, and they should prepare for the same.

Four days later they started. On the fourth day out, as the sun was rising, the leader selected two of the best men, telling them to go ahead and find out the number of Cree tipis. They were to go straight ahead until they came to a spruce tree in the top of which was a crow's nest. They went to the tree and, looking up at the top, assured themselves that it was the tree referred to. He had told them to go on a little way beyond this tree. The Cree were not far away and they were to be very careful after leaving the tree. They passed by the tree and out into the bush until they came to an open space in which were four tipis. They returned, telling the others what they had seen. When they told the leader they had found the tree described to them by him, he said he had seen the tree in a dream during the winter and wished to test his own

powers. When the scouting party reported to him that there were only four of the enemy tipis he directed the party to remain there the remainder of the day and the following night; on the fifth day as the sun was rising they would attack and kill the Cree. Early in the morning they spread out in a line and surrounded the tipis. As the sun was rising they rushed into the camp and killed all the Cree. The man who had fallen while performing the sun dance was killed. This was the occasion referred to when the leader said this man would die before the close of summer.

They returned with the scalps of all the Cree. All were pleased to see them return, yet some were sad over the fate of the man who had been killed, saying, this medicineman had gone out on many war parties and this was the first time a man in his party had been killed. All, however, rejoiced over the number of scalps that were brought home and they celebrated a big war dance.

j

One day the people heard that this man was going to perform the sun dance again. At this time some of the Dakota were in camp in the bush while out on a hunting expedition. When they heard that he was going to perform the sun dance they came in from every direction to see it. He invited the men who were to serve as assistants. When all had come, he gave them food. When they had eaten they took the sweatbath.

When the sweatbath was over he announced that there were two powers which would kill him if he did not make the sun dance; he would be killed by the thunders who would cause him to be sick a long time until he was very frail. If he became sick in this way no medicineman could effect a cure. He filled a pipe and passed it around, asking if anyone would take part in the dance. No one felt disposed to join him. He told them he would dance ten nights and ten days this time. He bade them get a pole and a buffalo skull to put at the base of it, and to get a stone also. They procured all of these and erected the pole.

He bade them make incisions on his shoulders wherein feathers might be inserted; to make a hoop, and tie to it the soft downy white feathers of the wild goose. They made the incisions on his shoulders and to these incisions tied the hoop instead of, as formerly, the buffalo skull. That evening when all preparations had been made the singers started the song in the small tipi in which the performer had gotten ready. He danced all that night. Early next morning he rested a while. A little while before sunrise he took a buffalo skull, and held this, the

stone, and the pipe over a sweetgrass smudge. Again, that morning, he asked if any of the young men wished to join him. No one cared to do so as he always danced too long for them. He wore a shirt pendent from his waist and hanging down to his knees, being otherwise naked. He danced that day and the following night. About midnight of the second night, the singers stopped and asked the man if he wished to rest during the night. He said he did not wish to rest and bade them continue. He told the singers they might rest and let others have their places on any of the occasions of his smoking. He danced all of the following day and night until nearly dawn, when he stopped for a rest: the night of this second day he stopped to rest.

He continued throughout the ten days and nights, dancing all day, stopping four times to smoke during the day, and before daylight each night. Thus he danced until the ten days' period had expired. He did not become tired but seemed to be gaining strength toward the end of this time. All of the singers, old and young, were exhausted. Dakota from other encampments came to see him complete the ten days and nights, for this was long a period. A little while after sunset, at the end of the ten nights and ten days he stopped. The *wakan* beings who had directed him to perform these dances promised him a long life if he would perform the sun dance, and he wished to live to an old age. For this reason he did all that they asked him to do. He said he was glad he had finished; he knew he would have to continue the dance that number of days and was not disposed to do so, but knowing it would secure him long life he finished the allotted period; he was now glad to have completed it, thanked all of the singers, stepped out of the place where he had stood, and took the sweatbath.

The sweatbath finished, he made a smudge of sweetgrass, holding over it his food and tea. Having finished the meal he filled his pipe, held it over the smudge, and smoked. He said he would lead out a war party in a few days. It was then the new moon. He said there was enough time to prepare, but even so all should make themselves ready to start on the day after the full moon.

When the appointed day came they started. On the fourth day out they stopped to rest. The leader sent two men ahead to ascertain the whereabouts of the Cree, saying that if they performed the service well, the party would kill all the Cree; if they performed it ill, the Cree would defeat the Dakota.

The two men were then sent out to reconnoiter the Cree. They went to the camp of the Cree. There were no women but only men

present in the camp, this giving the impression that the Cree were preparing for a fight. They were then preparing the evening meal. The leader said they would spend the night where they had rested and would attack the Cree about sunrise on the following morning. At the designated time they killed all of the Cree—ten in number. The *wakan* beings, who had directed the leader to perform the dance, gave him the ten Cree. The leader said the *wakan* beings had given him a Cree for each day that he danced. They took the scalps to the camp and held a big war dance.

k

Again it was said that this man was going to perform the sun dance. He never made the sun dance twice during the same year. The performances were separated by intervals of from one to four years.

One day he went about the camp inviting the young men. He gave them a meal and took the sweatbath with them, telling some to procure a buffalo skull and to prepare the tipi and grounds. They brought the pole, fixed the grounds, and erected the pole; the buffalo skull also was brought. When all was ready the buffalo skull was painted blue. He bade them get a piece of stiff hide and cut out of it the outline of a horse, as this time he did not wish Cree, but their horses. He asked if some of the young men would help him. Five volunteered to take part. When all was ready he bade them make an incision in his back; they tied the buffalo skull to the cut flesh. He walked around the ground dragging the buffalo skull, the five participants following him. He stood on the place prepared for him, two of the performers on one side, three on the other. He danced the first night with the buffalo head tied to his back and continued thus the following day.

He danced all night and all day, all the following day and night, all the next day and night. On the third day, he bade them make a smudge of sweetgrass, take from his wrist the rawhide image of the horse, hold the same over the smudge, replace it on his wrist, and tie it there. He danced the following night and on the fourth day, a little after sunset, stopped. During this performance he did not tie himself to the pole but had the buffalo skull fastened to the flesh of his back. (When one of these was done the other was omitted.) He bade them take the image of the horse off his wrist, lift the stone at the base of the pole, and place the image under it. He said that ten days from that time he would go to the camp of the Cree and secure all their horses. When ten days had passed they started.

They journeyed until the fourth day when they sighted the Cree camp. The leader said they would remain there until night and during the night would steal all the horses of the Cree. Before night came he said that one of the men who had taken part in the sun dance would procure a nice horse, white, with brown ears, having on its back a red cloth to which a goat's tail was sewed. To the man designated he said: "You are to take that horse and keep it."

When it had grown dark they started out to secure the horses, and returned to camp with them. They celebrated the war dance and had great festivities. The people were pleased every time this man led a war party. He was the subject of story after story because he was capable of performing extraordinary feats.

l

This man performed still another sun dance. The people said they had heard this man was going to perform another sun dance. He invited the men. From distant localities people came to see him perform the dance.

He bade the assistants bring the pole and took a sweatbath with them. He told them to dig holes in the ground for his feet and fasten him to the pole with thong. The first night he danced in the tipi. Early next morning he rested. Before sunrise he walked out of the tipi and announced that he was making the sun dance because he wished all to have a supply of meat; as a result of his performance, wherever they might go they would have plenty of wild cows, there would be many around them all the time. Having said this he asked them to fasten the thong to his flesh, adding, that when the flesh tore out he would bring the performance to an end. He then began the dance, continuing it all day and night. On the second day at noon he tore out the flesh and stopped.

He remarked that the man who had cut the flesh must have done it so that it would tear easily. He usually danced a long time; in fact, until the singers were fatigued. When he had finished and they had raised him to a sitting posture, and he had had his sweatbath, meal, and smoke, he announced that from that day on, so long as he lived, they would have plenty of cows (i.e., buffalo), no matter where they might go. For many years thereafter wherever the people happened to be they had plenty of wild cattle.¹

¹*p!A!ewa'iwopi*, literally, 'small cows' (buffalo).

m

Another time this man was going to perform the sun dance. He invited the young men to his tipi. When they came he sent some to get the pole, and directed others to make ready the ground. He bade them procure a buffalo skull. That night, when all was ready, he announced that he would dance four nights and four days. He was not going to tie himself to the pole, but would have the buffalo skull tied to the flesh of his back. As always when using the buffalo skull, it did not rest on the ground but swung from the flesh about a foot and a half from the ground. He began the dance, continuing it throughout the night in the tipi, then walked out on the ground and danced until a little after sunset on the fourth day. He said to those present that he was glad he had finished it; when performing the previous sun dance he thought it was to be the last, but he had had another dream directing him to make the sun dance under penalty of being killed. He did not know why the thunders were so insistent, for he did all that they directed him to do; all that they told him was that if he failed to perform the dance he would be killed.

Two men lifted him into a sitting posture and lit the pipe. (This pipe must remain near the pole throughout the performance, the bowl being covered meanwhile with a piece of white cloth to prevent the tobacco from being blown away.) When he had finished the dance, had a smoke, a sweatbath, and something to eat, he announced that when the leaves were turning yellow he would lead a war party. He had, while dancing, seen only one Cree, yet at the time appointed he intended to go out to kill him. In the autumn, when the leaves were turning yellow, they went out to fight. They found only one Cree, a man out hunting. They brought back the scalp and celebrated the war dance.

n

This man had begun performing the sun dance while still a young man. He now announced that he would continue to perform it until he was a very old man and that that time had not yet come. Having said this, he told the young men to get the pole, make ready the ground and erect the tipi. When all was ready he directed them to get a buffalo skull, paint it blue, and place it at the base of the pole, as this time he was going to dance without cutting himself or carrying the buffalo skull. When they had painted the buffalo skull they placed it at the base of the pole, and, all being ready, he prepared to begin the dance. He announced that he would dance for a night and a day.

Accordingly, he danced that night and the following day. At noon he sat down to smoke. Having smoked, he announced that he had seen something during the dance which he could not understand, but might comprehend later. He continued the dance throughout that day. When he had nearly finished he again saw the omen, but still could not understand it. When he had finished the performance he took the sweatbath. Having finished the sweatbath he said to those gathered in his tipi to hear what he had seen during the dance (for always many gather for this purpose) that he had seen something which he could not understand, but believed it betokened something was coming to the camp.

He therefore urged the men to have their guns ready as this might be fulfilled at any time. That night he dreamed the Cree were coming to attack them. Next morning, he announced that the Cree were coming to attack them and all should be on their guard; that a *wakan* being had been trying to tell him a certain thing and all the other *wakan* beings had prevented his doing so—when he was on the point of giving the information the others stopped him. Four separate times he attempted to impart the information and as often was prevented from telling the man. This caused the man to feel badly over it for he knew at once why the other *wakan* beings were attempting to keep the information from him.

During the day some women went out to gather wood. The Cree pursued them into the camp. All the young men went out to resist the Cree. A young son of this man was among those who went out and was killed.

The man was angry and felt very badly over the death of his son. During the following night, the *wakan* being who had tried to tell him a certain thing came to him in a dream, telling him the other *wakan* beings had directed him to tell the man his son had been killed because the father did not perform the sun dance as he should have done at the last performance: they had directed him to dance with the buffalo skull tied to him or else to tie himself to the pole and dance four days. He had not done either. The other *wakan* beings were angry and wished to kill him instead of his son, but the thunders would not agree to this and they decided to kill the man's son. To this the other *wakan* beings agreed, and so the thunders substituted the man's son. This was the first time the man had disobeyed; and for not performing the dance as directed the misfortune of having his son killed was visited upon him.

o

About a year afterward this man was mourning for his son, unable to forget what had befallen him. He said that one of the Cree must die.

About a year after this he led out a war party. It included a large number of men, making the largest party he had led. The party started. The leader carried a stick slightly larger than a small pipestem.

The leader, feeling much grieved over the death of his son, held a *wo'atawaho'pi*, or fighting feast. All who came he bade announce to the other Dakota that he was going out to fight. He was angered by the death of his son and wished to kill every Cree whom he could find. Four days later men were to be seen coming into the camp from every direction.

The man carried with him the stick above mentioned and every now and then on the journey sang. While singing he became aware of the direction of the Cree and held the stick out in front of him. Having finished the song, he would make a notch on it, and after the next song another notch below the first one, and so on. When the notches reached almost to the bottom of the stick he sent out two men to see how many Cree were to be found. These men returned with the word that there was a large party of Cree. They did not specify the number of Cree tipis, declaring that they could not discover the exact number. The leader was so frenzied with anger toward the Cree that he could not contain himself.

He spent the night there. Early the following morning they marched directly into the camp of the Cree. Before getting to the camp, part of the men went to the right, part to the left, while part continued in two parallel columns straight through the middle of the camp until they reached the opposite side. Then they doubled back, the right line to the right side, the left line to the left. The detouring parties outside of the camp met and thus the camp was invested by both an outer and an inner circle of Dakota. They killed every Cree, procured the scalp of each and destroyed the entire camp. Not one of the Dakota received so much as a scratch from the encounter. They destroyed everything in the camp and brought home the scalps of all the wives of the Cree. Those at home were glad to see the war party return. Not a young middle-aged or able-bodied man was to be found in the camp for all had gone out on this war party, leaving only the women, children, and aged. This man performed the most remarkable feats ever achieved by any one. When the war party returned they held a big war dance.

(The stick which the leader had carried he left on the return journey at the foot of a tree.)

p

It was now about a year after the last war party. To a man who had come to visit him he said he was grieving for his son, complaining

that it was because of his omissions that his son had been killed. He had not made the sun dance on the previous occasion in the manner directed by the spirits, but had performed it otherwise; as a result of his disobedience all the *wakan* beings were angry with him. He must perform another sun dance and wished to perform it as he had performed the last one but was afraid to do so. He wished sometime to repeat the above-mentioned sun dance. The visitor replied that if the man wished to perform the dance at once he would assemble the men at his host's tipi. The host requested him to do so. The visitor walked out and invited all the old men to assemble at this man's tipi. The medicineman announced his dream to the assembled men, telling them his failure to perform the dance as directed and adding that he wished to repeat the performance.

When all was ready, the pole, stone, and pipe arranged, and a string attached to the pole ready for use in the morning, they put a white cloth on the pole as an offering to the sun, and a calf hide painted blue, as an offering to the moon. When about to begin the dance the performer asked if anyone present wished to participate. No one volunteered, for in every performance this man underwent too many hardships.

All being ready and no one volunteering to participate, he announced that he would have the buffalo skull fastened to the flesh at the back of his shoulders. They attached the buffalo skull to the flesh of his back and he danced all that night. Early the following morning he walked out of the tipi dragging the buffalo skull, made a circuit of the ceremonial ground, unfastened the buffalo skull, tied the string from the pole to his breast, and announced he was going to perform the sun dance for the sole purpose of enabling the people to obtain meat in abundance. He would dance until he broke the string. Having tied the string to the flesh he began the dance, continuing it until the third day and stopping four times each day to smoke. On the third day, when he had sat down to smoke, he told the men gathered about him to make a smudge of sweetgrass, saying that every creature on the earth was watching him while he danced and was pleased to see the performance. When the sun was about to set he tore out the flesh.

They prepared the sweatbath for him; he ate, and, having eaten, announced that a large number of animals had come to see him, and that as long as he lived the people would obtain plenty of meat. After that when the men went out to hunt they obtained plenty of game.

9

This man announced that he was going to make another sun dance. A friend invited all of the young men. All of them responded. After

they had eaten the meal which he had offered them and had taken the sweatbath, he inquired whether any of them wished to join him. Only one man expressed a desire to do so. This man announced a dream in which he had been told to join the host in performing the sun dance. These two inquired whether any one else would join them. As no one volunteered, they said they would do it together. They sent some to get two buffalo skulls and others to procure a pole. When the sweatbath was finished some went for the buffalo skulls, others prepared the ground and provided the pole. When the pole and the skulls had been brought, the first performer bade them make incisions in his back and attach the skull; they were to attach the other skull to the shoulders of the second performer. All being ready within the tipi, he walked out and bade them paint the stone blue and place it at the foot of the pole, putting his pipe also beside the pole. The man invited to join him placed nothing by the pole. A calf hide of the leader was painted blue, one of the second performer was painted red, and both were hung on the pole. He bade them drive two stakes into the ground. All was now ready for him when he should come out of the tipi on the following morning before sunrise. Before the singers began to sing he told them to stop a little while before sunrise.

They tied the buffalo skull to his back and fastened white feathers of the wild goose to the string, while eagle feathers were fastened to the string which attached the buffalo skull to the shoulders of the second performer. They danced all of that night. Early the following morning, before sunrise, they stopped singing and smoked for a few minutes. The leader walked out, dragging the buffalo skull behind him, and made a circuit of the ground, the other man following. Before stepping on to the sticks which had been driven into the ground he bade them get a birch-bark bowl, put water in it, and mix blue earth therein. At noon, every woman and child in the camp was to drink of it. He then announced that he would dance four nights and four days, the first night having just passed. The other performer said nothing. The leader stepped on to the sticks. They removed the buffalo skull and tied the string from the pole to his breast. Both buffalo skulls were laid at the foot of the pole and the second performer was tied to the pole as had been done in the case of the leader.

He continued the dance all that day and the following day. On the second day, about sunset, the parents of the two men made presents of horses to the poor and to old women and to some of the young who had no horses and they gave presents to boys who were orphans.

They danced all night, all the third day, and the following night. The fourth day the leader said he was going out to fight the Cree and the other performer said he would go to steal horses from the Cree. Both said they were glad the others had done what they had asked of them and were glad also that they had completed the dance. They thanked the singers. They said they had had no choice in the matter; they wished to live, and so were compelled to perform the sun dance.

Having said this, they stopped, took the sweatbath, and ate. They bade the men get ready for the party against the Cree, the man who was going out to steal horses saying he would leave in four days.

At the time appointed, the party went out and returned with a bunch of horses. Four days after this the war party went out. On the fourth day out they saw the Cree, killed all of them, and brought home their scalps. After the return home they celebrated a big war dance.

r

This man was told to make another sun dance. He invited an old man to his tipi and requested him to announce this through the camp. All assembled at his tipi. He announced that he was going to perform the sun dance. He could not move around with agility now for he was growing old; even so he would do his best. He had a grandchild, the son of his first daughter. He said he wished this little grandchild to perform the sun dance with him. He was told in the dream that a buffalo skull was to be tied to the child's back. He would fasten it to his own back, however, for the child was too young to bear it.

Some went in search of a buffalo skull while others procured the pole and arranged the ground. He requested the singers not to sing a great number of songs, as he did not wish his grandchild to be over tired. When all was ready he bade the singers stop at sunrise, as he would then go out to the ceremonial ground. They began the song and kept up the singing until the next morning as the sun was rising. Before stepping on to the ground he announced that he would dance two nights and two days. They danced the two nights and two days and the ceremony was then complete.

s

People were remarking to one another that they heard this man say he was going to make another sun dance on a designated day. When the appointed day came he invited an old man, telling him he wished to perform another sun dance and asking him to go around the entire camp and to invite all the young men whom he saw. The guest went around

the entire camp announcing that this man was going to perform another sun dance and was hereby inviting their attendance. He urged all to attend.

When all had assembled at the man's tipi he told them he wished to perform another sun dance; his grandchild was now able to dance with him and he wished to ask the *wakan* beings to give his grandchild all of the power he had possessed, for he was now growing old.

When all had assembled he announced that he was going to perform the dance with his grandchild and asked them to procure a buffalo skull and to prepare the pole. While these preparations were under way he and his grandson took the sweatbath. Having finished this he found that all was in readiness. He bade them cut the flesh of his back and tie the buffalo skull there. He and his grandchild being ready, they danced the first night in the small tipi. When ready to begin he announced that if the singers did not tire they would dance four nights and four days.

They danced that night and the following day, smoking four times during the day. They continued the dance throughout the next day and night and the third and fourth day. After the morning of the first day they danced in the open by the pole. On the fourth day the leader stopped to announce that it would rain before he had completed the ceremony, saying there would be a severe thunderstorm, but no one would be injured. The thunders were pleased that the grandson was dancing and were, for this reason, coming to see him; when the performance was completed the thunderstorm would be over.

A thunderstorm came and lasted for some time. It was over when the dancers stopped, at about sunset. The leader said he was thankful to have finished and thanked all of the singers. It was then about the beginning of July. He bade all of the men get ready to fight as his grandchild was going to lead out a war party and he himself would be the leader of one later in the autumn. The grandchild went out as the leader of a war party, returning with many scalps. When autumn came this man himself went out as the leader of a war party. He returned with many scalps. They celebrated the war dance. Prior to each performance this man had been told in a dream by the thunders to make the sun dance.

t

This is another story about this man. Another time he invited the old man, telling him his dream, and saying he was going to perform the sun dance. The old man went out and invited the young men, telling

them to get the stone, the buffalo skull, and make ready the pole. When these men had assembled they procured the stone, the pole, and the buffalo skull. The performer bade them fasten a string to the buffalo skull and put up the pole. When all was ready he announced that his grandchild would dance with him, and asked them to dig holes in which he was to stand. He and his grandchild took the sweatbath and were then ready. The first night they danced in the tipi. When all was ready he announced that his grandchild was the one to carry the buffalo skull, but that, since he was but a child, his grandfather would do this for him. While they were tying the string to his flesh the following morning, he announced that he would dance until he tore out the flesh. They began the dance that night. He continued through the second day without indications of the flesh tearing out, and so through the night and the third day. The fourth day, about sunset, he tore the flesh. He announced that he could have danced more days had he so desired, but that he did not wish to be severe on his grandchild, and that this seemed to be about all the lad could endure. After tearing out the flesh he took the sweatbath, then ate.

Having eaten, he announced that they would go out on a war party in four days and would then test his grandchild. Four days later they went on the warpath, and four days after leaving the camp killed three Cree. The grandchild killed one of the Cree. All of the party returned to the camp. Everyone was pleased over the accomplishment of his grandchild, for he had brought the party home in safety and the people began to see signs of promise in him. They had a big war dance, using the scalps which had been brought to the camp.

u

Another time he invited the old man telling him he was going to perform the sun dance. The guest invited the young men to assemble. When all had come to the tipi, the performer sent half of them to a certain place to hunt bears, assuring them that bears were at that place. These went to the place designated, while the others prepared the pole, the stone, and the ground. He said that the bear meat was for all of them—they were to partake of it during the singing, whenever they felt hungry. After the bear was brought home and all preparations were made, he announced that at this dance he was going to bestow his life upon his grandchild. They were directed to cut the flesh over his shoulders and fasten the buffalo skull to this. This time he was not going to perform any feat after the sun dance. When all preparations had been made he announced that his grandson would dance only that night and

the following day. He would remain in the tipi until sunrise. He danced that night and the following day, sitting down four times to rest and smoke. After sunset he stopped, took the sweatbath, and then announced that while his grandson was dancing an abundance of buffalo came to watch him. Early on the following day the men were to go out hunting and would secure abundance of buffalo. Next morning all the men went out and secured plenty of buffalo. This was the work of his grandson. It was the third time his grandson had done such things since he began to participate in the dance. In the fight following his first participation the old man had caused the Cree to come to the Dakota party and reckoned this his achievement. The last three feats, however, had been performed by the grandson. The first one was to test him; in the subsequent performances he was given the power.

v

Another time he invited the old man, telling him he was going to perform another sun dance with his grandson and that this time the grandson would be the leader. He no longer had charge of the grandson's performances, but would join him in the dance because he had promised the thunders and the other gods that as long as he lived he would continue to perform the sun dance. Even so, his grandson was this time to be the leader and he would assist. The old man went around the camp inviting the young men who had assisted previously, telling them this man was going to perform another sun dance in company with his grandson and wished them all to come and make ready for it. All those invited came. When they had come he told them he was going to make another sun dance, but this time his grandson would have charge of it. He sent some of the men for the pole. When the pole was ready he bade them get a buffalo skull and tie this to the flesh of his shoulders and to fasten eagle feathers on these strings. He danced all of that night, stopping before sunrise the following morning. As the sun rose he walked out of his tipi and around the pole, the grandson taking the lead and dragging the buffalo skull behind him while the old man followed. Before stepping into their places the old man announced that this time his grandson would dance two days. They danced that day and night and the second day. At noon on the second day, when they were resting for a smoke, the old man announced that they had seen buffalo, deer, moose and elk, coming to watch them dance, so numerous that they covered the earth. All the people would be well supplied with game. They continued the dance through that day. Having finished the dance, they took the sweatbath, then ate, smoked, and the old man announced

again that there would be plenty of buffalo and other animals and the people would have an abundance of meat throughout the year. After this the young men hunted incessantly, and all had a continuous and plentiful supply of meat.

w

An old man happened to go to visit this man in his tipi. People were constantly visiting him for they liked to hear him tell stories of what he saw in his dreams, and of his adventures. He told the visitor he was pleased to see him, in fact, he was on the point of sending for him to ask him to invite the young men, as he wished to perform the sun dance. He went about inviting the young men. When the young men came he told them his grandson was to make another dance. (In a previous dream, the powers had told him they would inform him when they wished his grandson to perform the dance, for the child was too young to have dreams; he might forget to announce them. Consequently, they informed the old man rather than his grandson, and he was to see that the latter performed the dance. Later they would come to the grandson in a dream and inform him at the same time they informed his grandfather.) He bade them get the pole and the buffalo skull, paint the stone, procure the pipe, and make all ready while he and his grandson were taking the sweatbath. Having finished the sweatbath, he bade them cut the flesh over each shoulder, tie the buffalo skull to these places, fastening one string to each horn and put eagle feathers on the strings. That night when all was ready they began the dance in the tipi. In the morning they went outside. Before stepping into their places they walked around the ground, the old man dragging the buffalo skull behind him. He announced he would this time test his grandson by a performance lasting five days and five nights. If the lad endured this it would be a sign that the youth had power from the thunders and could perform anything. Even so, said he, the *wakan* beings would not, for a while, make use of him for any purpose, because he was still too young.

They danced all of that day, the following day and night, the third day and night, the fourth day and fifth night, and all of the fifth day. Then they stopped and took the sweatbath. Having finished the sweatbath they ate and then smoked. Having finished the smoke, he announced that he was going out with his grandson on a war party. At the full moon they started. On the fourth day they killed all the Cree they saw in the camp, the grandson himself killing two of them. The lad thus showed that he was now obtaining power to do things himself, and, when dancing, it was evident that he had the endurance to continue throughout whole days and nights.

The old man had been giving the lad the same medicine which he gave others; to prevent him from thinking about food to eat or water to drink, though he himself never partook of it.

x

One day he invited the old man, telling him his grandson was going to perform the sun dance, and asking him to invite the assistants. When the men invited had come, he bade them get the buffalo skull for him, the pole, and the stone; also two buffalo calf hides, one painted red for the sun, the other painted blue for the moon.

While the others were making the preparations he and his grandson had the sweatbath. When this was finished they bade the assistants move everything out of the tipi and drive down two sticks so that the tops of them would be about a foot above the earth. On these the youth was to stand while dancing. They were to fasten the buffalo skull to the shoulder of the youth. (After the man said he had given his life to his grandson, it became incumbent upon the latter to perform everything exactly as his grandfather had done; for he had not undergone great tortures.) When all was ready they assisted the youth in mounting upon the sticks.

Before taking his place the man said his grandson was to dance five days and five nights. He danced that night. About sunrise the assistants drove the sticks down in front of the pole and, as the sun rose, the youth walked around the ground dragging the buffalo skins, the old man following. The youth mounted the sticks and began the first day's dance. He danced throughout the day and following night, and so through four days to the fifth night.

All this while the young man had the buffalo skull tied to his back and showed no signs of waning power. This time he had been tied to the pole by a string fastened to his chest. On the fifth day after starting the dance, as the sun was rising in the east, one foot slipped off the stick and he tore out the flesh. All who were watching gave the war whoop. Two of them took hold of him and raised him into a sitting posture. The old man stopped dancing, saying that all was well, that nothing would befall the young man for the powers had caused his foot to slip from the stake, with the result that he tore out the flesh. This was because he had danced long enough, and so no harm would befall him. All were pleased to hear this for they feared that something might happen to him as a result of slipping off the stick. After this, when the young man who had taken the sweatbath, had eaten and smoked with the others present, the old man announced that in ten days from that time his grandson would lead out a war party and wished all the young men to accompany him.

When the ten days had passed all the men gathered about the old man's tipi. In the meantime the old man had taught his grandson four songs. When all was ready, he announced that they would spend five nights traveling. The first night, when they camped, they were to dig a round hole about two feet in depth; it would not be difficult to find a stone, for the stone would be there already, to see that the leader sang these songs. The party started. On the first night, one of the young men said he remembered the words of the old man and asked another to help him dig the hole. They did not go far before finding a stone. This they brought to the hole and began to sing. Before beginning the singing the old man announced that about noon on the day after the fifth night they would come upon the Cree; that while the men were away he would be watching them, guarding them, and would know both day and night what they were doing. The third night they did the same; likewise on the fourth and the fifth night. On the morning of the sixth day all put on their war medicine, and saw that guns and bows were in readiness. They encircled the Cree camp, killing all of the Cree and bringing back their scalps. They held a war dance. At this dance the old man announced that he had given his life to his grandson but would assist him in the sun dance; now, however, he had nothing to do with his grandson's performances. He thanked all of those who had assisted his grandson at the dance or in the war party, helping to bring him back safely. He was pleased that his grandson had brought him an eagle feather. From that day on they would depend upon his grandson, the young man now being old enough to act upon his own initiative; he was pleased to see the improvement in the young man and all the people were rejoicing over what he had done. His near relations gave away blankets, guns, and other valuable property.

y

This medicineman was sitting in his tipi with other old men. He told them he was now an old man and no longer strong enough to go out on war parties; that his grandson was young and able to go out to fight and to him he had given all his power. At his death he was going back among the thunders to stay with them awhile; he would dwell among the thunders and whenever they wished, they could send him back to the same place where they had previously sent him.¹

A few days later he invited another man, telling him his grandson was going to perform another sun dance. He asked that the assistants

¹That is, he might be re-born in the same band.

procure the pole, the buffalo skull, and dig two holes for the feet of the performer. When the pole was ready he told them to tie a red cloth to it as an offering to the sun. The ground was prepared as directed. The first night the man danced in the tipi, keeping each foot in the hole dug for it. The old man was no longer able to dance, and so sat alongside of his grandson. He told them to tie the buffalo hide to the shoulders of his grandson. This they did and the man danced that night in the tipi. Early the following morning he rested, and, before sunrise, smoked. The old man bade them have everything ready outside as he was going to dance there. When all was ready he bade the young man go out. This he did, dragging the buffalo skull behind him.

He went around the ground and stood by the holes dug for his feet. The old man sat beside him and announced that his grandson would dance four days. He danced four days and nights, neither eating nor sleeping during this time. The old man sat by his grandson, eating nothing. On the fourth day, about sunset, the young man tore out the flesh. The dance being finished, they assisted him into the tipi and gave him the sweatbath.

After the sweatbath he ate, and, having eaten, smoked. The old man announced that his grandson would lead a war party when the leaves on the pole turned yellow, and bade them all be ready. When the time came, and the leaves on the pole turned yellow, they went out to fight.

They killed four Cree families. After their return they had a big dance. After this the old man had no strength. He lay in his tipi all the time. He told the people he was then too old to accomplish anything, that he had given his life to his grandson and his grandson would be as strong as he had been. He said that he would be taken by the thunders in the first thunderstorm. Later he said a big thunderstorm was coming. He died suddenly when the thunderstorm had almost passed over. He had not been sick at all. A man went about the camp announcing the man's death. All were grieved over his death, but were glad to hear that he was going to be up among the thunders and would be born again.

That is all about this man. I never heard how his grandson got along. The latter must have been an old man when he died, but they did not tell anything about him.¹

¹The informant had omitted a few of this man's performances, not understanding that I wanted a complete account. I tried to secure the missing ones but he professed to be unable then to give them to me although assuring me he would have been able to do so had he taken them up in their proper places as the account proceeded.

The man described is said to have begun these performances when about fourteen years of age.

NOTES ON THE SUN DANCE OF THE SISSETON DAKOTA

By ALANSON SKINNER

SUN DANCE OF THE SISSETON DAKOTA

The name of this ceremony, *wi wa yag wacipi*, means, sun-look-at-dance. According to my Sisseton informants, Jingling-cloud and Cekpâ, it was performed by all the Eastern Dakota, but more especially by the Sisseton.

The Sisseton believed that *wakan tanka* had created the sun and the moon. The sun they thought was the greatest of these, since it shone upon the people, therefore, when a man made up his mind to go to war and risk death, he first determined to look at the sun and dance. Several might vow to go with him, and on their return, if successful, assist him to give this as a thanksgiving dance. They might vow to dance one night and one day, two nights and two days, or four nights and four days. The founder of the dance would vow, "I will offer a piece of my own flesh as a sacrifice, together with whatever game I can get." If all went well with them he would attempt to secure a buffalo calf of that spring, or a yearling, and he would tan the hide, with the horns, hoofs, and all attached and put it away until the following June which was the proper time for holding the sun dance. Then the lodge was erected and a tall pole was set up in the center, at the top of which the calfskin which was previously stuffed to resemble a young buffalo, was tied. In later times some say a small rawhide effigy of a buffalo was substituted.

In getting this sacred pole, the following performance was gone through. The night before the dance the performers for the following day get together in a large lodge made by joining two or three tipi covers. There all sang and went through the usual invocations to their familiar spirits and the various gods until early in the morning when two youths were sent out as scouts to find the tree which was to be the center pole. This search was conducted with a ceremony designed to make it appear as if they were on the warpath. If they saw human beings on their search they would call this fact to each other by howling like wolves. When they found the tree they would start back, signalling to each other at intervals as though in real war. When they arrived at the lodge whence they had been sent, they were given a pipe to smoke and when they had finished they would tell where the tree was, how far away, and so on, exactly as scouts would report the presence of an enemy. Then the crowd would leave to find it. Other scouts were sent ahead to report in realistic style just where it was. When they were very close one of the bravest men in the party, one who had struck first coup on the enemy or

fought hand-to-hand with a foe or something of that sort, was chosen to be the first to strike the tree. He would first count and reenact his coups and then softly slip up with an ax. After him followed other braves who went through the same performance. At every blow struck against the tree, all present would whoop. When finally the tree was felled, all would cheer and a victory dance was held on the spot. About thirty horses were then brought up and placed in a row and one hundred men came forward to lift the tree which was rested on the horses' necks.

On the journey back to the sun dance lodge ceremonial stops were made and the tree was taken off and rested on the ground each time while the people danced. The fourth stop was made directly in front of the sun dance lodge and this time, the people carried it up and erected it after the rest, while more dancing and whooping went on. When the pole had been erected all came forward and piled sacrifices at its foot as offerings to *wakan tanka*. Then the herald was brought in to thank *wakan tanka* for helping the people and keeping them and to consecrate the sacrifices to him that his poor children gave him in their gratitude.

Then the dancers came in. While the pole was being erected they were painting themselves and preparing. As they entered, they raised their hands over their heads and wept, each saying, over and over, "The pale faces have made me very poor." At the door an usher gave each a certain place that he must keep. After this, the dancing societies such as the no-flights, tokana, and mawatani, came in, bringing their food all prepared. As soon as they entered, the singers began to drum and the song started. Those who were to torture themselves who had been sitting in their places, wore the sashes, and were now raised by the usher, as they were not allowed to rise by themselves. They danced, facing the sun as it rose, and turned towards it, looking at it until it set. They did not look directly at it as that would have been impossible, but fixed their eyes somewhat below the sun. They held bone whistles in their mouths and blew incessantly upon these.¹

The feast brought in by the first society was then distributed to the people at large who sat in a sort of outer circle. The first song would stop and another society would enter and a new song start. The societies endeavor to enter as quickly as possible after the song of the preceding

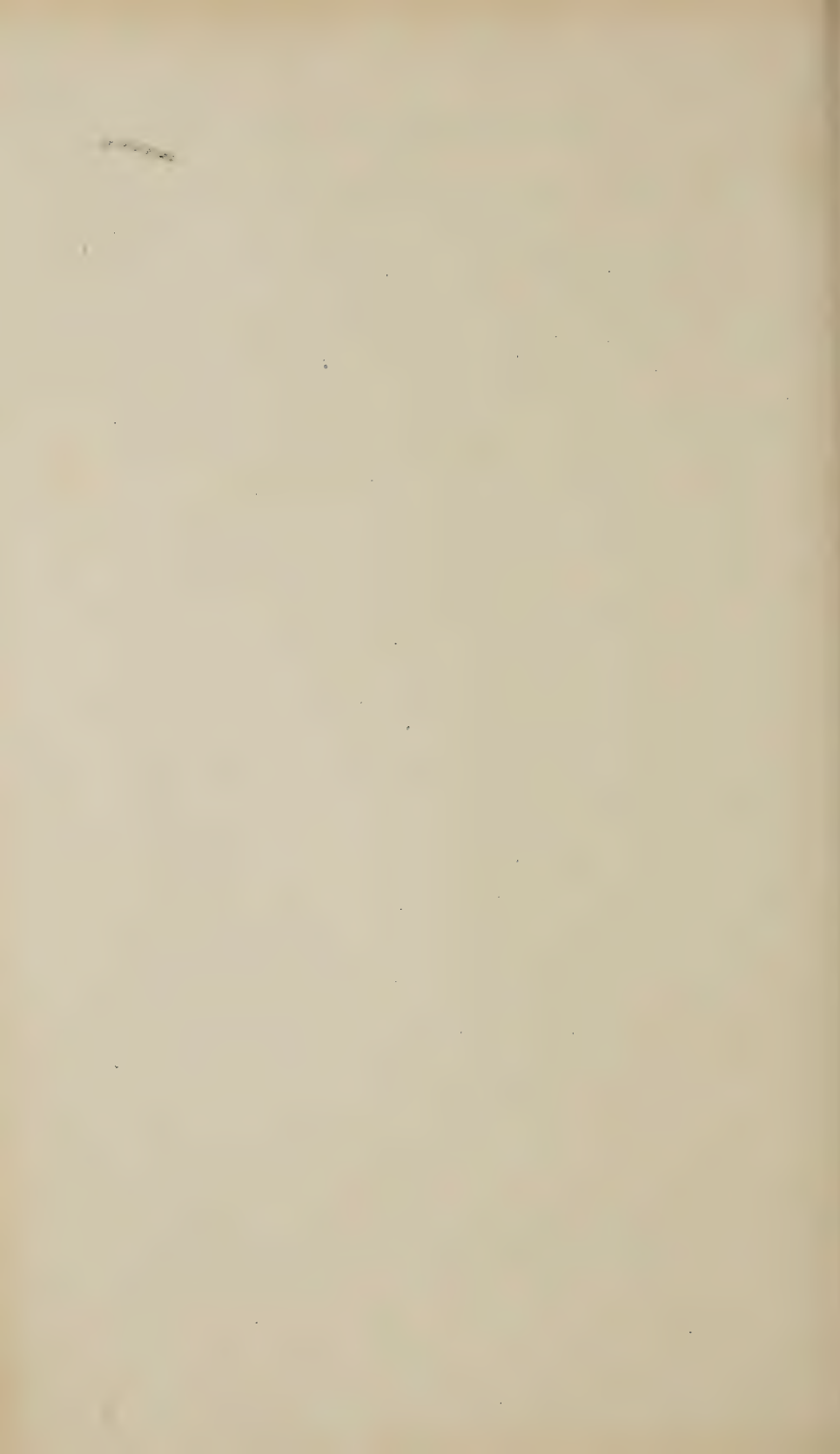
¹Dr. Lowie notes that "Tawatchi-he-homini [Wahpeton] once saw a heyoka enter the Sun Dance with a mock whistle. Instead of facing east like the performers he looked toward the west. At this stage none of the dancers had as yet been pierced, but two men told the leaders to pierce the clown's gunnysack raiment and suspend him from the pole. The clown, however, got wind of the plan and made his escape unnoticed. Men acted thus as a result of a dream." (This series vol., 11, 115.)

society has ceased in order to give the dancers no rest. The dancers although in the midst of the feast were obliged to do without food or water. It is said they often fainted and that they wore ruts in the ground by their continual dancing.

From time to time some dancer would go up to the sacred pole, lean his head against it, with his hands raised straight up, and pray, saying that the Indians believed *wakan tanka* was like a white man because his son had been sent among the pale faces. He would tell *wakan tanka* that the red men were poorer than the whites and the pale faces had made them so, finishing by begging a blessing. Then another would come forward and do the same thing until all had prayed.

When at length the end of the ceremony was approaching, relations of the dancers would bring in horses, and each one would put the halter in the hand of his relative who was taking part in the performance and request the herald to tell the people that the performer was giving this horse to some poor person, orphan, or cripple.

During the dance it was customary for many to make skewers and have them fastened in their breasts or back and attached by thongs to the sacred pole. They would try to pull these out if possible. No one made a sacrifice of this sort unless he had vowed it. At some distance from the sun dance lodge the poles would be set up in a circle and from each a tanned calfskin was hung. These were sacrificed to *wakan tanka*, as was the calfskin attached to the top of the sacred pole. After the dance anyone who wished might help himself to the sacrifices. During the dance, incense was constantly burned. It is said that whoever fainted during a dance was obliged to give presents to the people, so everyone tried to keep the dancers at it until they were played out. Likewise, those who were successful in tearing loose from their bonds also made presents but no longer had to take part. During the dance everyone prayed that no rain might fall and if any of the performers secretly cheated by getting a drink at night from some relative, it was thought that rain would certainly fall from the clouds the next day. All the songs during the sun dance refer to *wakan tanka*. One of them was, "*Wakan tanka* has heard our prayer and has answered it."



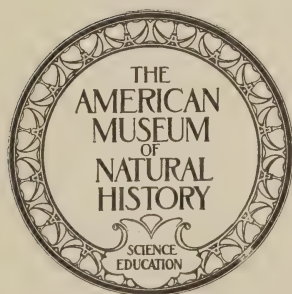
ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
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SUN DANCE OF THE SHOSHONI, UTE, AND HIDATSA

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE



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THE SUN DANCE OF THE WIND RIVER SHOSHONI AND UTE

By ROBERT H. LOWIE

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WIND RIVER SHOSHONI SUN DANCE

A number of independent accounts of the sun dance (*tāgu wönö*, thirsting to stand) were recorded at Wind River, where Andy Bresil is master of ceremonies. He had conducted the ritual about fifteen times among the Shoshoni (1912) and twice for the Ute, though hardly ever in two successive years. Accordingly it seems best to begin with his own description.

All the participants expect to get good luck and increase their prospects of long life by the ceremony. Some have merely this general object, others go in for the specific purpose of being cured of sickness. Andy himself has never felt better than since he began taking part in the dance. However, he does not start a ceremony from his own initiative. "I generally have a dream that I should give the sun dance. Failing that, I ought to let others start it. I dreamt of it frequently, and when I do so about the proper time then I give it. I tell my friends and they announce it to the whole tribe. Then I set some time before July fourth, between June twentieth and twenty-seventh."

After the announcement the people move to form a circle round the site, one camping closer than a hundred yards according to my interpreter's estimate. Three or four poles are stuck into the ground near the site with their tops slightly converging and a canvas cover is placed over them. A fire is built to one side of this shelter, and it is there that the preparatory singing (*tö'nökuñgən*) takes place. Women help in singing and the manager of the ceremony always dances there at night, generally with a few companions. This is kept up for three nights.

On the following morning two expeditions set out. One goes to the mountains, taking wagons to transport pines for rafters. Long ago women would accompany the men, but latterly they hardly ever do so. At the same time another crew proceeds to the flat country to cut down the center pole and wall posts. Andy is with this second company and prays over the center pole before it is chopped down, whereupon it is trimmed. The pine-cutters in the meanwhile bring their trees to the foot of the mountains. The next morning all the people who so wish betake themselves to this spot, Andy going somewhat later than the others. The pines are loaded on wagons, and Andy takes the lead, hauling the center pole, which is called *umbámbi*, his-head. All the trees are taken to the site in preparation for a mock-battle. The center pole lies by itself, all the other logs being placed in a row to the east of it. The Shoshoni say that the center log must be killed before it can be moved.

The people now divide into two or three bodies. All wear war dress. They shoot into the air and touch one another with long sticks. Even some women are riding about on horseback and some of the men capture them. Thus they circle about camp in several groups. Andy himself takes part in this sham battle. Whenever they get a chance, they touch one of the poles, but the center pole must be touched first. The riders shoot at the logs and pretend to be afraid of them, dodging as they approach them. When all the poles have been touched or "killed," they haul all the poles to the site, a distance of two hundred yards.

There follows the erection of the lodge. The hole for the center pole, which is three or four feet deep, is dug first. There is one man for each of the holes for the wall-posts and all get through digging about the same time. A bunch of willows is put into the fork of the center pole and four black rings about eight inches wide are made round it near the bottom. In former times brave warriors were expected to paint these rings. Next comes the raising of the pole. All near-by sing and clap hands, some holding sticks in their hands and taping them together. For lifting the pole two other poles are joined by a rope.¹ The poles are struck together. At the end of each song the center pole is lifted as high as possible, only to be lowered again, until the fourth time it is raised up to vertical position and secured by piling up earth round the hole. The wall posts are set up without any ceremony. The rafters are put into place by the aid of the same coupled-pole device and tied at the fork of the center pole. Willows are hauled in for the wall and put up as fast as they are brought. At about four or five o'clock the lodge is completed and ready for the ceremonial entrance.

Some of the prospective dancers may not yet be ready but the majority are by this time and assemble in Andy's lodge. All paint one another with white clay. They proceed to the west of the lodge, at a distance of about seventy-five yards, where two rows are formed, with Andy heading one of them. These two files set out for the dance lodge. When they get to the back of it, the two lines separate, pass each other, go twice round it, then walk into the lodge. Each dancer may take what position he prefers; Andy usually goes to the south side, but it makes no difference. Women never dance. The performers sit around singing religious songs three times and blowing their whistles at the close of each. Their friends and relatives bring in bedding. Now the drummers enter

¹Lowie, this volume, 37.

with a big drum. They start a song without words, then the dancing begins. Women come in to help the singers. Andy dances like the rest, but more confidence is placed in his prayer. The dance continues all night. Just before sunrise they cease and stand in two rows, with Andy at the south end of the first. All face the entrance, holding up both hands and moving their feet in position. When they see the sun rise they all blow their whistles; when he is in full view singers and dancers cease and all sit round the fire in a circle. The dancers sing religious songs and at the close of each they blow their whistles. Then they get ready to put yellow paint on themselves; in the evening some put on white clay. Spectators and drummers go off for breakfast while the dancers lie down to rest until the musicians return.

The dancers decorate themselves with fine designs and spot themselves. This adornment depends on dreams. Some have a lightning line running down the face. On the morning following the first complete day of the dance peeled cottonwoods are put up in the arc of a circle and the dancers who are tired out are expected to grasp the forks and derive strength therefrom. The dancers are continually trotting back and forth on the way to the center tree, several coming together there. Those who are suffering from extreme thirst go up to hug the tree, which gives relief, making them feel as if they had had water. Not very many get into this condition and Andy has never been dry enough to resort to this device.

The dance continues for three nights and two and a half days. If the ceremonial entrance occurs on Monday night, they cease Thursday about noon. When the closing time comes, every performer gives a horse or money to some outsider to make him pray over him in the lodge. These prayers are for the dancer's good luck, health, and long life. The money is tied to a willow stick. Now water is brought in and each dancer in turn receives one cup, whereupon they go to a creek, wash completely, and take a swim. If they drank a great deal, they would vomit. The spectators have a feast on the last day.

If a sick man was there, another man possessing power would take him to the tree and pray over him, holding up his hands and praying to the Sun. Andy himself has never prayed on such occasions.

From personal observation I am able to add merely a few points as to the style of the sun dance lodge seen standing in August, 1912. As illustrated in the photograph (Fig. 1), the structure is of the Arapaho-Blackfoot type,—different from that of the Dakota and also that of the Crow. The diameter was about 70 feet and the width of the entrance

about 24 feet. The wall-posts, of which there were a dozen, were about 11 feet high, the center pole (including the fork) approximately 20 feet. Details as to the adjustment of rafters and crossbeams are apparent from the picture. About five feet from the wall there extended an arc of willows. The framework of rafters was not covered in any way, even during the performance, as is clear from a photograph kindly furnished by a Mr. Cass, but the brush walling extended clear around except for the entrance, though naturally little was still in place at the time of my visit.

I will now cite the supplementary data derived from various native authorities.



Fig. 1. Sun Dance Structure, Wind River Shoshoni, 1912.

According to Wawanabidi the sun dance is the oldest and foremost of Shoshoni ceremonies. It was first performed by Andy's great-grandfather before there were any white men in the country. He found a picture of a white man, looked at it and kept it, putting it away. He began to dream of the picture, which bade him have a sun dance and described the ceremony to him. His son kept the picture but since his death it is not known what happened to it. It is a mystery how a white person's picture came here in those times. Washakie, the old Shoshoni chief, told Wawanabidi the foregoing facts. The founder omitted the dance the second summer, but the picture insisted on his celebrating it every year as a sacred ceremony. At times it changed from a darker to a lighter shade. At first the owner could not understand it, but he concluded that it was supernatural and that if he obeyed it he should live well and happy while otherwise he should not live long. Whenever an Indian wanted to see it, several would sit round with sun dance whistles and blow them, then the owner would take it out from its wrap-

pings. In the old days the dance was held "when the high water went down." The founder himself conducted the ceremony every year, but after him they took turns. Anyone who wishes may now conduct it; the older men gather and deliberate on the matter and one man who offers to conduct it does so. The Shoshoni did not practise torture at the dance.

When I was younger I went into the sun dance ten times in order to enjoy a long life. During the celebration there was never any quarrel or misbehavior; it was not like the Fourth of July with its drunkenness and disorder. When I first participated, I was only a boy. A good many people danced. Pácap (Dried-up) was master of ceremonies. He had been sickly and when the proper season came he said, "I'll see whether there is truth in what the founder said, that it is good for sick people." He went into it and got well.

Jimmy Wagner said that in the early days the sun dance was not held every year, as in more recent times, but only when someone had had a dream. The person so favored would announce his dream and all the people moved to the site. They began to hunt buffalo and get all the tongues they could. The tongues were coupled so that each member of a pair could hang over one side of a stick and several men would carry one end of a stick thus laden with tongues all round the camp till they got back to the pledger and piled up the tongues there. If it took them two days to get the tongues there would be two nights of preparatory singing in a big buffalo tipi of ordinary style,—not like the lean-to described by Andy.

On the following day they were ready to get the poles. All put on war dress. Four men were detailed to get the buffalo head, for it was not permissible to use the head of any of the buffalo killed in connection with the tongue-quest. Before killing the buffalo they prayed over it. These men were generally war chiefs. One company of men went to locate the trees to be cut down, leaning poles against them for identification. Some stayed by these trees and sat round playing the hand-game and pretending to be enemies of the Shoshoni. The remainder went back to the distance of about half a mile. Two men were detailed to scout for the enemy. They went off and came back hallooing and singing. The people said, "Those scouts have seen something." They gathered piles of buffalo chips, making a big heap. All formed a circle round the chips, getting close together and leaving only a narrow gap for the entrance. The scouts entered the ring and moved all the way round, then the circle was closed. The chief shouted at them to announce quickly what they had discovered. "The enemy is at such and such a place," they would say. Then the people got horses and rushed over

there. When they got near, the enemy tried to get away through the timber. Then there was shooting and hallooing as in a real fight. The Shoshoni rushed in and struck each of the marked trees. Three brave warriors were to cut the center pole. After all the trees had been struck, another party came from behind to chop the trees down. When a tree fell, the Shoshoni rushed in and broke off the limbs. Since there were no wagons in those days, the felled trees were dragged by a group of horsemen on either side of the logs, ropes being tied to these at one end, and the other end to the saddle or held in the hand. While the poles were dragged along they were shooting and yelling but when they got down to the site there was no more of the sham battle, though nowadays it is held there. The center pole had four black charcoal rings painted round it, each marker being a brave who had killed some enemy and told of his deeds before painting the pole. The holes for the poles were dug on the same day, and willow brush was dragged there on horseback for the walls. Into the fork of the center pole were put willows with the buffalo head on top. The head was painted yellow round the eyes and always faced west towards the dancers. A tail was made to hang down stiffened. The head was supposed to give powers to the dancers so they would not get too thirsty, and the center pole had the same power. The method of raising the pole was the same as now; formerly women helped on each side. The willow brush enclosure was erected in a short time since there were numerous helpers.

All the performers then went to the pledger's lodge and got painted. When ready they approached the west side of the lodge in two single files and marched round twice before entering. The drummers came in, then some warrior was detailed to build a fire, telling what he had done against the enemy. Formerly the dancers remained in their places on the first night, but on the following day they would dance up to the pole.

The period of feasting depended on the number of available tongues. Ordinarily it was limited to the last day but if the supply of tongues sufficed, there was also a feast on the preceding day. A square hole was dug a little ways from the lodge and a fire built there. While the sun dancers were dancing, five or six old men and women were ordered to get four forked sticks and some long poles and approached the pit, singing war songs. One forked stick was set into the ground in each corner of the oblong and connecting cross-beams were put into place. The kettles were suspended from the framework. At one time this fireplace was close to the entrance of the lodge, but later it was moved

farther away. Those who got the forked sticks had their faces decorated with charcoal. The cooks were old Shoshoni women who had been captured by the enemy; their hands from the wrist down were painted with charcoal. The men who helped in the stirring of the boiling tongues were renowned for their martial deeds. The tongues were issued to all the spectators, but primarily to the musicians. The drummers told the dancers they were going to eat, then the dancers would rest, while the drummers sang and themselves danced in their places before partaking of the food. During the feast some people (according to another version, one of the two soldier societies)¹ would imitate magpies and rush up to a pile of meat making the noise of crows or magpies, greedily snatching away what food they could, and falling all over themselves in their eagerness.

In the old days the ceremony ended not at noon but late in the evening. After the close the performers would give away some property. Some would remain and sleep in the lodge after the formal conclusion. The next morning all moved away from the site. Old clothing was attached to the pole then as now, prayers being addressed for freedom from disease. The sick people went into the dance then as now.

Bivo confirmed the statement that the Shoshoni never tortured themselves by suspension from the center post, though they saw the Arapaho doing it. He said the prayers were addressed to the Sun and Äpö (the Father), the latter being Coyote's elder brother.² A man would dream of the sun dance and if he failed to perform it as described in his dream he would die; accordingly he told the chief, who gave his permission.

Both men and women seated themselves round the place of the trees marked to be cut down; they would play the hand-game and other games. Another company charged these "enemies," the men resisting and the women fleeing to hide. The mock-fight, the cutting of the trees and the erection of the lodge, as well as the entrance, used to take place on a single day and evening, but now this occupies two days.

According to this informant, only a few persons dance to get cured, the majority in order to insure happiness. Bivo was of the former number:—

I was bloated up and had no appetite. I went into the sun dance. My fellow-dancers pressed down on my stomach and I felt as if I were to have a movement of my bowels. My excrements looked bloody and I was terrified, but I felt well thereafter and think the fasting burns out the disease.

¹This series, Vol. 11, 813, 816.

²Cf. Lowie, this series, vol. 2, 233.

Bivo did not believe physical disfigurement could be thus cured.

An anonymous informant said that the length of the dance is set by the pledger, but is almost always three nights. The sham battle formerly took place on foot; every pole had to be touched with a gun or other weapon. Cottonwoods were formerly used instead of pines. The hole for the center pole was dug first, then the holes for the other posts, each by one man. The pole was raised as already explained, the men praying and shouting, and lifting it three times only to lower it again. Before finally raising it to the position they tied rags to the pole, the cloth being an offering to the tree. Formerly a buffalo head with a narrow strip of hide and the tail was put into the fork, now only willows. Then the wall-posts and the rafters were put into place, those of the latter that did not hold at the lower end being tied. Finally came the crossbeams and the willow brush, usually roped to prevent the wind from blowing it down. The dancers wore no moccasins, only breechclouts, and held whistles in their mouths. Someone brought bedding for them. They sang a song without words four times, whistling at the close of each song. Then the drum was beaten and they were ready to dance. The pledger led one of the single files to the lodge but had no fixed place within during the ceremony. They began to dance toward the center pole. Little peeled willows were put in two days after the entrance and blankets or shawls were sometimes tied between two of them as a curtain, so that the dancers could make an adjustment of their clouts. If a man was seriously sick, he would go in there and fast without dancing. When the sun rises, the performers say, "You see us and are looking at us. We want you to look on us, and wish for a long life and that the sick shall be well." These words were repeated every morning. Then they went to the fire and sang a song without words but representing a prayer. They sang it four times, blowing their whistles at the end of each song. During the night some of them were always dancing, one shift relieving another. At the end they got a man to pray over them and gave him presents. Formerly the presents were omitted. My informant ascribed this feature to the Rev. John Roberts. The pledger had the most effective prayer. Finally, a bucket of water was passed round, the performers rinsed their mouths and went to the creek to wash off the paint.

Barney ascribed the origin of the ceremony to a Shoshoni who dreamt about it and was ordered to arrange it so as to attain happiness and longevity. The reason for participating was sometimes the desire to get well but otherwise it was purely religious. Barney himself has taken part three times, twice when he was well and once when sick;

on the latter occasion he felt well when he got out of the lodge. He knew of two men who had been nearly dead when entering the dance but recovered afterwards. In some years there were thirty-five to forty or even fifty dancers, but in the last two or three years (1912) fewer men have gone in. (However, my interpreter established by actual count that in the last year's ceremony there were thirty-nine dancers.) A man may join until midnight after the ceremonial entrance, but no later.

According to Barney, *two* men are supposed to have a dream urging them to hold the ceremony and they tell the other people, setting a date. At the proper time they go to the mountains to get timber for the lodge, shoot at the center tree and pray before cutting it: "After getting down the tree we shall have the sun dance in order to be well." On this day the trees were brought only to the foot of the mountains.

On the second day the logs were brought to the site of the dance. The people dress up as if in war and have a mock battle. The poles are all put in a circle and holes are dug for them. The center pole is the first to be put up; it is either of pine or cottonwood, while the rafters are all of pine wood. The people pray and pretend to raise the pole but lower it again while the bystanders sing and clap their hands. This is done four times. The pole lies in the center between two rows of Indians. After the fourth time it is simply raised into position. The wall-posts and rafters are put up without ceremony, then willows are hauled and the enclosure is completed with them. This is at about three or four o'clock. Then all who are to dance agree to paint up that evening and enter. They decorate themselves with white clay in a lodge. At about six or seven o'clock they start out stripped so as to show they have not secreted any water. That is, they wear only a breechclout, with an apron in front of it, or a shawl completely hiding the legs. They start in single file, the two leaders ahead, and all holding eagle-bone whistles in their mouths. When they get to the door in the east, they divide into two sections, one company going in one direction, the other in the opposite direction, and thus walk round the outside twice, whereupon they pass in in two files and sit down in a circle. Their relatives and friends bring in bedding for them to lie on while inside. Then the performers sing and blow their whistles at the close of every song. This is done in sitting position. Then they are ready for a dance song to start, and when it begins all dance. They blow their whistles while dancing and look at the fork of the center tree, where a bunch of willows is tied. In the old days the whole of a buffalo head was stuck up there,

with the whole of the buffalo hide hanging down. In dancing toward the tree they hop, then move backward. When exhausted they hug the tree and blow their whistles, pretending to suck water out of the center pole. Any participant or an old spectator may pray in behalf of the whole tribe. One crew of musicians sing for several hours, beating a *large* drum, then they are relieved by a new company.

In the night they have a big fire. Some are always dancing, groups alternately dancing and resting. Just before sunrise all stand up in several rows, raising their hands, palms down, and pray to the sun. Then they sit down round the fire and there they have religious songs, blowing their whistles at the close of each. The people outside have prepared a yellow paint, which they bring in for the dancers, who paint one another with this and spot one another with paint of other colors.

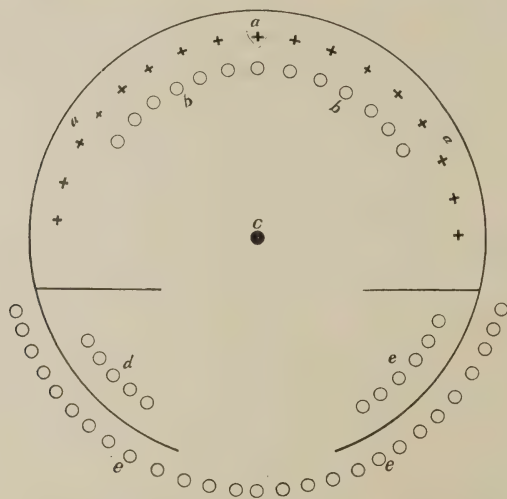


Fig. 2. Wind River Shoshoni Sun Dance Lodge. *a*, willows; *b*, dancers; *c*, fire; *d*, drummers; *e*, spectators.

The mode of painting varies according to the dreams of those to be decorated. For about one hour in the morning—while drummers and spectators are breakfasting—the participants do not dance but sleep till the musicians return.

On the third night of the ceremony (counting the time of erecting the lodge) willows are planted in the ground between which the dancers stand. They are supposed to be a sort of support and are bent over and attached to the outer wall. In the diagram the willows are repre-

sented by crosses. Spectators are only allowed in the space outside of the two poles indicated in the figure, where the position of the drummers is likewise shown. These poles usually slant down from the wall to the ground. The women sometimes help in the singing.

The last time the dancers entered on Monday night and left Thursday noon.

After a while some get out of their head and wander about acting as if crazy. The crazier one gets, the harder the musicians sing for him to get him down. Suddenly he falls in a faint and is laid aside. When he comes to, he seems rested and feels fresher. On the last day the headman tells them when to cease and bids them bring in the horses to be given away. Each performer has one man outside to pray for him, this man being entitled to receive a horse or \$5 as his fee. Before leaving everyone takes a drink from a bucket of water that is brought in, then the performers go to a creek, drink a little and wash off their paint. All the Indians who so wish take their old clothes and tie them to the center pole, because this is believed to bring good luck.

The headman may be the same in successive ceremonies but usually differs every year (?).

Regarding the decoration of the performers I am able to add data based on sketches made by Mr. H. H. St. Clair and showing two dancers in both front and back view. One man had a large picture of a buffalo painted below his breasts, and there were two roughly triangular areas of paint extending from the upper level of the eye downward; a patch decorated each shoulder; and there were two parallel slanting lines on the thigh and extending down the back of the leg. These lines represented two people slain. On each shoulderblade there was the figure of a human hand; it represented a tussle with the enemy and the enemy's pushing the dancer with his hands. The second performer also had the triangular areas on his face but with two transverse parallel white lines on each cheek representing two people killed. There were patches on the shoulders and a crescent-shaped design, points down, on the breast to symbolize the moon. Seven parallel lines on each lower arm stood for people killed. Each thigh was decorated with the three sides of an oblong open at the bottom, these figures designating horse tracks. Bells were hung from the knees and the ankles were wrapped with otterskin. Corresponding to the single thigh designs in front, each leg had a pair of horsetracks in the back, and each shoulderblade had a more realistic representation of a horseshoe.

From Mr. St. Clair's notes the following may be quoted in amplification and corroboration of my own informants' accounts:—

Fastened to the fork of the center pole is a buffalo head, painted with white clay and decorated with eagle tail feathers. The dancers form a semicircle, with the sun dance leader in the center, on the side opposite the entrance. The singers and drummers are seated within, just to one side of the door. The dancing consists of hopping up to the center pole and back, and each dancer is provided with an eagle bone whistle with a feather attached, which he blows continually. Each morning at dawn prayer is made to the sun. On the last morning, gifts are distributed among visiting Indians, and horses painted up and with their tails decorated are given away to the old men and visitors. At the conclusion, the dancers proceed to a nearby stream to bathe, and then go home and gradually break their fast. They believe they are cured of whatever sickness they may have had. A dancer often faints from exhaustion during the dance, and dreams he has acquired some "medicine," such as the buffalo, the bear, the wolf, etc. Whatever "medicine" is given him, he believes comes to him through the center pole from the buffalo head.

UTE SUN DANCE

At Navaho Springs, Colorado, I learned nothing at all concerning the sun dance. Practically all my information, meager as it is, is derived from Panayús of Ignacio, Colorado, though I saw a dance site on the Uintah Reservation and obtained there a few sentences on the subject of the ceremony. Panayús's account suggested to me that the sun dance might not have been practised by the Southern Ute at all except when visiting their Northern congeners in Utah; but one of Mrs. Molineux's photographs is marked as coming from Ignacio. According to Panayús, the ceremony was originated by a Kiowa named Paru+asút, who was soon after this killed by the Ute. From the Kiowa the dance traveled northward, reaching the Bannock and Ft. Hall (?) Shoshoni. The latter were visited by the Northern Ute during a sun dance performance and one of the visitors joined, subsequently introducing it among his people. This happened about twenty-two years ago (1912). ^{1922a}

Panayús gave the native name of the ceremony as *taγún'kàpì*, "dance without drinking"; on the Uintah Reservation the equivalent term *taγúni'qàpì* was rendered "harvest dance."

My Uintah informant, Jim Duncan, differed somewhat from Panayús in his exposition of the aims of the performers. He said their object is to promote the growth of all the garden plants, and after the close of the dance the participants scatter, going to their farms. Duncan added, however, that people with stomach trouble enter the ceremony and at its close vomit what is inside. The dancing takes place in the daytime, and the dancers abstain from eating and drinking for three days and nights. A headman announced the ceremony, which took place only once a year, about the Fourth of July. It is a recent dance not antedating farming among the Ute.

According to Panayús, the primary object of the participants is to become medicinemen, though of the forty or so who dance only a few succeed in acquiring supernatural power. Some men have to go through the ceremony five or six times before attaining their goal. Sometimes a sick man is brought into the lodge, but he merely lies down to fast and thirst without dancing. From time to time the leaders of the ceremony speak to such people and pray on their behalf; sometimes they are cured. It is interesting that Duncan and Panayús should differ as to the principal purpose of the ceremony, yet be in accord as to a subordinate feature.

On August 31, 1912 I visited the sun dance site at Whiterocks, Uintah Reservation. The lodge used that year was found to have a

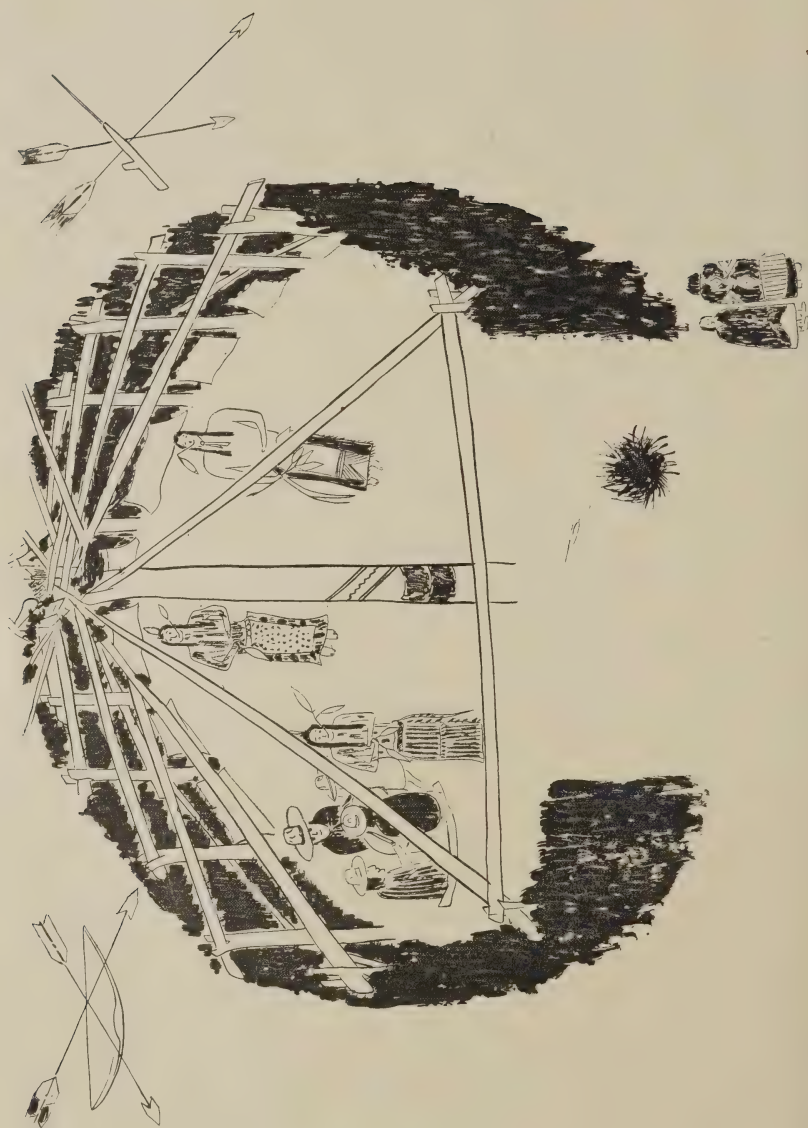


Fig. 3. Drawing of a Ute Sun Dance Lodge by a Ute School Child.

diameter of about 60 feet, and I estimated the height of the forked center pole at 20 feet. The entrance was towards the east; on the west side trees were set in the arc of a circle some distance from the rear periphery of the lodge. My interpreter said that no rafters had been used that season, though they were employed in the construction of previous lodges, which is confirmed by Mrs. Molineux's photographs and a native drawing (Fig. 3). There was no "nest" visible, but according to the same informant nests had been used with other center trees. A large drum is used at Whiterocks.

The following description is based on Panayús's statements.

The first part of the preparation, after the selection of the site and the encampment of the people near there, is for two parties to set out in search of poles. One group look for nice straight cottonwoods, including one with a forked top; the other company go to the mountains for pine trees, which are hauled on wagons. These men return in the evening, leaving the trees in a pile, and report that night. The men who go for trees are called "Comanche" (or "Cheyenne" or by the name of some other hostile tribe). Then the chief announces, "Someone has found Comanche near the camp, we'll attack them tomorrow morning." This is heralded through the camp in the night.

The next morning the chief paints himself, puts on his war-bonnet and says, "Hurry, get ready, we'll have a sham battle with those people." All paint up for war and a big parade is started, half of the men joining the tree-gatherers. The rest of the people start out towards the "enemy," accompanied by some women, till they get near the tree pile. Each of the tree-gatherers has a willow shade for himself to sleep in. The Ute attack them, shouting. "That is the Comanche camp." Both sides discharge firearms into the air and have a mock-battle. The Ute have mounted helpers in hiding. The enemy run short of ammunition and retreat to the brush. The Ute take booty and run to the pile. Then they select the oldest warrior who has killed an enemy and ask him where he has accomplished the deed. "You must shoot this cottonwood, he was chief to these people." The old man then shoots it while all the men and women yell, saying, "We have killed their chief." They then select another old warrior, go to the pine trees and bid him shoot the chief of such and such a tribe. They yell as before, then go back to the camp and hide. The tree-gatherers now come out of their retreat, pack the trees on wagons, and set out for the dance site. When they pass the Ute, the latter cry, "The Comanche are coming," whereupon another sham battle takes place near the site, around which as a center the tipis are pitched. This is the last of the sham fights.

They call for the oldest Ute woman who has ever been captured by other tribes and returned to her own people. She halloos and receives a horse. Everyone goes to the wagon and the center tree is very slowly and carefully lifted and laid on the ground. This is the day to put up the lodge. Holes have already been dug for the posts. The forked pole is for the middle hole; when it is put into position many assist. First it is raised a very short distance; the second time a little higher, about two feet, the third time again a little higher; the fourth time to its full height and then dropped into the hole. Then the other poles and the rafters are put into place and brush is put up between the wall-posts so that people cannot look in. The entrance faces east.

The dancers wear only a gee-string or breechclout. Their bodies are all painted and their faces are decorated with different kinds of paint. They look irre recognizable. Each of them has a plume fastened by a little string to either little finger. They move towards the forked

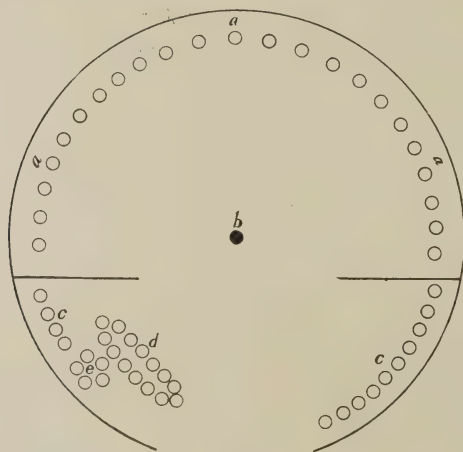


Fig. 4. Ute Sun Dance Lodge. *a*, dancers; *b*, fire; *c*, male spectators; *d*, female spectators; *e*, drummers.

tree, then back again to their position, always facing the tree. They dance for two nights and two days, after that very few continue to dance. The musicians beat a drum made from a hollowed section of a log; they take turns because the singing has to be kept up continually (Fig. 4).

Each dancer blows a whistle made from an eagle's collar bone. They always look at the fork of the center tree. When some are exhausted and take a rest an old man rises and thus admonishes them, "Why are

you lying down to sleep? How are you going to get what you desire (a shaman's powers) if you lie down to sleep? If you try hard and dance, then you will get it." After two days of dancing some run fast toward the tree, catch it, hold it and with their mouths pretend to lap water from it. When the sun comes up all the spectators go home but the dancers line up in single file. The leader, a medicineman, says, "Sun, I want you to give me water," holding out his right hand. He may also ask for shamanistic power. Every dancer similarly prays to the sun as he rises. This ceremony is repeated every morning of the dance. Afterwards the musicians return. When the moon rises the dancers sometimes ask her for similar favors as are mentioned in the sun prayer.

The ceremony continues for four days and nights. All get thin from fasting. On the third day some get crazy and drop. Then the leader helps them and puts their heads toward the tree; in a few minutes the exhausted ones get up again, well enough to go on. Sometimes those who have fainted are placed on a bed and covered with a blanket. They fall asleep for a while, dreaming about food, or the sun may talk to them announcing that they are to be shamans. After a while they wake up and feel well. No one among the spectators knows who has obtained powers.

On the fourth day they cease at about three or four o'clock. Before the conclusion, each dancer must give away his horse with leggings, shawls, or blankets. All their female relatives bring offerings of presents. The property is heaped up in a big pile inside, while the horses are kept outside. Each dancer calls for a man to whom he wishes to give a horse. Panayús was called first once and a horse was brought to him inside the enclosure. The dancer gave it to him, then he and Panayús embraced and shook hands. Panayús said, "I am a good man and have never done anything wrong, I wish you to be a good man like me. The sun will give you long life. You will stay here in good health till you get old." Each man similarly prays in return for the gift received. The dancer listens to the speech. Buckskin Charlie got eight horses on this occasion, Panayús two.

Mrs. John H. Molineux was good enough to let me have a series of photographs taken mostly among the Northern Ute of Whiterocks, Utah. The accompanying comments furnish some additional data, which are here reproduced. It seems that just before the sun dance proper some of the Indians performed a buffalo dance, the character of which unfortunately remains quite obscure. I suspect that this may be an intrusive feature not at all vitally connected with the ceremony. One

of the Dakota begging-dances was named after the buffalo, and when among the Crow I witnessed a "buffalo dance" the main function of which was to requisition food for the prospective Hot dance feast. The Crow derived this performance from the Dakota and that of the Ute may have the same origin and a similar purpose.

In the sham battle procession Mrs. Molineux observed that some of the paraders indulged in whoops and yells. A noteworthy feature in the procession was the leading of mounted women by a chief; two of the women had tall wands. After the mock-fight at Ignacio one old woman dashed in among the soldiers, stripped them of everything she could and turned over her booty to the chiefs.

* Lowie, this series, vol. 11,205; Riggs, Stephen R., "Dakota Grammar, Texts and Ethnography" (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. 9, Washington, 1894), 224.

THE HIDATSA SUN DANCE.

By ROBERT H. LOWIE

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HIDATSA SUN DANCE

The Hidata sun dance is called *naxpiké*, which is said to mean something like 'hide covering.' According to Wolf-chief there is an older name, *ú^uxikaričta*, 'small antelope,' possibly derived from an antelope apron worn by one of the performers. Clark and Matthews refer to the ceremony as an annual one, but the latter (in 1877), wrote that in recent times it had been celebrated only every second or third year. My informant estimated the last performance to have taken place in about 1880 and was able to recall seven sun dances. The Mandan and Hidatsa were equally vehement in denying any connection between the Mandan Okipa and the Hidatsa sun dance, and in the absence of specific resemblances apart from the torture feature I think we must accept Matthews's criticism that Maximilian's identification of the two festivals rests on inaccurate information.

Wolf-chief's account, the only one I succeeded in procuring, is that of an intelligent participant versed in the general ceremonial lore of his people but ignorant of the esoteric aspects of this particular performance. For the sun dance of the Hidatsa differed from that of the Crow in being associated with a group of bundle owners who alone possessed the relevant knowledge and alone held the right of pledging the dance, other participants playing theoretically only a quite subordinate part, however important it might be in adding to the spectacle offered to the community.

In order to render the matter clearer it may be well to premise a necessarily brief introductory statement on the subject of Hidatsa ceremonialism, which is still involved in much obscurity. It is not possible to work very long among the three tribes of the Ft. Berthold Reservation without stumbling on the profound distinction drawn by the Indians between the performances of the military or age-societies¹ and the rites connected with the sacred bundles. Though the former have some ceremonial features, the most conservative individual feels not the slightest hesitation in discussing them. On the other hand, there is great difficulty in getting any Pagan Indian to say anything about the bundles and an attempt to see the contents is met by the demand for an exorbitant fee, as already happened in the Prince of Wied's day. In a certain sense the women's age-societies are intermediate, since they share features of both series. In short, religious ceremonialism, as among the Blackfoot, centers and attains its high-

¹See vol. 11 of this series.

water mark in the observances associated with the bundles. Whether the groups of bundle owners can be regarded as societies, remains an open question. For convenience they will be referred to as 'fraternities.'

The number of these fraternities is considerable, though some of the bundle rituals have long ago become obsolete. Sometimes a bundle is connected with several distinct ritualistic performances. Among the more important ceremonies are the following: Bird ceremony (*tsakâ-kati+ake*); Old Woman ceremony (*kârati+aké*)¹; Above-women ceremony; Packing-a-wolf-skin-with-the-tail-touching-the-ground (*irutseruhé*); Missouri River ceremony (*awâtiti+aké*); Black Bear ceremony (*hacirâ-ati+aké*); Creek ceremony (*âcati+aké*); Earth-naming ceremony (*awarâcati+aké*); Buffalo-imitation (*mité ké+i'ké*); Corn ceremony (*kôxati+ati+aké*). The origin of the bundles is ascribed to certain experiences with supernatural powers, and their recital is not lightly undertaken. From the native point of view it seems that full knowledge is restricted to the fraternity and any one else retailing what data he has picked up not only necessarily falls into error but stands revealed as a poacher encroaching on alien property rights. Mainly through Wolf-chief, who had renounced the aboriginal religious views of which his father fortunately had been an ardent follower, I succeeded in gaining a certain amount of trustworthy information, which agrees well with accounts independently obtained from Packs-wolf. The origin stories recorded exhibit a well-marked tendency—quite lacking among the Crow, but shared by the Blackfoot—to associate the rituals with the heroes of folk-tales, the plot leading ultimately to the incident through which the ritual is acquired. In this fashion, e.g., the Missouri River ceremony is linked with the youth transformed into a serpent; the Bird ceremony with the tale of the Thunderbirds aided by a hunter in conquering a water-monster; the *irutseruhé* with Camp-boy. All these plots appear in almost identical form among the Crow² but are quite devoid of ceremonial significance.

The question arises in what manner membership in a fraternity is established. Here we encounter the interesting phenomenon that purchase is combined with a definite hereditary principle, which moreover, in spite of the matronymic sib organization, is strictly patri'lineal. That is to say, brothers and sisters join to buy their own father's bundle, of which one of the brothers becomes the keeper. The father surrenders

¹The correlated bundle is described in Pepper, George H. and Wilson, Gilbert L., "An Hidatsa Shrine and their Beliefs respecting It" (*Memoirs, American Anthropological Association*, vol. 2, pp. 275-328, 1908).

²Lowie, this series, vol. 25, 133, 144, 214.

the bundle but retains the right of joining the fraternity, singing its songs, and offering prayers during any of its performances. An outsider is able to buy an imitation of some of the constituents of the bundle, may make an offering and buy the prerogative of performing some particular rite, but that is as far as he can go. Bound up with each bundle are an indefinite number of specific privileges, e.g., of using a particular method of painting some object in the bundle. These, it seems, are purchased on the same occasion but have to be paid for separately. A privilege of this sort may be sold four times by the owner, whereupon he loses all his title to it, as among the Crow in corresponding cases. I do not know whether all the purchasers have an equal share in the bundle. My impression is that the keeper is owner in a preëminent sense. Packs-wolf's information on the Okipa bundle is to the effect that when three brothers bought it the eldest would be the one to perform in the ceremony. Bundle keepers were called 'village-keepers' (*awatiakuké*), for apart from the individual benefits accruing to them for their ceremonial possessions they prayed on behalf of the entire village. As a token of respect no one passed on their left side. The status of women with reference to bundles is not quite clear to me. They seem to be barred from the ownership of certain rituals and at all events I do not recall ever hearing of a woman passing on a bundle to her son. However, Wolf-chief said that there were women who kept bundles like men and were in the fullest sense owners.

In the transfer of a bundle the buyer's wife plays an interesting part. It is normally through her that the bundle is delivered to her husband, but only if she has never been married before and is of irreproachable chastity. In this case she presses it to her naked breast and hereafter takes care of the medicine, prays to it and may receive benefits and even visions from it.

To acquire a father's bundle is evidently to be understood in a spiritual rather than a literal sense. Usually the buyer does not get the identical objective constituents of his father's medicine but seeks to *duplicate* them through the services of a father's clansman. If, however, the latter fails to procure some of the requisites, they are supplied by the father. It was the immaterial proprietary rights to a bundle and its ritual that were established by the transfer ceremony, which transformed a potential into an actual prerogative.

It is clear that at least generally a particular type of bundle was not confined to a single family, but that it existed in at least several specimens owned by a number of families. This again recalls the Blackfoot,

but these lack the strong hereditary principle of the Hidatsa. How in spite of that principle multiple copies of the same bundle could have arisen, may be explained by assuming that originally purchase was not restricted by it, that in other words the hereditary transmission is a feature superimposed at a later stage.

The best accounts obtained suggest that the several rituals connected with some bundles were graded, and that a man would normally pass from one to the others in the course of his life before acquiring complete possession. Thus, in acquiring the Above-Woman bundle Wolf-chief first made pole-offerings, later a small sweatlodge, and ultimately a big sweatlodge. But he explained that a person affording it might omit the lesser ceremonials. I gather, however, that this was rather a theoretical privilege.

People were eager to purchase the bundles because the owners were blessed with visions by the spirits connected with the bundles. E.g., Small-ankle, after getting the Above-Woman bundle, cried for a vision and had two songs communicated to him by the spirit called Above-Woman. He used these in war and easily secured horses from the enemy. When his son Wolf-chief went to war, Small-ankle painted his son's face, prayed to the bundle, put a sacred feather on Wolf-chief's head, and prayed thus: "Arrows or bullets, do not touch him." Though Wolf-chief went very close to the enemy's lines, he escaped unscathed. Hence the other people thought he had no body and he himself came to believe in the power of the bundle.

It is important to note that a person normally sought visions only from the spirits of his own bundle, no matter what ceremony he was participating in. Wolf-chief specifically said that while he took part in the sun dance he was not praying to the sun but to his father's bundles, which he was carrying during the performance; only sun-worshippers, i.e., owners of the *naxpiké* bundle would receive visions from the sun. It was also a vision that usually prompted potential members of a fraternity to consummate the purchase. If an outsider received a similar vision, he would not act upon it independently but would communicate his experience to a member, who advised him to make a minor sweatlodge offering to the spirit in question. Should the outsider have seen a big sweatlodge, the member said, "No, you can't do that, but you may bring something to cover up the bundle." Then the visionary would bring an offering of food and a robe for the bundle. People formerly performed ceremonies on the initiative of visions but they were found to die soon after, accordingly the Hidatsa came to be afraid to perform ceremonies except under the superintendence of duly qualified bundle owners.

‘ In the bundle ceremonials three officials appear as prominent actors,— the Singer (*akawāpahi*), the Crier (*pāatāki*), and the impersonator of the mythical trickster-hero, Itsi ‘kawāhiric.

The Singer was usually the master of ceremonies, although the latter is sometimes designated by another term and in one case recorded the Crier assumed his part (but see below). But generally it is the Singer that conducts the proceedings as an officiating priest, directs the transfer of a bundle, sings some of the sacred songs, and formally purges participants of the holy character they have acquired during the rites. Ordinarily there seems to have been only one Singer for a ceremony. As noted above, some of the women’s age-societies were of a more sacred character than the corresponding male organizations, and at least two of them, the Goose women and the River women, had a Singer. As for the fraternity Singers, it was a prerequisite that they should have gone through the entire set of rituals correlated with the bundle involved. If so qualified, a man might buy the prerogative from his predecessor. Such a man might buy the office from a dying Singer, probably his own father, who would gladly transmit the functions of the position. Even if the seller recovered, the buyer would thereafter officiate in his place. Tearless-eyes, Hairy-coat’s father, was Singer of the Above-Woman ceremony; later Hairy-coat bought the office from Tearless-eyes.

The Crier, who served only in a ceremonial capacity, was hired to summon the members of a fraternity. His office was elective and involved no payment on his part. Unlike the Singer, he functioned for the entire village. When Missouri, a one-time incumbent died, the Hidatsa leaders gathered together to choose a successor and selected Crow-paunch, a member of the Sun fraternity. But the office was hedged about with a series of rules—e.g., a Crier must always use red paint, never mourning-paint, must not gamble nor bathe in the Missouri—and one of these was transgressed by Crow-paunch. Accordingly, an Hidatsa council deposed him and appointed Poor-wolf as his successor. In the Above-woman ceremony, of which a full account was obtained, the Crier clearly acted under the Singer’s orders, inviting villagers at his behest, seeking from him an explanation of antiquated words, and lighting the pipe on his request. On the other hand, a description of the Giving-woman ceremony makes the conduct of the whole affair devolve on the Crier’s shoulders, while the impersonator of Itsi ‘kawāhiric acts as his servant. But Poor-wolf may have acted as director not because he was Crier but as Singer of another closely

affiliated ceremony. One of the Crier's chief functions, at least in the last-mentioned ritual, was to sit on the left side of the door (for one entering) and to tend a fire built in front of him, for if it were extinguished this would be a foreboding of evil.

Whether Itsi'kawāhiric appears in many of the ceremonies or only in one or two, remains doubtful. He also sits by the door and tends a fire, but figures rather in the light of a ceremonial attendant, though as Dr. Gilbert L. Wilson rightly remarks¹ this does not necessarily involve inferiority in an absolute sense.

The ceremonies connected with different bundles not only conformed to a tribal pattern, but were evidently linked in a definite though not, in the present stage of my knowledge, easily definable way. For example, the Above-Woman and the Old-Women fraternities were clearly connected and we find Wolf-chief buying medicines from the Old-Women when he is acquiring the Above-Woman bundle; and in addition to Hairy-coat, the Above-Woman Singer, Cherry-necklace, the Singer of the Old-Women, also plays a part. Generally, it seems that when one fraternity went through a rite shared by another, the members of the second had a right to participate, e.g., if both groups had sacred buffalo skulls.

A detail of comparative interest is worth mentioning. In one of the ceremonies the 'leader,' who received no specific title from my informant, had all the members of his age-society take part.

When a bundle was purchased, one person figured very prominently without necessarily being a member of the fraternity involved and without holding a distinct ceremonial office. As has been pointed out in a previous publication,² an altogether peculiar bond linked the Hidatsa with his father's clan mates. They were the people preëminently entitled to gifts on festive occasions; they conducted a person's funeral; and nicknames were assigned on the basis of *their* rather than one's own activities. It is not surprising, then, that this relation also left an impression on the ceremonial life of the Hidatsa. Accordingly, we find that an Hidatsa regularly purchased membership in the age-societies from a father's clan-mate; and in obtaining the articles necessary for a medicine bundle he likewise requisitioned and liberally paid for the services of a clan father. In consenting to serve in this capacity the father's clansmen assumed a heavy responsibility, for it is his duty to ward off misfortune from his clan son by prayer until the time of the

¹Pepper and Wilson, 320.

²Lowie, this series, vol. 21, 40 seq.

ceremony. If he failed, the ceremony would not take place and people would blame him, saying, "So-and-so's father is not powerful, so his son has got into trouble." It is therefore intelligible that the clan father received a large portion of the property amassed by the novice. According to one account, he received a large pile, the Singer one half of all the goods, while the members of the fraternity divided among themselves the residual and decidedly smallest third. From another statement it would even appear that the clan father's share exceeded the Singer's.

After these introductory remarks it will be possible to follow Wolf-chief's narrative concerning the Sun dance, which I give very nearly as I find it in my notes.

WOLF-CHIEF'S NARRATIVE.

I do not consider this my own or my father's ceremony, but as you ask me about it, I will tell you what I have heard or seen.

A man wanting to make the ceremony would say, "I want to raise your house, Sun. I want you to help me to conquer the enemy and to let me have plenty of food and get along well." The sacred objects needed for the dance included a buffalo skull, an enemy's left hand, a scalp, and one whole rabbitskin to be used for a crown. The man undertaking the ceremony went to one of his father's clansmen and thus addressed him: "Father, I want you to get me my medicine objects, I want to make Sun dance." His 'father' then knew that he required the objects named, and all the people would know about it. That year there would be plenty of rain and a fine crop.

This ceremony was performed by both Crow and Hidatsa prior to their separation. After the departure of the Crow for the West, an Hidatsa dreamt, that the lodge had a cover of leaves instead of the hides first used (see above). In making an offering to the Sun the people painted a red circle on the robe given to him and hung it on a chokecherry tree; Moon offerings were similarly treated but painted with a red crescent. Once, over a hundred years ago, a young man went out crying in the hope of seeing the Sun man. He suffered for a long time, cutting off one finger and a strip of his skin as offerings. For three years he continued thus torturing himself. Once he went out fasting for four days. At length he said, "Some people say the Sun is human and I used to believe it; but I am beginning not to believe it." About sunrise on the fourth day he looked eastward, saw a man coming from the Sun, and began to sing victory songs. This time he cut his flesh in a curve from the middle of the forehead and down on each side; then he had a vision. The Sun was riding a white pony. The visionary went home, dreamt at night, and saw the Sun dance lodge with the people looking happy outside and their faces painted black and plenty of horses about. He awoke and said, "Now I believe it and will make the ceremony." He dreamt again and saw the sweatlodge with seven pipes before it. He thought this bore some relation to the Sun, called together all the people who worshipped the Sun, and they said that was a sweatlodge. He collected robes and many other valuable things, which he distributed among the Sun fraternity, and they prayed on his behalf. He became a war captain, overcame some enemies, brought home an abun-

dance of horses, and made plenty of sacred things for the young men. He grew to be very old. He called the Sun his father and said, "I want to dress in the manner my father showed me." He undressed, painted all his body red, and made a cap of rabbitskin. The head and legs of a jackrabbit were sacred to the Sun worshippers. He tied a bunch of straight sage to his walking cane and ran round the village with it. When he got to be very old and was ready to die, he said, "I'll go back to my father. When I die, paint my face red, put my rabbitskin cap on my head, and cover my body but not my face with a robe. Then place me toward the sunrise, but don't look at me till next year. Then I'll look just as I do now, without having rotted in the least. Then you may bury me. You must not give up this Sun god, make it (?) big on this earth and things will go well with you: you will kill enemies and hunt buffalo." He died forthwith without being sick; he was then over a hundred years of age. Since then we have had the sun dance. His family kept the sacred objects and kept up the ceremony.

When I was a boy I saw a ceremony in a big leaf-covered lodge; there were many boys sitting or lying around in hope of a vision. I remember seven men undertaking a performance. When I was about twenty years old, I understood things better. Hunts-the-enemy then made a sun dance and I saw it. He made it to keep up his father's bundle ritual, to become a great warrior and to help the village. There was a big forked pole in the center, and from the fork they hung a buffalo head with the horns. We cut young cottonwood trees with the leaves and carried them down from the woods, and someone placed them against the forked tree. They began to build the lodge about noon and completed it by evening. The old people said, "You young men must cry and try to get a vision from the sun." I thought I might get also. So I went about sunset and found the lodge full of young men. I too found room to lie down near a rear post. I saw one man in the place of honor opposite the door,—the maker of the ceremony, Hunts-the-enemy. Over his head there was a hoop, and round it were tied birds and rabbit legs. It got dark. Old and middle-aged men entered, sat down in a circle on the left side of the door for one entering, put a dry hide in the middle of their space, and got their drumsticks. One of the singers said, "You young men here want to see some visions, overcome your enemies and get some honor marks. This is the sun dance lodge you are in. When we sing, you must whistle and look up at the sun and perhaps he will help you, giving you what you desire. Instead of dancing, some of you may cry." There was no fire in the lodge, though it was dark. The musicians were beating their drum. We all rose, danced and looked up without changing our position. For two hours we continued, then we ceased. Everyone was crying then. Each prayed to the spirits (*maxupācēre*) as follows: "Oh, Spirits, I am poor, I want you to give me some of my enemies so that they may be easily killed;" or, "Spirits, I am poor, poor men always have hard times, help me out of my trouble." The musicians then all went home, while we young men slept in the lodge, some of us crying throughout the night.

The next morning a man named Porcupine-pemmican came from the village. He was the only sun dance painter and spoke to Hunts-the-enemy, who addressed the young men expecting a vision, of whom two thereupon went out. After a while they returned, bringing sand from the Missouri in their blankets. Porcupine-pemmican pointed out a space for them, and each banked up his sand with a distance of a foot between the two piles. Porcupine-pemmican again spoke to Hunts-the-enemy, who again sent out two young men. These returned carrying *macūgakcā*

brush in their arms. Porcupine-pemmican stuck all these leafy branches into the sand heaps. Nearby was a buffalo skull, which Porcupine-pemmican took and placed between the sand heaps so that it faced Hunts-the-enemy. He got a small dish, put water into it, and placed it before the skull. He put a package of white clay into the water and stirred it up, then he prayed to the Sun as follows, "You, Sun god, this man has raised a house for you. I want to paint up his body and face. I ask you to let him have what he wishes for." Then he got four sprigs of big-leaved sage, dipped them into the clay, and sang, motioning before Hunts-the-enemy's face in a half circle as if he were painting him, then repeated the motion on the other side of his face. Then he actually painted one side of Hunts-the-enemy's face with the sage-brush and then painted down the arm of the same side, whereupon he seized and shook his protégé's thumb. He went through the same movements on the other side.

Suddenly some people in the village cried, "The enemies have stolen some of our horses!" Then all of us young men dashed out to catch the thieves. I mounted one of my neighbor's horses and caught one of my own horses. I saw the rest chasing the enemy. As soon as I got my horse, I jumped on and followed the others; my horse was very fast. We got from old Ft. Berthold to the site of Elbowoods, where the enemy kept in the woods under the bluffs. I caught up with the foremost Hidatsa. We lost their tracks. They went north and yelled for us, we got there and found their tracks again. We got to the hills in the Bad Lands, where we rested our horses for a while. East of us we saw plenty of people and took them for our enemies, but found them to be white soldiers, who were friendly. We told them the enemy had stolen our horses and they told us they had chased them till they got into the woods, where they must still be. We got off ready to fight. Some of our boys ran ahead. In a coulée they saw some enemies, who immediately jumped into the timber. It was a pretty large wood. We saw no men, but shot in there, and they began to shoot back. We shot where there was smoke. They saw us and killed one of our men. A half-breed soldier also was killed. One of the enemies was crying, "My friend, you are killing me." All fired in that direction and killed him. Hunts-the-enemy got into the timber and struck this man, then plenty of us entered the woods and killed two enemies. I also struck an enemy and got a scalp. Hunts-the-enemy delivered a speech: "This is what I am after. I have suffered. This is what I want to get for our tribe. We have lost two, but we have killed two. So all of you who are not drinking water may drink water." Accordingly, all of us drank from a spring nearby. Rabbit-head was the first to count coup on the second enemy. He made another sun dance ceremony. We believed that anyone who suffered in honor of the sun would strike enemies and become a chief. Hunts-the-enemy's ceremony was short, but usually it lasted four nights.

Some young men would go home after spending two nights in the lodge, others after three, still others after four. I was among the last-mentioned when Keeps-his-hair made the ceremony. Some underwent more suffering than others. They cut the skin of their breasts, put sticks through on both sides, and tied them to the buffalo skin hanging from the center poles. Putting back their hands, they would sometimes jump into the air and swing round, then swing back so as to untwist the rope. On the fourth day about noon I tried to do as the rest, before that I was afraid. One father's clansman of mine was there. I went to the ceremony maker for clay and painted my body white in token of what I was going to do. Then I went to my father, wanting to swing. He said, "You are a man, this is the way to overcome the enemy."

He took a steel-headed arrow. I sat with my back against the center pole and my clan father said, "We'll cut a wider one." One man rubbed off the paint, the other punched a hole through my skin and ran a hard chokecherry stick through it, then attached the rope to the ends. One of them held it and pulled hard. It seemed to me as though they pulled out my heart. Then they began to sing. An older man said to me, "Try to be brave." He encouraged me. "Pull the rope backwards, wall round, loosen the flesh." I pulled it back. "Now dance, put back your back and your hands." Then I danced. I wished to swing. I danced, jumped off the ground and swung close to the earth, then untwisted the rope again. My kinswomen cried for pity, while the men said, "Other men did this and became chiefs." I did this several times, then I got to be very weak and could not repeat the performance. The songs were drawing to a close. I fell back, weak, and listened to the song. At its close I sat against the pole and then someone said, "Fathers, rise and take the rope off your son, he is worn out." The clan fathers came, saying, "Son, get up, we'll take off the rope, you are too tired." "Well, let me try once more." "All right, you are a man. Thus some have acted and become chiefs." Someone said, "Let him do it again if he wishes." So the clan fathers sat down again. The singing recommenced. I tried to dance and run but my legs were too weak, so I walked round and pulled back till the close of the song. Then they said it was time to cease and my clan fathers took out my skewers. At sunset Porcupine-pemmican rose, got some sage, and brushed off the sacred quality from every person and also from the lodge. "You crying boys, we are going home now." So we all left.

When I got home, my (own) father asked me to go down the river, bathe, and put clay plastering down the sore spots. I did this, putting clay over the cuts and pushing it down. Then I ate more than usual. My father opened all his medicine bundles and fixed my bed before them, saying, "Perhaps you will get a vision there." So I lay down there. I did not sleep that night at all on account of a stomach ache. I lay awake till daylight, then I dreamt of a man singing a victory song outside the lodge. I got honor marks and the man called my name as 'Long-bull,' and in a second song he called me 'Good-bull.' Thus I dreamt, but the dream was not fulfilled, for soon thereafter all wars ceased.

On the earlier parts of the ceremony Wolf-chief supplied the following account, adding some more general comments:—

Good young men with honor marks were called, and one of them was selected (sometimes two were), who received this order: "Go out west to the edge of the river and try to find a straight tree with a fork at the top." When he had found one, he returned to within approximately a mile from the village, where he howled coyote-fashion to indicate that he had seen an enemy. The villagers gathered together to hear his report, and the scout announced, "I have seen one Dakota." When they were ready to go for the tree, the Painter and all the other members of the Sun fraternity gathered and proceeded toward the tree, making four stops. The pledger of the ceremony carried a straight pipe and a piece of cooked meat, both of which he laid down by the forked log, which had drifted downstream. A member of the fraternity took the pipe and raised it toward the log, saying, "Smoke this, my enemy, I want to kill you very easily; bring some of your friends with you too." Then he lit the pipe and after smoking it first he offered smoke to the log once more, saying, "Smoke, we want to paint our faces black and have a good time." Each of the men,

possibly to the number of ten or twelve, went through similar actions and words. When they had done, they removed the ashes and put them on the log. The piece of dried meat was taken off and also offered to the musicians and others by Porcupine-pemmican. He held the same pipe, standing near the foot of the log, where they wanted to cut it. He raised the pipe into the air, saying, "We want to kill enemies safely." The man behind him had an ax. Porcupine-pemmican feigned striking the log with his pipe. After he had three times pretended to do this, the other man actually struck the log. Then all shouted, "We have killed our enemy!" Then the log was cut square at the bottom and all its branches were chopped off, but the fork was left at the top. When this had been done, Porcupine-pemmican got some sagebrush, and beginning at the bottom he brushed off the log, saying, "Make your body lighter, we want to take you."

Three young men had carried a bull-boat to the log along the bank upstream. When Porcupine-pemmican had done, the log was rolled down toward the river and they said, "We want to bring our enemy down the river." Then they rejoiced and brought the log dragging behind the boat to about two miles below the village. In the evening the men took the boat home. The Sun fraternity people got up on a roof and said, "The scouts sight the enemy down below. Brave young men, get ready to run against the enemy. Tomorrow we must charge the enemy. Get your medicines, decorate your horses, and prepare so as to be ready early." The following morning some members got on a housetop and cried, "Young men, get your horses and prepare to fight the enemy." This man was painted according to his vision as if he were going against the Dakota. He said, "Young men who go out to fight must get sticks." He also bade the young women get sticks. Then he continued, "Young men, take your sweethearts on horseback and bring leaves with them." The Sun fraternity all went afoot a little ways from the village and seated themselves there. Another man said to the second group of young men, "Go out to fight the enemy." We all jumped on horseback and I put my bird medicine on my head; I wore nothing but a breech-clout, had put on red face paint, and was carrying a gun. We all got to where the Sun fraternity sat. There we halted, waiting for some people from the village to join us. All gathered, then Porcupine-pemmican delivered a speech to us: "Young men, one of our enemies is near. I'll sing four songs. When I have done, charge against the enemy." His songs were Sun fraternity songs; he sang four of these. "When I close my song, run as fast as possible. Whoever shall strike first, will strike an enemy first. I know this is the way it has been in the past." So all the young men ran their race horses as fast as possible. I whipped my horse to make him go as fast as I could. If anyone fell off, it was dangerous for him, as others would trample on him. But this time no accident occurred. The one ahead jumped over the log and said, "I strike the enemy first." Four struck the log, then the others shot at it with their guns. The Sun fraternity were stationed half a mile from the village and a mile and a half from the log. Now they walked to the log and came up to us.

Porcupine-pemmican prayed to the Sun, then he said, "This log will get lighter all the time." He selected two good young men on horseback, tied a rope to either end of the log, and had them drag it. Then the other mounted men attached ropes to different parts of the tree and dragged it, continually shooting at it amidst shouting. Porcupine-pemmican ordered them to make four stops before bringing the log to the hole marking the site of the lodge. We all got ready to start and Porcupine-pemmican sang mystery songs, at the close of each of which we shouted and clapped our mouths.

After we had done this four times, the order was given to start. Then it felt as though we were merely pulling the rope, though the log was about forty feet in length and more than a foot in diameter. We halted, discharged our guns, and yelled. We did this four times, then we reached the site, where we put the log down with its bottom close to the hole. Round this the ground was cleared, which was always done by members of the Old-Woman fraternity. There were a few singers there. Porcupine-pemmican also got there and asked us log-haulers to go back and change our dress to ordinary clothing. We did this, putting away our other medicine objects. He called on some additional young men to raise the poles: "Bring your tent poles and rawhide ropes to work with." I looked and saw young men, some riding double with girls, others alone, bringing cottonwoods. On that day it was proper to show off one's sweetheart in the daytime. We young men took positions, getting ready for raising the poles. Porcupine-pemmican again sang sacred songs, at the close of which we shouted, then we began to lift the poles. Some put sticks on, and they seemed light. The post hole was about an arm's length in depth and we pulled from different sides to get the post into its place. It was already afternoon, and another group were bringing in sticks and rafters for the frame of the lodge, which was about twenty steps in diameter. Porcupine-pemmican sang, walked round outside the cleared spot, where the members of the Old-Woman fraternity were still at work, setting forked eight-foot posts along the circumference and joining them by cross-beams. To the fork of the center post was tied a dry bull skull skin with the horns. The bones were removed and the horns were hollowed, then sewed to the skin of the head. The skin was dried and tough and appeared to be that of a live animal. When the people were ready, a young man who was a good climber took a rope round his shoulders and climbed the center post. The bull skin included a strip running down the back and the tail. The climber dropped his rope, the people tied the buffalo skin to it, he raised it and arranged it so that the head faced the door. The nose was perforated and a rawhide rope passed through it. It was by this nose rope that I suspended myself. The climber descended. Porcupine-pemmican stayed by the entrance. The Old-Women ceased working and waited for their fee. Porcupine-pemmican began to sing. The young men carried in rafters, placing the upper end first on the center pole, then the butt on the peripheral posts. Rafters were also placed on the cross-beams at a distance of a foot from one another. Porcupine-pemmican told the young men to put leafy branches across the rafters and to put upright sticks between the peripheral posts except where space was to be left for the doorway.

The first part of the ceremony was the Cut-round-the-mouth dance (*ihakòpi di'ci*). In the evening the musicians were outside facing the door, seated in a semi-circle and began to sing. Good young men were selected, those having honor marks on the head and legs. Those who had killed an enemy were put into the front line, facing the door; there might be three lines of from two to four young men each. These were scouts who had achieved some meritorious deeds near a hostile camp. They sang and danced forward towards the door, then danced backwards again. This was done four times in accompaniment to as many songs. The Pledger paid the Old-Women for their services with robes and goods contributed by various people; he similarly compensated the dancing braves. Then all ceased with their activities and returned to the village.

At sunset the Pledger entered the lodge, followed by the other men seeking a vision. They fasted for four nights. An oval painted on the face represented the

rings round the sun, while a circle of white clay on the breast represented the sun himself, the distance between the sand piles his path, and the piles his resting places. After painting the men Porcupine-pemmican had the right to conduct the ceremony. His son, Rabbit-head, may know all about it. Porcupine-pemmican had power from the Sun and Moon, who are considered as one, and whenever any offerings were made to them it was he who directed the proceedings. Anyone else who wanted to learn about such things had to pay him and get the power from him. Porcupine-pemmican also treated people who got hurt while chopping wood; he would brush his patient with sage and sing over him.

The Pledger appointed a father's clansman to get three sacred objects for him. At the close of the ceremony these were given to the Pledger, who gave his clan father considerable property in return.

The Pledger did not torture himself by suspension but always cut off one of his finger joints on the last day as an offering to the sun. Some also cut off a piece of flesh from the breasts, and these (according to Butterfly) practically all became chiefs. After such a sacrifice the Pledger sometimes saw a vision. He would stand in position till tired, crying and dancing. During the performance the master of ceremonies sat on his left, but went home for every meal. Sometimes the other men who sought visions failed and would ask to have the lodge left standing a little longer. Then they would fast two days more. Ordinarily, immediately after the close of the ceremony, the rafters and posts were taken down and those who needed them carried them off to their homes; but the center pole, being sacred, was never taken down.

Hunts-the-enemy made the ceremony four times. All the Sun worshippers formed a society, and if one made the ceremony the others joined him. Any one who dreamt of the (Mandan) *ōkīpə* might go through it,¹ but the *naxpiké* was only undertaken by one who was acquiring his father's medicine bundle. Each boy as he grew up wanted to get possession of his father's bundle.

PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS.

Wolf-chief's narrative agrees rather well with Mr. Curtis's account, the fullest available for purposes of comparison,² though the latter does not bring out the hereditary nature of the privilege to pledge a sun dance. Both show the prominent place assigned to a father's clansman, but Curtis's statement that there was disapproval if a would-be visionary asked a clan father to pierce his body is not borne out by Wolf-chief's testimony. My informant mentions a single officiating director, Porcupine-pemmican, who is designated the Painter; Curtis speaks of a Priest and a Singer. His use of this latter term at all events corroborates the parallelism of the *naxpiké* and other bundle ceremonies. Curtis, as well as Clark, attaches great importance to the initial procuring of

¹I am not at all sure of the correctness of this statement.

²Curtis, Edward S., *The North American Indian* (Cambridge, 1908), vol. 4, 152 seq.; Matthews, Washington, "Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians" (*Miscellaneous Publications, United States Geological and Geographical Survey*, no. 7, Washington, 1877), 10, 45; Clark, W. P., *The Indian Sign Language* (Philadelphia, 1885), 194; Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Reise in das innere Nord-America in den Jahren 1832 bis 1834* (Coblenz, 1841), vol. 2, 226.

buffalo robes to be given away at the ceremony, while in my account this feature enters only incidentally. A point of importance not mentioned by Wolf-chief is the Pledger's purchase of various bundles brought in by their owners. Curtis corroborates Wolf-chief as to the clearing of the site by the Old Women, also with reference to the tearing down of the lodge except for the center pole. His description of the Pledger's actions in the lodge is important enough to be quoted since it adds specific details to my informant's narrative:—

The Dancer was not pierced, but danced toward the pole and back, springing from the ground with rigid legs, his feet close together, his eyes fixed on the buffalo-head, blowing his whistle in rhythm with the beating of the drum; his mind was intent on the desire to become a great warrior, and he prayed silently for visions. Thus he continued until he fell from exhaustion, and there he lay until the vision appeared, remaining until the end of the fourth day if necessary.

Matthews describes mainly the securing of the center pole and the forms of torture, which embrace those commonly in vogue among the Plains Indians, but also that of leading a horse by cords attached to the sufferer's perforated shoulder muscles.¹ Regarding the center pole, he speaks of the felling of the tree, while Wolf-chief consistently referred to the center pole as one that had drifted down stream.

Maximilian's account is brief and not of the degree of accuracy usual with this author, for he confounds the *naxpiké* and the *ōkīpə*. His name for the festival is clearly, as Matthews correctly notes, the Hidatsa designation for the Mandan festival, not for their own sun dance. According to Maximilian there was a final running about in a circle of all those who had undergone torture as in the Okipa. He connects the ceremony with the preparations for a war party, the lodge being put up by the prospective captains. These, according to his narrative, spent four days and four nights lying stretched out in oblong pits, naked save for a leather loincloth. The leader of the party selected an associate or assistant to go through the ceremony with him. All this does not harmonize with later accounts, but certain details are correctly reported, such as the use of white clay, the buffalo skull on the fork, and the beating of a buffalo hide by the musicians.

Charles Mackenzie's is probably the earliest record of an Hidatsa sun dance (1805).² Though it is purely objective, it is of interest in

¹This method is quoted from E. James, "Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains performed in the years 1819, 1820 (London, 1823)", I, 254-256.

²Mackenzie, Charles, *The Mississouri Indians, a Narrative of Four Trading Expeditions to the Mississouri, 1804-1805-1806, for the North West Company*, 354-357. (In *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest. Récits de Voyages, Lettres et Rapports inédits relatifs au Nord-Ouest Canadien*. Par L. R. Masson, Quebec, 1889.)

establishing for the Hidatsa sun dance the type of torture characteristic of the Mandan Okipa. Since it is not readily accessible, it seems justifiable to reproduce it verbatim.

July 10th 1805.—To celebrate the Great Festival, all the old men of the Enasa village assembled at the lodge of the First Chief to appoint proper officers in order to keep the peace during the ceremonies.

11th. This morning at day break, an old man harangued through the village: soon after appeared twelve robust young men with their heads in bladders, bodies bare, painted half way with vermillion and half with white earth, the emblems of punishment and pardon united in the same person. These guardians of the peace entered into every lodge, giving instruction for good behaviour. The women were directed to go into the woods for branches to cover the Medecine lodge, while the men were occupied in dressing themselves.

When all were ready, the men walked into the lodge with their pipes and drums, the women went with kettles and dishes full of the best of things to prepare for the feast. At the door of the lodge, the vessels, were aired over a blasing fire made of certain hay or weeds selected for the occasion, and ample offerings were variously made to the Sun. When the eating part was over, the remainder of the day was joyfully passed in innocent recreation, such as smoking, dancing, &c.

In the forenoon of the 12th, several young men placed themselves in a row on their bellies; an old man holding an arrow approached them and with the barb of it pierced a hole at the shoulder blades of each, through which he passed a pin of hard wood four inches long and half an inch thick. To this pin he fastened a cord of eight yards in length at the end of which were tied seven bulls' heads or more, according to the repute of the warrior. Such as had killed some of the enemy and taken scalps had a man's skull fixed to each breast and a scalp fastened a little below their eyes, with a cane in the right hand, to which also was fastened a scalp. But such as were less successful in war were not distinguished by so many ornaments; they had not the honor of dragging so many bulls heads after them, and their canes, in lieu of human scalps, were graced only with eagle tails. These young warriors were entirely naked, but painted white.

When the old man had finished this first part, the young warriors started up and moved forward, but the bulls head which they trained having their horns entangled rendered their progress slow and painful. One, however, who was more loaded than any of the rest, rushed through the crowd, unmindful of all obstacles which stood in his way, and soon gained his destination in the Great Lodge, where he was received by a multitude of spectators with shouts of applause. The others would fain have followed the example, but their hearts failed them; they often leaned on their canes.

As the warriors arrived at the lodge, all the heads were thrown on a high beam, and their weight serving as a counter-poise raised the bearers from the ground. In this position they remained suspended like so many criminals upon a gibbet.

In the mean time, spectators of all sexes and sizes united in singing, dancing and beating their drums, &c., while the old man approached the principal *Hero* and asked him what he was disposed to offer to the Sun, so that the Sun might continue to shine upon him with kindness: "I shall give to the Sun," said he "in order that he may shine upon me with kindness, two strips of flesh from each of my arms, beginning at my shoulder blades and finishing at my wrists; I shall also give to the Sun one of my

fingers, and shall allow you, moreover, to imprint with a red hot iron an emblem of the Sun upon my breast."

The same question was put to each of the others, who were fifteen in number, but they were much more moderate in their devotional donations. They contented themselves with giving a finger or a slice of flesh respectively.

The old man, who was provided with the necessary instruments for the execution of his duty, began his operations upon the boldest of the heroes. He began by cutting on the shoulder two circles from which he raised two strips in parallel lines down to the wrist, then the little finger of the right hand was cut off at the second joint, and then the bit of a bridle was introduced, red hot, and applied to the breast until the flesh in a large circle rose into a hard crust. All this time, the sufferer as well as his companions on trial were hanging suspended from the beam of the lodge by the cords through the incision in their shoulders, their feet at some distance from the ground and unable to stir during the operation. The noise of the spectators was very great; if the sufferers complained, they could not be heard.

As soon as each had undergone the pains he had imposed upon himself, he was relieved from his elevated station at the beam and allowed to return from where he came, still dragging his original *equipage* of heads, until he placed the whole where he found them, and where fit persons were stationed on purpose to untie and receive them.

When the wooden pins were taken out of the shoulders, an old woman sucked the blood from the wounds, which she stuffed with a preparation made with her teeth from a certain root for the purpose. Then the suffering *hero*, or whatever we may choose to call him, took his strips of flesh and his finger joint, placed them in a neat little bag, with which he hastened to the outside of the village to depose it as an offering to his God, and singing a lamentable dirge as he went on.

Tired of so dreadful a scene, I withdrew and returned to my quarters, where I found the guards of police indulging with the girls during the absence of their parents. As to the warriors, the sun was high the next morning before the last of them left his companions stand at the beam to take his painful turn before the old priest.

The old priest was handsomely rewarded for his trouble and attendance, the young warriors on whom he operated so signally loaded him with presents, and, the next morning, he was one of the richest men in the village.

COMMENTS.

Inadequate as are Wolf-chief's data, they suffice to establish the parallelism in principle of the Hidatsa sun dance with other bundle ceremonies, while on the other hand its objective features manifestly align it with the sun dances of other tribes. Though my informant refers to the director of the ceremony as the Painter, it is obvious that he corresponds to the Singer of other bundles, and Curtis's account even suggests that he may have been designated by the same title. Hunts-the-enemy is clearly the maker of a bundle ceremony, desirous of establishing his hereditary rights, and courting the assistance of a clan father to secure the necessary elements of the bundle. Viewed from this angle, the *naxpiké* is a transfer ritual. The interrelations of distinct fraternities are exemplified by the activities of the Old-Women.

The emphasis on the warlike purposes of the Pledger links the Hidatsa ceremony with that of the Crow. It is noteworthy in this connection that with the killing of enemies the ceremony might abruptly terminate in both cases.

Finally may be mentioned the fact that the Hidatsa Wolf ceremony (*tsēc ati + akè*) in at least one of its three varieties presents interesting analogies to the sun dance. It, too, was essentially a bundle transfer, beginning with the customary requisitioning of a clan father's services. The specific resemblance lies in the invitation extended to brave young men outside the fraternity to attend as fasters for four days with their own bundle, at the close of which period it was customary for some of them to inflict tortures on themselves. Wolf-chief himself resorted to almost the identical method cited by Matthews,—that of leading a wild horse secured to his back.

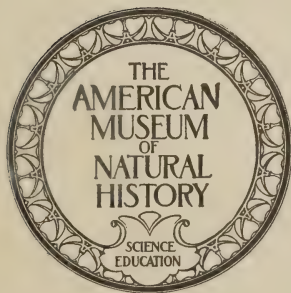
ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
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NOTES ON THE KIOWA SUN DANCE

BY

LESLIE SPIER



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NOTES ON THE KIOWA SUN DANCE.

The following notes were obtained from Andres Martinez (Andele, a Mexican captive of the Kiowa whose history¹ is well known) in August, 1919. Attention was directed in the first instance to the organization of the dance, but a brief description of the whole ceremony was also obtained, chiefly by way of comments on Scott's account.² The last Kiowa sun dance was held in 1887.³

The Kiowa sun dance is the prerogative of the individual who owns the sacred image, the *tai'me*. He deposes the ancillary offices where he sees fit, although there is a well-defined tendency for them to be hereditary. The predominant idea of this image is that of a war medicine. Thus the dance is fundamentally like that of the Crow, but it differs from it in two important respects. First, the Kiowa rites cluster about only one particular medicine, whereas among the Crow, any one of a number of medicine dolls may be used in the ceremony. The question arises whether the dozen minor Kiowa images, which are sometimes brought into the dance, were more recently acquired or constructed in order to reproduce the functions of the *tai'me*, or whether one medicine doll has completely overshadowed all the others, as seemed about to happen among the Crow. The evidence favors the first view, since no rites, other than those attendant on any personal medicine, are described, or even intimated, for the minor images. The second difference is, that while the Crow shaman invokes his medicine for any one who appeals to him for aid, acting only in a directive capacity, the Kiowa *tai'me* owner is himself the principal suppliant. Were it not for the hereditary bias in the distribution of ceremonial functions, the Kiowa sun dance would be the prerogative of one man as completely as that of the Crow is, when the latter is once under way. The hereditary principle does not appear in the military societies except in the ownership of the medicine lance or arrow (*ze'bo*).⁴

The Kiowa sun dance (*k'o^oduⁿ* specifically the name for the lodge) was an annual tribal affair, in which the associated Kiowa Apache freely joined.⁵ It was danced in an effort to obtain material benefits from, or through, the medicine doll in the possession of the medicineman, who is at the same time director and principal performer.

¹Methvin, J. J., *Andele, or The Mexican-Kiowa Captive. A Story of Real Life among the Indians* (Louisville, Kentucky, 1899).

²Scott, Hugh Lenox, "Notes on the Kado, or Sun Dance of the Kiowa" (*American Anthropologist*, N. S., vol. 13, pp. 345-379, 1911). The phonetic system used in the present paper is that of the "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages" (*Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, vol. 66, no. 6, 1916), 2-7.

³Mooney, James, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians" (*Seventeenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, part 1, pp. 129-445, Washington, 1911), 385.

⁴Lowie, R. H., "Societies of the Kiowa" (this series, vol. 11), 847; Mooney, 325, 338.

⁵Mooney, 253, states the contrary.

This is a small image, less than 2 feet in length, representing a human figure dressed in a robe of white feathers, with a headdress consisting of a single upright feather and pendants of ermine skin, with numerous strands of blue beads around its neck, and painted upon the face, breast, and back with designs symbolic of the sun and moon. [Martinez says the face is entirely obscured by hanging beads.] The image itself is of dark-green stone, in form rudely resembling a human head and bust, probably shaped by art like the stone fetishes of the Pueblo tribes. It is preserved in a rawhide box in charge of the hereditary keeper, and is never under any circumstances exposed to view except at the annual sun dance, when it is fastened to a short upright stick planted within the medicine lodge, near the western side. . . . The ancient *tai'me* image was of buckskin, with a stalk of Indian tobacco for a headdress. This buckskin image was left in the medicine lodge, with all the other adornments and sacrificial offerings, at the close of each ceremony. The present *tai'me* is one of three, two of which came originally from the Crows, through an Arapaho who married into the Kiowa tribe, while the third came by capture from the Blackfeet.¹

The bundle containing the image is usually hung outside of its keeper's tipi. It is not customary to expose the image except at the sun dance, but tobacco is placed with it from time to time. Its function outside of the dance is identical with its use there: those who need its aid make vows to it, which they fulfil by sacrificing horses, etc., and making sweat-lodges. The image is the property of one man, or more properly of his family, since it may be inherited by his blood relatives. If the transfer is made before the father's death, payment and a sweatlodge must be given by the son.² After Long Foot died about 1870, as he had no son, it passed into the possession of three of his nephews in succession, and reverted in 1894 to his daughter who still has it.³ While she may handle the image, she would not be permitted to enter the dance with it.⁴ There the functions which would normally devolve on her would be performed in their entirety by a captive. This captive has been trained to the position in order to take the place of the image keeper should he be sick. A captive is chosen for the substitute so that a calamity incurred by a mischance in the proceedings may fall on him alone and not on the Kiowa. The erstwhile substitute, a Mexican, is still living. The image keeper, like his four associates, must not look in a mirror, nor touch a skunk or jackrabbit. One who touches these animals cannot enter the tipi where the doll is housed until four days have elapsed. No dog is allowed in this tipi, nor is one permitted to jump over the keeper or his four associates, the *g.uotg.uat'*.

¹Mooney, 240; Plate LXIX shows a model (see Scott, 349).

²This coupling of purchase with inheritance is strictly comparable to the Hidatsa bundle (this volume, 416-417).

³Scott, 369, 373.

⁴If this is more than a general taboo against women handling sacred objects, it has its parallel in a similar Crow bias (this volume, 13).

There are ten or twelve minor images (*ta'lyúkà*) which strongly resemble the *taime* in function, as they are essentially war medicines. Most of them were in the keeping of men other than the sacred doll owner, but two were kept by him for a time.¹ They have little or no part in the sun dance.

The *Gadómbitsoñhi*, "Old-woman-under-the-ground," belonged to the Kiñep band of the Kiowa. It was a small image, less than a foot high, representing a woman with flowing hair. It was exposed in front of the *taime* at the great sun-dance ceremony, and by some unexplained jugglery the priest in charge of it caused it to rise out of the ground, dance in the sight of the people, and then again sink into the earth.²

The sun dance was normally an annual ceremony, but sometimes a year passed without one. The dance was theoretically dependent on someone going to the keeper and saying, "I dreamed of it (*i.e.*, the sun dance)," or on the keeper himself dreaming of it. On two occasions a second dance was held in the dance lodge after the keeper had removed the sacred doll at the close of the first dance, because a second man had also dreamed of it.³ After the dream is announced the keeper hangs the image on his back and rides out to all the camps, announcing, as he circles them, that he will conduct the ceremony the following spring (May or June). This announcement was sometimes made immediately after the close of the preceding dance, but usually it came just before they intended to hold the dance.⁴ The keeper fasts while he is making the announcement, even if it takes three days, as may happen when the camps were scattered. When they know the dance is to be held, others vow to dance for a specified number of days, and all gather near the dance ground. No one may absent himself: they are all afraid of his medicine. When the tribe is assembled, the keeper circles the camp, again bearing the sacred doll on his back.

Two young men are selected by the keeper from one of the military societies⁵ to scout for a tree to serve as center pole for the dance lodge. While searching, they must refrain from drinking. About this time all those intending to dance are building sweatlodges to purify themselves: the keeper must enter each of these to direct the proceedings; this entails considerable work on him. Should he be sick at this time, the doll is carried into the sweatlodge by the captive in his stead. It is incumbent on the *taime* shield owners to accompany this captive and help him

¹Mooney, 241, 323, 324.

²Mooney, 239.

³Mooney, 279, 343.

⁴Lowie, 842.

⁵Lowie, 843.

perform the necessary ceremonies. When the tree for the center pole has been selected, the whole camp moves after the keeper and his family to the dance ground. A dozen or more old men follow immediately after him. The main body is guarded front, rear, and both flanks by the military societies, as is customary when a camp moves.¹ The procession halts four times on its journey while the keeper smokes and prays. Next, the soldier societies charge on the dance ground, or rather on a pole erected there before the camp circle is established,² according to Methvin (p. 64), but on the newly established camp itself according to Scott's informants (p. 357).

The next morning the man who has that privilege sets out with his wife to get the hide of a young buffalo bull. When such a person dies, the keeper appoints one of his kin to take his place.³ The couple must fast while on this hunt. If the buffalo is killed with a single arrow, it is a favorable omen, if many are needed, the opposite is indicated. The buffalo must be killed so that he falls on his belly with his head toward the east. A broad strip of back skin, with the tail and head skin attached is carried to the keeper's tipi, where feathers are tied to its head.⁴

The next morning they set out to fetch the center pole. Scott describes a parade around the camp circle by the military societies which then proceed to charge the tree selected for the center pole, which is defended in sham combat by one of the men's societies⁵ (*akiaik'to*, war with the trees). After the chiefs have recited their coups, and prayers have been said by the sacred doll keeper and his wife, who have brought the doll there, the tree is chopped down by a captive Mexican woman. A captive is always selected for this difficult task, so that any harm due to an error on her part may not fall on a tribesman. This function is always performed by a Mexican woman: when she dies, the keeper appoints her successor. As the tree falls, they shout and shoot in the air. The pole is carried to the dance ground by a society designated by the keeper,⁶ where a hole to receive it has been dug by a men's military society.⁷ The pole is set upright by a single medicineman who owns this privilege. The buffalo hide is then fastened across the forks with its head to the

¹Compare, Battey, Thomas C., *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians* (Boston, 1876) 185.

²The Southern Cheyenne also charge and count coup on some sticks marking the site of the dance lodge (G. A. Dorsey, *Cheyenne Sun Dance*).

³Cf. 83, 109. Mooney, 349.

⁴Scott, 358-360, 365. In this account the hide is taken into a sweatlodge at this juncture.

⁵"Foot-soldiers," Scott, 360-361.

⁶Lowie, 843.

⁷Not by a woman's society as Scott's informant states (361).

east and offerings of cloth, etc., brought by various individuals are tied to it. In 1873 Battey observed:—

The central post is ornamented near the ground with the robes of buffalo calves, their heads up, as if in the act of climbing it; each of the branches above the fork is ornamented in a similar manner, with the addition of shawls, calico, scarfs, &c., and covered at the top with black muslin. Attached to the fork is a bundle of cottonwood and willow limbs, firmly bound together, and covered with a buffalo robe, with head and horns, so as to form a rude image of a buffalo, to which were hung strips of new calico, muslin, strouding, both blue and scarlet, feathers, shawls, &c., of various lengths and qualities. The longer and more showy articles were placed near the ends. This image was so placed as to face the east.¹

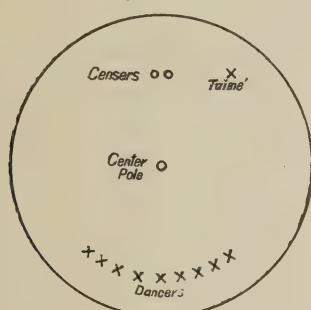


Fig. 1. Groundplan of Dance Lodge.

The center pole is not painted.

After the center pole is in place, everyone, but especially the military societies, assists in building the enclosing structure. The lodge is like those of the Arapaho and Cheyenne: it is circular, the rafters rest on the center pole, and the covering of boughs extends a third of the way to the center of the roof. An entrance is left on the east side. A flat stone is placed here so that every dancer passing through must set his foot on it. Wet sand is spread over the ground in the dance lodge² and heaped around the base of the center pole. Two little round holes, walled in with mud, are dug near the rear of the lodge to hold incense smudges. A screen of cottonwood and cedar branches is constructed just north of these.

¹Battey, 170.

²By the "old women soldiers" according to Scott (361), but Martinez informs me that, with the exception of the dance described by Battey, the two women's societies have no significant part in the sun dance.

This business continued through the day, except for an hour or two in the middle of the afternoon, when the old women¹—the grandmothers of the tribe—had a dance. The music consisted of singing and drumming, done by several old women, who were squatted on the ground in a circle. The dancers—old, gray-headed women, from sixty to eighty years of age—performed in a circle around them for some time, finally striking off upon a waddling run, one behind another; they formed a circle, came back and, doubling so as to bring two together, threw their arms around each other's necks, and trudged around for some time longer; then sat down, while a youngish man circulated the pipe, from which each in turn took two or three whiffs, and this ceremony ended.²

[When the dance lodge was completed] the soldiers of the tribe then had a frolic in and about it, running and jumping, striking and kicking, throwing one another down, stripping and tearing the clothes off each other.³ . . . Before this frolic was over, a party of ten or twelve warriors appeared, moving a kind of shield to and fro before their bodies, making, in some manner (as I was not near enough to see how it was done), a grating sound, not unlike the filing of a mill-saw.⁴

In the afternoon, a party of a dozen or more warriors and braves proceeded to the medicine house, followed by a large proportion of the people of the encampment. They were highly painted, and wore shirts only, with head-dresses of feathers which extended down the backs to the ground, and were kept in their proper places by means of an ornamented strap clasping the waist. Some of them had long horns attached to their head-dresses. They were armed with lances and revolvers, and carrying a couple of long poles mounted from end to end with feathers, the one white and the other black. They also bore shields highly ornamented with paint, feathers, and hair.

They took their station upon the side opposite the entrance, the musicians standing behind them.

Many old women occupied a position to the right and near the entrance, who set up a tremulous shrieking; the drums began to beat, and the dance began, the party above described only participating in it.

They at first slowly advanced towards the central post, followed by the musicians several of whom carried a side of raw hide (dried), which was beaten upon with sticks, making about as much music as to beat upon the sole of an old shoe, while the drums, the voices of the women, and the rattling of pebbles in instruments of raw hide filled out the choir.

After slowly advancing nearly to the central post, they retired backward, again advanced, a little farther than before; this was repeated several times, each time advancing a little farther, until they crowded upon the spectators, drew their revolvers, and discharged them into the air.

Soon after, the women rushed forward with a shrieking yell, threw their blankets violently upon the ground, at the feet of the retiring dancers, snatched them up with the same tremulous shriek that had been before produced, and retired; which closed this part of the entertainment. The ornamented shields used on this occasion were afterwards hung up with the medicine.⁵

¹The Old Woman society (Lowie, 850).

²Batley, 168.

³Cf. Lowie, 843.

⁴Batley, 169.

⁵Batley, 170-172. War singing *gwudan'ke*, was customary before an expedition set out for war (Lowie, 850).

These may be the shields which are associated with the *tai'me*. Later, after the sacred doll has been brought into the lodge, they are either hung with it on the cedar screen as Battey observed,¹ or on stakes set up outside the dance lodge to the west, i. e., behind the image, where Martinez saw them. No offerings are made to them there. It is incumbent on a *tai'me* shield owner to dance with the associates (*g.uotg.udt'*) in every sun dance so long as he continues to own the shield. He is not considered one of the associates however. Shield owners always help the image keeper when he asks their aid. They must also assist his captive substitute when officiating in a sweatlodge. A shield owner cannot sell his shield, but he may give it to his son in anticipation of his death, receiving presents in return. Otherwise, on the death of its owner the shield is placed on his grave. Should a son or nephew dream of it, he has the right to make a duplicate with the help of the doll owner in order to keep it in the family. However, if any other man dreams of it and wants to make the duplicate, he must pay the owner.² The shield is usually hung outside of its owner's tipi. The shield owners "must not eat buffalo hearts, or touch a bearskin, or have anything to do with a bear." Like the associates, "they must not smoke with their moccasins on,³ or kill, or eat any kind of rabbit, or kill or touch a skunk."⁴ These shields are used only in war as their owner's personal medicine: no offerings are ever made to them.

Late in the day, a number of men who have vowed to take part in the subsequent dance, together with one woman who has the privilege,⁵ are garbed in buffalo robes to represent the living animals. They gather to the east of the lodge where they simulate the actions of a herd of buffalo. A man, called a scout, starts from the entrance of the lodge with a firebrand and circles about the herd until he meets a second man, mounted and carrying a shield and a straight pipe, who thereupon drives the buffalo toward the dance lodge, which they circle several times before negotiating the entrance. Once inside they lie down; the man with the pipe dismounts and enters. Picking up the hairs on the back of first one animal and another, he says, "This is the fattest animal. He is our protector in war." Then he recites a coup. This

¹Scott, Pl. XXV.

²Evidently a shield of this type was made by Kofiate, who was instructed to do so by the *tai'me* which appeared to him as he lay wounded (Mooney, 304).

³Lewis notes this custom for the Shoshoni, and Lowie for their medicinemen when treating the sick (Lowie, Northern Shoshone, 213-214). The Crow do not smoke where their moccasins are hung up, according to Maximilian, (Reise in das innere Nord-America in den Jahren 1832 bis 1834 [Coblenz, 1841], I, 400).

⁴Scott, 373.

⁵Scott, 362.

designated (or makes?) a brave man of that buffalo.¹ Both the man with the firebrand and he with the pipe ought to be medicinemen. The present incumbent of the first office also has the privilege of erecting the center pole. When these men die, the sacred doll keeper selects successors from their families.²

That evening after sunset the dance proper begins, to last four nights and days, ending in the evening. The doll keeper proceeds to his own tipi, where, with the assistance of seven other medicinemen (*tai'me* shield keepers and some others not otherwise connected with the ceremony), he unwraps the *tai'me*. Carrying it on his back, he walks to the dance lodge and completely circles it four times, feigning to enter each time he passes the entrance. After entering, he goes around by the south side to the northwest quadrant, where he plants the image hanging on a staff. Formerly two or more of the minor images, *ta'lyúkâ*, were placed with the *tai'me*. After the image is in place the dancers enter to perform for the night.

The keeper dances throughout the whole four-day period. He is painted yellow, with a design representing the sun, and sometimes another for the moon, drawn on his chest and back. "His face was painted, like that of the Taimay itself, with red and black zigzag lines downward from the eyes." He wears a yellow buckskin kilt, a jackrabbit skin cap with down attached, and sage wristlets. He is barefoot. He carries a bunch of cedar in his hand, and an eagle bone whistle from which an eagle feather is pendent. Battey observed that he was painted white at the "buffalo-herding" rite, and not painted at all in the dance proper.³

Beside the *tai'me* keeper there are three classes of persons who dance; the associates (*g.uoŋg.uät'*), the *tai'me* shield keepers, and the common dancers. The four associates (Scott's "keeper's assistants") must dance throughout the whole four day period. They appear in four successive dances (normally four years), after which they choose successors from among those young men, eighteen to thirty years old, who have made the best records in war. These young men, with the assistance of their relatives,⁴ pay horses and buffalo robes for the privilege, receiving the

¹Martinez puts this performance after the image has been brought into the dance lodge: this does not seem correct.

²Battey has the keeper signal to the herd with a firebrand. Neither Battey nor Scott mention a mounted herder; the former puts the pipe in the hands of the keeper, and the latter in those of a third man who remains in the dance lodge, but in Scott's account also the function of the pipe is to force the buffalo to enter the lodge. In Battey's account two men assist the keeper in designating warriors, and in Scott's three men with straight pipes do it. (Battey, 172-173; Scott, 362-364).

³Battey, 173, 176; Scott, 351-352, 367, Pl. XXII; Methvin, 66, notes that his feet are painted black with sage wreaths about his ankles.

⁴Lowie, 843.

regalia in return.¹ One who is chosen cannot refuse: if he does, he may expect a calamity. The associate may belong to any of the military societies. His office does not impose obligations of foolhardiness in war (such as the no-flight idea), but he is obliged to act the part of an intrepid warrior, because he enjoys security in battle.² The associate must not look in a mirror lest he become blind,³ nor can he touch a skunk or jack-rabbit, nor remain near a fire where someone is cooking. Dogs must not be permitted to jump over an associate. He must remove his moccasins before he smokes, but others may keep theirs on when smoking in his presence. The associate dances in order to live long and to be a great warrior. His body is painted white or yellow: a round spot representing the sun is painted on the middle of his chest, with a crescent moon (the concavity upward) on both sides of the sun, and the same decoration is repeated on his back. The skin is cut away as a sacrifice and to make these designs permanent after his first dance. A scalp from a *tai'me* shield hangs on his breast with two eagle feathers; another on his back. His face is "ornamented with a green stripe across the forehead, and around down the sides of the cheeks, to the corners of the mouth, and meeting on the chin."⁴ He wears a yellow buckskin kilt, with his breech-clout hung outside, like the Arapaho and Cheyennesun dancers. Bunches of sage are stuck into his belt, others tied around his wrists and ankles, and carried in each hand. On his head is either a cap of jackrabbitskin in which is stuck an eagle feather or a sage wreath with down attached. He carries a bone whistle. Like the sacred doll keeper and all other dancers, he is barefoot.⁵ Battey saw three associates purify themselves in the incense from the censors, and then dance on piles of sage.⁶

The *tai'me* shield owners, who dance with the associates are sometimes painted yellow or green with pictures of the sun and moon on their bodies, but otherwise they wear the regalia of the common dancers.

The rank and file of the dancers are men, never women. Anyone may vow to dance a certain number of days, with the object of becoming a better warrior and living long.

They believe that it warded off sickness, caused happiness, prosperity, many children, success in war, and plenty of buffalo for all the people. It was frequently vowed by persons in danger from sickness or the enemy.⁷

¹Martinez, in Methvin's account, (71), states that the payment is made in four successive years.

²Methvin, 71; Scott, 352, states that these men directed the sun dance as substitutes for the keeper and did the ceremonial painting, but this is contrary to my information.

³Compare Mooney, 296.

⁴Battey, 178.

⁵Compare Scott, 352, 368, Pls. XVIII, XXII; Methvin, 70-71.

⁶Battey, 178-179.

⁷Scott, 347.

Sometimes a medicineman danced to intercede for a sick man. A sick man who had vowed to attend the dance in order to be cured would be carried into the dance lodge, but he would not dance. These dancers make offerings to the *tai'me*. They do not pay the doll keeper in order to enter the dance, and they have no rights in any subsequent performance by reason of having once participated. Like all other dancers they must fast and go without water during the period that they dance; they can however, smoke, provided the proper rites are observed.

. . . The pipe was filled, brought forward, and laid upon the ground; the person, carefully turning the stem towards the fire, and bedding it in the sand, so that the bowl should remain in an upright position, arose and stood with his back towards it, or facing the medicine. It was then approached by one of the musicians, who, in a squatting position, raised his hand reverently towards the sun, the medicine, the top of the central post, or buffalo; then, passing his hands slowly over the pipe, took it up with his left hand, and taking a pinch from the bowl with the thumb and fore finger of the right, held it to the sun, the medicine, the top of the central post, then the bottom, and finally covered it up in the ground. He then proceeded to light the pipe, blowing a whiff of smoke towards the several objects of adoration, and placed it carefully where he found it, in reversed order, that is, with the stem from the fire. The person who brought it had stood waiting all this time for it. He now took it up and retired to the dancers, who, wrapped in buffalo robes, were waiting, in a squatting position, to receive it. The sand where the pipe had lain was carefully smoothed by the hand, and all marks of it wholly obliterated.¹

These dancers are painted white; they wear white buckskin kilts, with the breechclout outside, carry bone whistles, and are barefoot. They have no headdress, wrist or ankle ornaments. They paint themselves.² There is only one style of paint used by either the principal or the common dancers throughout the sun dance.

The dancers form a line on the east side of the lodge facing the image. Their step is that characteristic of the sun dance of other tribes: they stand in place, alternately bending their knees and rising on their toes. They dance intermittently throughout four days and nights; the common dancers leave as the periods for which they have vowed to dance have elapsed or when they can no longer stand the combined strain of fasting, thirsting, and dancing. Martinez left after three days and nights. The "four days and nights" which are specified are in reality only three nights and days; evidently the first day of preliminary dancing is included to fill out the quota to the magic "four." In Scott's account, the dancers perform on the first day from evening to the middle of the night, and on the succeeding days from sunrise to the chorus's

¹Batley, 181-182.

²Mooney, 302, notes that one of these individuals carried his personal medicine in the dance.

breakfast, nine o'clock to dinner, four in the afternoon to sundown, and from evening to midnight, ending in the evening of the fourth day. The dance Battey describes evidently began in the evening of the 18th and continued intermittently to late afternoon of the 21st. Apparently the dancers do not leave the lodge during this entire period.

19th [June, 1873].—Music and dancing continued in the medicine house through the night. At an early hour this morning I went thither with Couguet, and witnessed one dance throughout. The ground inside the enclosure had been carefully cleared of grass, sticks, and roots, and covered, several inches deep, with a clean, white sand. A screen had been constructed on the side opposite the entrance, by sticking small cottonwoods and cedars deep into the ground, so as to preserve them fresh as long as possible. A space was left, two or three feet wide, between it and the enclosing wall, in which the dancers prepared themselves for the dance, and in front of which was the medicine. This consisted of an image, lying on the ground, but so concealed from view, in the screen, as to render its form indistinguishable; above it was a large fan, made of eagle quills, [an error, these are crow feathers], with the quill part lengthened out nearly a foot, by inserting a stick into it, and securing it there. These were held in a spread form by means of a willow rod, or wire, bent in a circular form; above this was a mass of feathers, concealing an image, on each side of which were several shields, highly decorated with feathers and paint. Various other paraphernalia of heathen worship were suspended in the screen, among these shields or over them, impossible for me to describe so as to be comprehended. A mound had also been thrown up around the central post of the building, two feet high, and perhaps five feet in diameter.

The musicians, who, if I mistake not, are the war chiefs, were squatted on the ground, in true heathen style, to the left, and near the entrance, having Indian drums and rattles. The music was sounding when we entered.

Presently the dancers came from behind the screen; their faces, arms, and the upper part of their bodies were painted white; a soft, white buckskin skirt, secured about the loins, descended nearly to the ankles, while the breech-cloth,—blue on this occasion,—hanging to the ground, outside the skirt, both in front and behind, completed the dress. They faced the medicine—shall I say idols? for it was conducted with all the solemnity of worship,—jumping up and down in true time with the beating of the drums, while a bone whistle in their mouths, through which the breath escaped as they jumped about, and the singing of the women, completed the music. The dancers continued to face the medicine, with arms stretched upwards and towards it,—their eyes as it were riveted to it. They were apparently oblivious to all surroundings, except the music and what was before them.

After some time, a middle-aged man, painted as the others, but wearing a buffalo robe, issued from behind the screen, facing the entrance, but having his eyes fixed upon the sun, upon which he stood gazing, without winking or moving a muscle, for some time, then began slowly to incline his head from side to side, as if to avoid some obstruction in his view of it, swaying his body slightly, then, stepping slowly from side to side—forward—backward—increasing his motions, both in rapidity and extent, until in appearance nearly frantic, his robes fell off, leaving him—except his blue breechclout—entirely naked. In this condition he jumped and ran about the enclosure,—head, arms, and legs all equally participating in the violence of his gestures,

—every joint of his body apparently loosened, his eyes only fixed. I wondered how, with every joint apparently dislocated, and every muscular fibre relaxed, he could maintain the upright position.

Thus he continued to exercise without ceasing, or once removing his eyes from the sun, until the sweat ran down in great rolling drops, washing the white paint into streaks no more ornamental than the original painting, and he was at length compelled to retire, from mere exhaustion, the other dancers still continuing their exercises.

Presently another man [the *tai'me* keeper] entered from behind the screen, wearing an Indian fur cap and a blue breechcloth reaching to the ground. He was unpainted, and had a human scalp fastened to his scalplock, the soft, flowing hair of which, spreading out upon his naked back, bore mute testimony to the tragical death of some unfortunate white woman. This man, with a kind of half running jump, still in step with the music, went around all the dancers, who did not notice him, with one arm stretched out over his heads, first in one direction, then the other, turning his course at every time, after stopping in front of the medicine, and making some indescribable motions before it. He sometimes parted the feathers concealing the small image, appearing to examine it minutely, as if searching for something, and sometimes putting his lips to it, as if in the act of kissing it. [He takes some medicine root into his mouth, chews it and blows it on the dancers.]¹ At length, after repeated examinations, he, apparently for the first time, discovered the fan, and took hold of it hesitatingly, and as if afraid.

This was loosed from its fastenings by a hand behind the screen, and he slowly raised it up, looking intently at it, while the expression of his countenance indicated a fearfulness of the result of handling an object whose hidden and mysterious powers were so far beyond his comprehension. He held it up before the medicine, waved it up and down, and from side to side, then, turning round so as to face the dancers and spectators, waved it from side to side near the ground, once around the dancers; then, raising it above his head, he waved it in the same manner, performing another circle around the dancers.

Then, with gestures of striking, and a countenance scowling as with fierce rage, he began to chase them around and around the ring, [i. e., around the center pole] from left to right. Finally, getting one of them separated from the rest, he pursued him with the most fiend-like attitude, fiercely striking at him with his fan. The pursued one fled from him with a countenance expressive of almost death-like terror, until, after several rounds, he stumbled and fell heavily to the ground. Another and another were thus separated from the dancers, pursued, and fell before the mystical power of the fan, and the act closed.²

The "feather-killing" (*stai'ėnkiāt*, he runs after them with feathers) occurs every day in the late forenoon.³ The associates as well as the other dancers, are fanned into unconsciousness.⁴ In such a condition they would try to get visions: they would rise, call for a pipe, and announce what they had seen.⁵

¹Methvin, 66; Scott, 366.

²Batley, 173-177.

³Once, not three times a day as Scott states (366).

⁴Scott, 366, places raven fans in hands of the associates.

⁵In the ghost dance a shaman hypnotizes the dancers by waving a feather or scarf before their faces. The subject staggers into the ring and falls (Mooney, *Ghost dance*, 925-926). This performance may not be related to that of the Kiowa, since it appeared among the Sioux before the southern Plains tribes took up the ghost dance. On the other hand, the Paiute, from whom the ghost dance was derived, did not hypnotize.

Being called to a council of the war chiefs, I went no more to the medicine house to-day, though the music and dancing continued the whole time, by day and by night, with short intervals between the different acts, to give opportunity for rest, arranging dress, painting, and such other changes as the programme of the ceremony demanded.

20th.—Saw but one dance to-day. Quite a quantity of goods, such as blankets, strouding (blue and scarlet list-cloth), calico, shawls, scarfs, and other Indian wares, had been carried into the medicine house previous to my entrance. The dancers had been painted white, three of them [the *g.uolg.uât'*] ornamented with a green stripe across the forehead, and around down the sides of the cheeks, to the corner of the mouth, and meeting on the chin. A round green spot was painted on the back and breast, about three inches in diameter, while on either side of it, and somewhat elevated above it, was a crescent of the same size and color. Two small, hollow mounds of sand and clay had been made before the medicine, in which fire was placed, and kept just sufficiently burning, with the partially dried cottonwood leaves, cedar twigs, and probably tobacco, to produce a smoke. A small fire was burning near the musicians, for lighting pipes, tightening drums, &c.

When all was ready, the three young men, who were painted as described, were led, each by a man clad in a buffalo robe [possibly the former *g.uolg.uât'* who were transferring their privileges], near to the smoking mounds in front of the medicine. An ornamented fur cap was, with some ceremony, placed upon the head of one of them; wisps of green wild wormwood were fastened to the wrists and ankles, which being done, he reverently raised his hands above his head, leaning forward over one of the mounds, brought them down nearly to it; then, straightening up, passed his hands over his face and stroked his breast. This was repeated several times; then, after holding one foot, and the other, over the mound, as if to warm them, two or three times, he went around the central post, and back to the other mound, where the same ceremony was repeated. During this whole ceremony I could perceive that his lips moved, though he uttered nothing. I afterwards learned that it was in prayer to this effect: "May this medicine render me brave in war, proof against the weapons of my enemies, strong in the chase, wise in council; and, finally, may it preserve me to a good age, and may I at last die in peace among my own people." The others, one at a time, were similarly brought forward, and went through with the same ceremony. Three bunches of wild wormwood were then placed on the ground in a row, crossing the line of entrance, and between it and the central post, upon which the three young men were placed by their attendants, who stood behind them, with their hands upon their shoulders, the music playing all the time. Two or three men then approached the pile of goods, selected therefrom some plaid shawls, strouding, blankets, scarfs, and an umbrella, and hung them over the medicine; this being done, the six men began to dance,—the three foremost ones upon the wormwood, with their arms stretched towards the medicine, the three others with their hands still resting upon the shoulders of the former. After some time the latter retired; the other dancers came from behind the screen, and joined in the dance, which continued until they were driven off by the medicine chief, as described in yesterday's dance. All these ceremonies had a sacred significance, which I did not understand, but have been informed that they believe any article of wearing apparel, or of harness for their horses, hung up by the medicine during these ceremonies, receives a charmed power to protect their wearers from disease, or the assaults of their enemies, during the year.

21st.—At one of the dances to-day, all but one retired behind the screen, who continued to dance by himself for a long time. Various articles were brought forward, and laid upon the ground, which he took up and hung in proximity to the medicine. After a long time, the other dancers reappeared, and he retired; these continued their exercises, until driven off as before. The last dance differed from the preceding in this: the last man selected and separated from the others by the medicine chief to be driven off, though he ran from him, did not appear terrified, and would not fall down, but retired, with the medicine chief, behind the screen.

At one of the dances to-day, five human scalps were exhibited,—one attached to each of the right wrists of two men, and one to each wrist of another, besides the one worn attached to the scalp lock of the medicine chief. Two of these scalps were from the heads of Indians. They had all been tanned, and evidently belonged with the medicine fixtures.

The whole ceremony closed about four o'clock in the afternoon. The medicine was packed away by the medicine chief, and the several articles which had been hung about it—medicated, I suppose, or, in other words, sanctified by proximity to the sacred things during the ceremonies, and consequently having power to protect their possessors from evil—were restored to the proper owners. They then packed them, took them upon their backs, formed into a procession, and marched, to the music of the drums, around and out of the medicine house, whence every one took the direction of his or her own lodge, and the ceremonies of the great medicine were ended.¹

At the end of the ceremony, the image keeper chews up some medicine root and prepares a drink, of which the dancers are permitted to imbibe a little.²

After the image has been removed, old clothing is hung on the center pole as a sacrifice. Once Martinez saw a horse tied to the center pole as a sacrifice to the sun. It remained there until it starved to death. Horses were also painted and placed, together with blankets and similar valuables, on high hills as sacrifices. Others beside the associates sacrificed their flesh to the sun at this time, or in fact, whenever they wanted to, as Martinez has done. The Kiowa never suspended their dancers, as in the self-torture dance of other tribes, neither in the sun dance, nor when an individual sought a vision while fasting alone in the mountains.

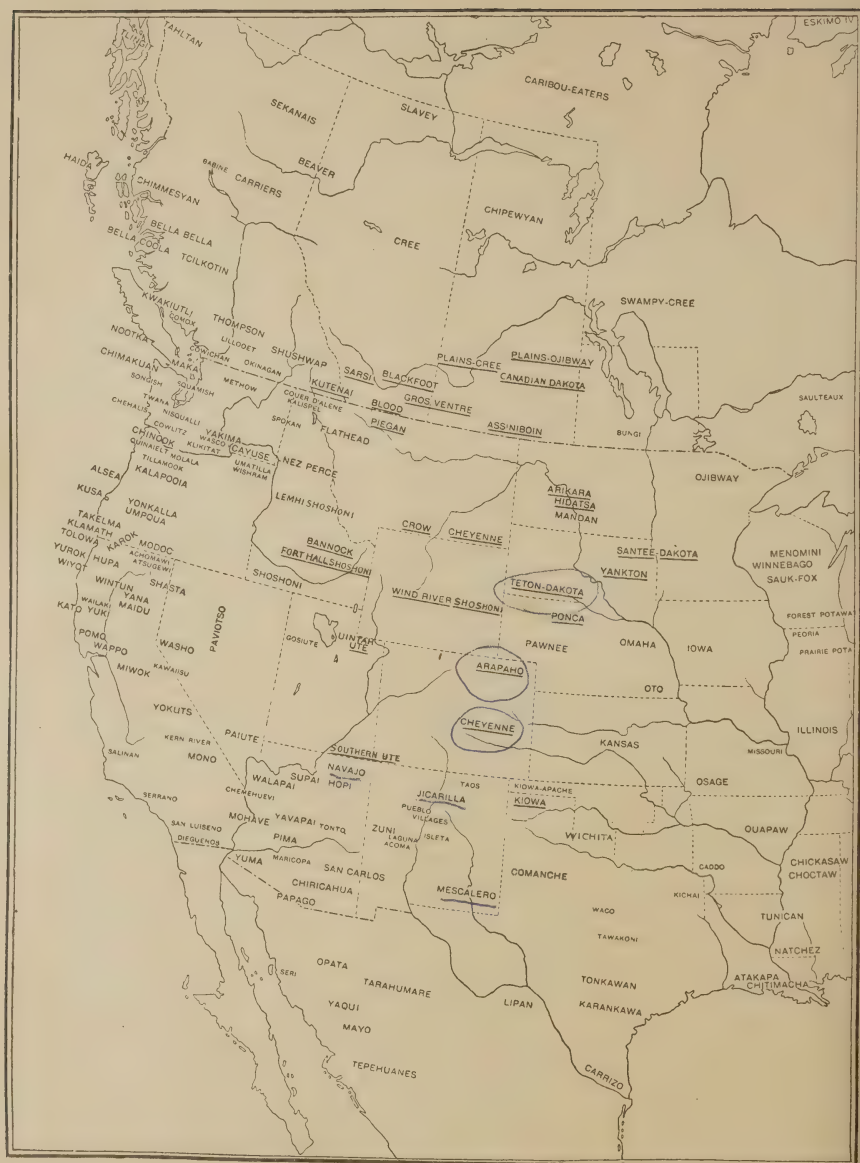
The night the dance closes everyone joins in a hilarious time in the dance lodge. Next morning the camp circle breaks up, and the warriors soon go off to war.³ They do not molest the dance lodge, though other tribes passing that way may do so: the Kiowa do not care.

¹Batley, 177-181.

²Scott, 365, 367.

³Mooney, *Kiowa Calendar History*, 282, 297, 304, 321, 322. Another suggestive similarity to the Crow is the assumption of "no-flight" obligations in both tribes at the sun dance (*Ibid.*, 284, 287, 320).

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Distribution of Tribes having the Sun Dance.
(The tribes underlined have this ceremony.)

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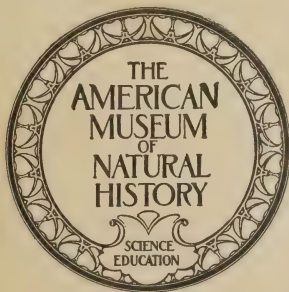
VOL. XVI, PART VII

THE SUN DANCE OF THE PLAINS INDIANS: ITS DEVELOP-
MENT AND DIFFUSION

BY

LESLIE SPIER

(Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy, in the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University).



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THE SUN DANCE OF THE PLAINS INDIANS: ITS DEVELOP-
MENT AND DIFFUSION.

BY LESLIE SPIER.



PREFACE.

Most Plains tribes had the sun dance: in fact, it was performed by all the typical tribes except the Comanche. Since the dance has not been held for years by some tribes, viz., Dakota, Gros Ventre, Sutaio, Arikara, Hidatsa, Crow, and Kiowa, the data available for a comparative study vary widely in value.

The chief sources of information outside of this volume are the accounts by G. A. Dorsey for the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Ponca; Kroeber for the Arapaho and Gros Ventre; Curtis for the Arikara; and Lowie and Curtis for the Assiniboin. There is no published information for the Fort Hall Shoshoni, Bannock, Kutenai, or Sutaio.

So far as I am aware there has been no general discussion of the sun dance. Hutton Webster in his "Secret Societies" considers it, without giving proof, an initiation ceremony. It is the aim of the present study to reconstruct the history of the sun dance and to investigate the character of the factors that determined its development. By a discussion of the distribution of traits—regalia, behavior, ideas of organization, and explanatory myths—it will be shown that the ceremony among all the tribes has grown chiefly by intertribal borrowing. It will be demonstrated further that the center of development has been in the central Plains among the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Oglala, and that the original nucleus of sun dance rites probably received its first specific character at the hands of the Arapaho and Cheyenne, or of this couple and the Village tribes. The character of transmission has been such as to produce a greater uniformity throughout the area in the distribution of regalia and behavior than of the ideas, organizing and mythical, associated with them. The corollary of this is that tribal individuality has been expressed principally in pattern concepts of organization and motivation. Since there is no difference in the character of borrowed or invented traits which are incorporated in the sun dance and those which are rejected, it follows that the determinants must be sought in the conditions under which incorporation proceeds. It will be shown that the character of individual contributions to the ceremonial complex and the diversity in receptiveness and interest, explain in part the elaboration and individualization of the several sun dances.

I am under obligations to Dr. Clark Wissler and Dr. Robert H. Lowie, who have generously placed their abundant knowledge at my disposal.

May, 1920.

LESLIE SPIER.

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THE SUN DANCE COMPLEX.

No Plains ceremony is more popularly known than the sun dance, and with justice, since it ranks all other ceremonies that combine the spectacular with the sacred. Among the Arapaho, for example, it easily takes precedence in native esteem over the performances of the age-societies, with which it is classed, while, on the other hand, it rivals in seriousness the unwrapping of the sacred flat pipe, the tribal palladium, a proceeding which is entirely lacking in the spectacular. In fact it is everywhere considered so important for their welfare that the entire tribe is involved in its undertaking. Among some tribes, as the Cheyenne, Oglala, and Kiowa, the attendance of every able-bodied adult of the tribe is compulsory.¹

Incidentally, "sun dance" is a misnomer, since the dance is by no means connected solely with the sun. On the contrary, it probably is concerned with it to no greater degree than is Plains religion as a whole. Its popular name is presumably derived from the Dakota *wiwanyag wacipi*, "sun-gazing dance", which is applied particularly to the torture dance.

The sun dance is found throughout the Plains area, except among the southern and the southeastern marginal tribes. It has been reported for the Piegan, Blood, and North Blackfoot, Sarsi, Kutenai,² Gros Ventre, Assiniboin, Plains-Cree, Plains-Ojibway, Arikara, Hidatsa, Crow, Wind River and Fort Hall Shoshoni,³ Bannock,⁴ Uintah and Southern Ute, Oglala, Yanktonai,⁵ Wahpeton⁶ (including the Canadian group) and Sisseton Dakota, Arapaho, Cheyenne (both northern and southern groups), Sutaio,⁷ and Kiowa.⁸ Among all of these groups, except the Canadian Dakota, the sun dance is a tribal ceremony. The apparent exceptions are the Crow, where the River and Mountain divisions usually held separate ceremonies, and the Plains-Cree and Plains-Ojibway, where the dance may be given simultaneously by several bands; but these instances only emphasize the fact that it is the political unit which functions at this time as a ceremonial unit.

¹Grinnell, *Cheyenne Medicine Lodge*, 247-248; Dodge, *Plains of the Great West*, 277; Fletcher, *Sun Dance of the Ogalalla Sioux*, 580; Battey, *Quaker among the Indians*, 311; Methvin, *Aniele*, 59; cf. Lowie, *Kiowa Societies*, 843; this volume, p. 437.

²Boas, *Kutenai Tales*, 50.

³Lowie, *Northern Shoshone*, 216.

⁴Communication from Dr. Edward Sapir: information from Charlie Mack, a Northern Ute, 1909.

⁵Curtis, *North American Indian*, III, 122.

⁶Lowie, *Eastern Dakota Dances*, 115, 141.

⁷*Handbook of American Indians*, I, 252.

⁸We have definite information that it does not occur among Kiowa Apache (Mooney, *Kiowa Calendar History*, 253), Comanche (Clark, *Indian Sign Language*, 363; cf. Mooney, 322), Wichita (not listed by Dorsey, *Wichita Mythology*), Caddo (Scott, *Notes on the Kado*, 354), Osage (Dorsey, *Omaha Sociology*, 355), Lemhi Shoshoni (Lowie, *Northern Shoshone*, 216), Nez Percé (Clark, 363; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, 267), Flathead (Curtis, VII, 77), and probably the Kansa, Oto, Iowa, and Missouri.

These several sun dances are not only complex in idea and procedure, but their composite character is easily recognized, for like other widely distributed ceremonies, they have a varied content. Furthermore, many of their rites are repeated in other complex ceremonials of the same tribe, as in the Blackfoot and Arapaho women's dance, the Eastern Dakota round dance, and one of the Hidatsa Above-woman ceremonies. Some Plains tribes, which cannot be credited with the sun dance, have ceremonies closely resembling it in some respects; such as the Mandan *ōkī'pā*, the Omaha *hedewatci*, and the Pawnee four-pole ceremony. Finally, many of the rites, such as sweatbathing, smoking the pipe, etc., are quite common among all these Plains tribes and even beyond the limits of the area. These considerations suggest that the sun dance is a synthetic product.

The problem presented then is essentially historical: to trace the relations between the various sun dance ceremonies. This should provide some notion of tribal reactions to the diffusion of a ceremonial complex.

While the native views his ceremony as a unified whole, it is convenient for the present purpose to differentiate several aspects. In fact, the character of the data makes it expedient to do so. Thus, there is reasonably adequate information on the purely objective features, the procedure and its material counterpart; that concerning the methods whereby performers join the dance is much less satisfactory; while systematic data on the native theory of the dance, its symbolism and significance, is available from only a few tribes. However important the study of native theory may be for a psychological interpretation of the dance, the data on this point are not sufficiently extended for historical analysis. For this reason I deal in this paper almost exclusively with procedure and organization.

The method to be employed does not differ essentially from that followed by Dr. Lowie in his recent study of Plains age-societies. But the problem presents certain new difficulties. In making his major point, viz., that the graded systems have arisen from a congeries of ungraded societies, Dr. Lowie could operate with societies, i. e., whole complexes, as units. In such a case an insufficiency in the data for any particular society did not operate as a bar to forming historical conclusions. Conditions here are different; arguments must be based on the distribution of specific traits, and where data are missing, and there are many such lacunæ, historic conclusions cannot possibly be drawn. This is really an important consideration, because while the number of such

specific features—significant because shared by a particular group of tribes—is not small, they are relatively insignificant, and therefore likely to have been overlooked by observers. As the essentials of the ceremony are everywhere very similar—this is at least true of the procedure—we must look to these details for historical implications.

In order that the analysis which follows may be intelligible, I may sketch a generalized sun dance. The performance of the ceremony coincides very nearly with the summer buffalo hunt, on which occasion the entire tribe comes together from their separate winter quarters and camps in a great circle. The sun dance week is also the occasion for a host of minor ceremonies, many of which are considered necessary accompaniments of the dance. McClintock's account of the Blackfoot festivities, for example, clearly shows that this is the time *par excellence* for the performance of ceremonies, the opening and transfer of medicine bundles, social dances, etc. The tribe as a whole is involved in the undertaking, both by reason of its seriousness and through the participation of great numbers of people.

The sun dance is usually initiated by some man or woman in fulfillment of a vow made at a time of distress, when supernatural aid is invoked and received. It is however not so much a thanks-offering as a new occasion for supplicating supernatural power. On the formation of the camp circle, a tipi is pitched near its center in which the secret preliminary rites take place. Here the pledger and his associates are instructed in its esoteric significance by the priests conducting the ceremony, regalia are prepared, and painting and songs rehearsed. At the same time more public preliminary activities are going forward. Some tribes prepare buffalo tongues for use during the dance, while special hunters are sent out to obtain a buffalo bull hide. Other parties are engaged in gathering timbers and brush for the dance structure, which they erect at the center of the camp circle. The spectacular performance begins when the great mass of people set out to fetch the center pole for the dance lodge: they scout for a tree, count coup on it, and fell it as if it were an enemy. The pledger and priests now leave the secret tipi for the dance lodge. A bundle of brush, the buffalo bull hide, cloth, and other offerings, are tied in the forks of the center pole; the pole is raised, and the structure soon completed.

Before the serious dancing commences, warriors dance in the lodge and an altar is built there. The pledger and his associates, who deny themselves food and drink throughout this period, now begin to dance in supplication for supernatural power, steadily gazing the while at the sun

or the offerings on the center pole. This lasts intermittently for several days and nights. Their sacrifice culminates in the so-called torture feature: skewers are thrust through the flesh of breast or back; by these they are tethered to the center pole, dancing and tearing against these bonds until the flesh gives away.

PROCEDURE.

The largest body of data available for analysis and comparison comprises the purely objective phases of the dance, relating to procedure, structure, and regalia. These do not prove altogether satisfactory in indicating historic relations. In the first place there is considerable uniformity even in detail in all the dances. Then again, isolated elements, rather than complexes of which they form a part, are shared by a number of tribes. The general impression is that the ceremony has undergone a process of leveling in the course of a long and varied history. On this account, in making the following comparisons, I am forced to pass over the more general procedures and confine attention to detail. On the other hand only such features as have comparative value are considered, that is, details peculiar to a single ceremony are ignored for the present.

There are at least three types of name for the dance. "Thirsting-dance" is that of Ute, Wind River, Plains-Cree, and Plains-Ojibway, "sun-gazing-dance" that of Oglala, Sisseton, and Ponca.¹ The Gros Ventre, Arikara, Arapaho, and Southern Cheyenne² seem to refer to the lodge as a ceremonial structure: usually their names are similar to Arapaho "sacrifice or offerings-lodge". Undoubtedly somewhat different concepts are at the bottom of Hidatsa *naxpikē*, "hide-cover", or *u"xi karieta*, "Small Antelope", Sarsi *tsisda'uwu*, "twined?", Assiniboin *wō'tijax*, rendered "make-a-home" and said to refer to the brush "thunderbird's nest" by Curtis,³ and Crow *acki'cirúa*, which refers to an imitation or miniature lodge. Approximate phonetic identity is found in the names of Plains-Cree and Plains-Ojibway, of Sisseton and Oglala,⁴ and of Gros Ventre and Arapaho.⁵ There is also some phonetic resemblance between Crow *acki'cirúa*, or better *ak'ō'oce*, the whistler, and Arikara *akūchīshhwn'ahu*,⁶ and between Blackfoot *okán* and the Mandan *ōkīpə*.⁷

Tongues for later feasting are accumulated prior to the dance by the Oglala, Gros Ventre,⁸ Blackfoot, Sarsi, Crow, and Wind River Shoshoni. The Assiniboin equivalent is a tribal hunt.⁹ The feast is preliminary

¹Cf. Skinner, *Ponca Societies*, 789.

²Cf. Petter, *English-Cheyenne Dictionary*, 1028.

³Curtis, III, 128.

⁴Dorsey, *Siouan Cults*, 451.

⁵Kroeber, *Ethnology of the Gros Ventre*, 261; *The Arapaho*, 153.

⁶Curtis, V, 76.

⁷Curtis, VI, 31.

⁸Kroeber, *Gros Ventre Ethnology*, 261.

⁹Lowie, *The Assiniboine*, 55.

to the dance among Blackfoot, Sarsi, and Oglala, but takes place during the dance of Crow and Wind River. Among the Blackfoot¹ the tongue rite is an occasion for the public avowal of feminine virtue: first their preparation is a magic test, and later, as with the Sarsi, purity is again asserted when the tongues are distributed. Public assertion of the same type also occurs among Southern Cheyenne,² Oglala, and Arikara³; so that the Blackfoot and Sarsi have clearly coupled two disparate concepts.

	Kiowa	Ute	Wind River	Crow	Blackfoot	Sarsi	Gros Ventre	Arapaho	Northern Cheyenne	Southern Cheyenne	Oglala	Ponca	Arikara	Hidatsa	Assiniboin	Plains-Cree	Plains-Ojibway	Sisseton	Canadian Dakota
Name																			
"Thirsting-dance"		×	×													×	×		
"Sun-gazing-dance"											×	×						×	
Ceremonial structure								×	×	×			×						
Tongues and Virtue																			
Tongues accumulated			×	×	×	×	×				×				?				
Tongue feast			×	×	×	×					×								
Avowal of virtue					×	×				×	×		×						
Buffalo hunt																			
Hunt	×		×	×	×		×	×					×	×					
Single shot	×		×	×	×		×	×					×	×					
Whole skin				×	×		×	×											
Back strip	×		×																
Thong cutting					×	×	×												
Preliminary tipi																			
Enlarged					×		×								×	×		×	
Boughs					×			×			×								
Altar					×			×		×	×	×			×				
Drumming on hide					×		×	×							×				

Another preliminary series of activities is to obtain a buffalo hide which is later hung on the center pole. A special hunt is made by Wind River, Crow, Blackfoot,⁴ Gros Ventre, Arikara, Arapaho, and Kiowa, and in each case, except Wind River and Blackfoot the animal must be

¹Cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, 445, 447.

²Dorsey, *Cheyenne Sun Dance*, 158.

³Curtis, V, 79. Such public avowal forms the core of several Arikara ceremonies (Clark, 45; Brackenridge, 168) and also Oglala (Wissler, *Oglala Societies*, 76; Beckwith, *Notes on the Customs of the Dakotas*, 251.)

⁴Curtis, VI, 50, but compare this volume, 254.

killed with a single shot. There are four hunters among the Wind River, Blackfoot, and Gros Ventre, two or four among Crow, one or two among Kiowa, and three among Arapaho. The returning Crow hunters are met by scouts, the Arikara hunters by priest and dancers. The whole skin of the animal is secured by Crow (who obtain two), Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and Arapaho, while only a portion, comprising head, a strip down the back, and tail, are taken by Kiowa, Wind River, and Arikara. The Hidatsa also make use of such a strip, but a special hunt for it has not been noted. In most cases this skin is later placed in the forks of the center pole. The exceptions are Blackfoot and Gros Ventre, who cut the hide into thongs with which the dance lodge is tied. The Sarsi do the same, although the special hunt is not noted for them.

The activities in the preliminary tipi are essentially for preparing dance regalia, rehearsals, etc. The tipi is sometimes (Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin, Plains-Cree, Sisseton) a temporarily enlarged structure of joined tipi covers. It is uniformly placed within the camp circle and is sometimes further distinguished by boughs placed around it (Blackfoot,¹ Oglala, Arapaho). It is possible that the tipi rites occur on four nights, or at four stages, among Wind River, Crow, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, both Cheyenne groups, Oglala, and Assiniboin; but this is not clear.² An altar, usually an excavated or cleared area, is built in the tipi by Blackfoot, Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, Oglala, Ponca, and Assiniboin. Drumming on a hide occurs in the tipi among Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, and Assiniboin.³

In every sun dance a forked tree is set up as the center pole of the dance lodge. The Crow, of course, form an exception as they have no center pole, but nevertheless they carry out a performance on one of their tipi poles similar to that of other tribes in connection with the center pole. The tree is scouted for, as though an enemy, in every tribe except Blackfoot, Northern Cheyenne, Plains-Ojibway, and Canadian Dakota. The returning scouts are received as enemies by Arapaho, Oglala,⁴ Ponca, and Plains-Cree, while a less martial reception is given them by Arikara, Gros Ventre, and Wind River, the details among the last two being quite similar. Sham battles also center around the tree:

¹McClintock, *The Old North Trail*, 202.

²Cf. remarks by Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, 303.

³This also occurs later in the dance lodge of the same tribes and Southern Cheyenne, Oglala, Kiowa, and Kiowa as well. It is a frequent practice outside of the sun dance, being associated with a party among Nez Percé (Spinden, 256), Wind River, Comanche, (Lowie, *Shoshoni Societies*, 811, 812), Lemhi Shoshoni (Lowie, *Northern Shoshone*, 194), Kiowa (Lowie, *Kiowa Societies*, 851; Moonney, *Sioux Calendar History*, 312), Pawnee (Murie, *Pawnee Societies*, 597), Crow (Lowie, *Crow Social Life*, 237, 244), Blackfoot (McClintock, 243), and also in ceremonies of Crow, Blackfoot (Wissler, *Blackfoot Bundles*, 190, 203; *Blackfoot Societies*, 373, 376, 379, 432), and Arikara (Curtis, V, 75).

⁴Wissler, ms. *Field Notes on the Dakota Indians*, 178.

	Kiowa	Ute	Wind River	Crow	Blackfoot	Sarsi	Gros Ventre	Arapaho	Northern Cheyenne	Southern Cheyenne	Oglala	Ponca	Arikara	Hidatsa	Assiniboin	Plains-Cree	Plains-Ojibway	Sisseton	Canadian Dakota
Center Pole Activities																			
—Scouting	x	x	x	x			x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	
Returning scouts met			x				x	x			x	x	x			x			
Sham battle	x	x	x					x			x		x						
Leader			x	x				x			x		x	x	x				
Riding double	x			x										x	x	x			
Men tree-fellers		x	x	?	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Woman tree-feller	x	?		x			x	x			x		x						
Counting coup		x	x	x	x		x	x								x			
Shouting	x								x	?		?	x	x				x	
Stripping twigs					x		x	x			x				x				
Race											x	x		x					
Center Pole Decorated																			
Brush bundle	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		
Called "nest"				x	?	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		
Buffalo skin	x		x	x				x			x		x	x	x			x	x
Rawhide images											x	x		x	x			x	x
Cloth	x		x		x	x	?	x		x	x	x			x	x			?
Digging-stick	x				x	x		x		x	x								
Center pole painted		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x							
Lodge poles painted							x	x	x	x									
Center Pole Raised																			
Coupled tipi poles			x	x	x	x	x	x	x					x	x	x			
Feints		x	x	x			x	x		x	x								
Magic or prayer				x			x	x		x				x		x			
Mounting pole				x	x					x			x						
Speed				?	x		x	x		x									
Dance Lodge																			
Roofed	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x					x		x			
Semi-roofed											x	x							?
Tipi				x															
East entrance	x	x			x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x						
Al'ar																			
Buffalo skull	x		x				x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		?
Excavation					x	x		x	x	x	x	x			x	x			
Screen	x		x		x	x	x	x		x			x		x	x			

a party impersonates the enemy before the tree is felled by Kiowa, Ute, Oglala, and Arikara; it is fought over on the dance site by Arapaho, Ute, and Wind River. The last claim to have substituted this second fight for that which formerly took place in the standing timber.

With the exception of Plains-Ojibway and Canadian Dakota, the center tree is felled with some ceremony. Among a number of tribes (Kiowa, Wind River, Crow, Arapaho, Oglala, Arikara, Hidatsa, Assiniboin) some principal in the dance, director or pledger, accompanies the tree-gathering party. At this time young men and women ride double: a trait shared by Kiowa, Crow, Hidatsa, Assiniboin, and Plains-Cree. The tree is everywhere felled by specially qualified persons. This party includes one or more men if we assume the Crow berdache their analogue. Some tribes add women tree choppers (Kiowa, Crow, Arapaho, Oglala, Arikara): among Crow and Arikara one must be chaste, the other a captive. The Kiowa woman is a captive and perhaps also virtuous.¹ An equivalent appears in the Ute practice of bestowing public recognition on a returned captive woman when the pole is brought to the dance site. The tree is identified with an enemy; the cutting is often accompanied by the recital of martial deeds, and finally, as the tree topples, the bystanders rush in to count coup and shoot at it (Crow, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Assiniboin, Plains-Cree), or simply greet its fall with a shout (Northern and perhaps Southern Cheyenne, Kiowa, Oglala, Sisseton, Arikara). The Ute and Wind River practice is of the first type, although it takes place after the logs have been cut and collected. The Hidatsa merely shout when they cut the drift log: the charge on the tree seems to be the equivalent of the Oglala and Ponca race referred to below. The Ponca recite martial deeds and count coup on the standing tree: this may be an action of the first type. When the tree has fallen, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Oglala,² and Assiniboin men or women rush in to strip off twigs or leaves as trophies or symbols of luck.

The center pole is carried with some ceremony to the partially completed dance lodge. Kiowa, Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, Oglala, Ponca, Hidatsa, and Sisseton advance with it by the characteristic four stages punctuated by prayer. At this juncture the Oglala, Hidatsa, and Ponca have a race, the winners of which are entitled to coup privileges. The Oglala race to the as yet unoccupied site of the center pole. The Ponca and Hidatsa rites are similar: men race to the center pole as it rests in a temporary position and immediately after carry it by four stages to its proper place.

¹Scott, 261.

²The Teton take the bark too (Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music*, 116).

Before the pole is raised various objects are fastened in its fork. A bundle of brush is almost invariably placed there, although not specified for Ute, Hidatsa, Sisseton, and Canadian Dakota (see below). It is called a "nest" by Sarsi, Gros Ventre, and Assiniboin, an "eagle's nest" by Crow and Arikara, and a "thunderbird's nest" by Arapaho, both Cheyenne groups, Ponca, Plains-Cree, and Plains-Ojibway. In the case of the Blackfoot the symbolism is open to question: McClintock's informants also called it an "eagle's nest,"¹ but Wissler's and Curtis's authorities not only denied all symbolism, but provided the latter with the rationalistic explanation that its sole purpose was to prevent the rafters splitting the fork.²

A special hunt for a buffalo skin was referred to above. This is hung in the fork with the brush bundle (occasionally the Canadian Dakota follow this custom), although Blackfoot and Gros Ventre, like the Sarsi, dispose of it as thongs to tie the dance lodge beams. The Crow use two such hides in forming the "nest". The Hidatsa, like Arikara and Wind River, hang up a strip of buffalo skin head, back, and tail, the head of which is prepared to resemble that of a living animal. The Kiowa skin was hung covering the brush bundle so as to form a rude image of a buffalo.³ Occasionally the Oglala also covered the brush with an entire skin,⁴ and the same idea is at the bottom of the statement that among the Assiniboin the bundle is "tied with a skin".⁵ The Sisseton usage contains, to my mind, the explanation for this custom. Here an entire calfskin is stuffed to represent a buffalo and placed in the fork. It may be that we have in skin and bundle a disintegrated image, or that the two used together finally coalesced in an image: the latter seems more probable. At any rate this would explain the absence of the bundle, as a separate feature, among the Sisseton, for there it appears at the stuffing of the image, as well as the lack of the "nest" symbolism among the Kiowa. The history of this image may be more complicated, since a miniature rawhide image of a buffalo is used in its place by the Southern Cheyenne, by the Oglala by preference, and on occasion by the Sisseton. The first two place a similar rawhide image of a man with it.⁶ These images are without doubt historically related to that used in the Eastern Dakota round dance: a birchbark figure representing an eagle or the

¹McClintock, 310.

²P. 254; Curtis, VI, 51.

³Batley, 170.

⁴Curtis, III, 94.

⁵Lowie, *The Assiniboine*, 61.

⁶Compare similar human images hung from the wrists of Ponca dancers (Dorsey, *Ponca Sun Dance*, 84) and those used in a Pawnee ceremony (Murie, *Pawnee Societies*, 602.)

thunder which is hung from the center pole, shot down, and destroyed in a manner similar to the Oglala sun dance custom.¹ The Cheyenne claim that they formerly suspended a live captive from the center pole. This is corroborated by a Gros Ventre tale in which Cheyenne are represented as tying a captive boy at the fork of the pole with his arms drawn back around the tree. The Crow tell a similar tale referring to the Sioux, but the word "Sioux" in Crow parlance may mean any enemy.² In this case the substitution of image for captive is clear: it suggests that the rawhide buffalo image was similarly substituted for the built-up image of Sisseton type.³

Offerings of cloth are the only other objects placed in the forks that have wide distribution (Kiowa, Wind River, Blackfoot, Sarsi, Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, Oglala, Ponca, Assiniboin, Plains-Cree, and possibly Gros Ventre and Canadian Dakota). This does not appear to have particular significance, but is one of a series of offerings—food, cloth, clothing, etc., hung on the lodge or transmitted to the powers above through it. Arapaho and Southern Cheyenne thrust a digging-stick through the bundle of brush. That of the Arapaho impales a lump of fat, but this is held in place by an arrow in the Cheyenne, and a precisely similar object is tied in the brush bundle by the Teton.⁴ This probably originated in the Blackfoot digging-stick connected with the natoas bundle, where the stick has at least some reasonable significance, and the same source probably accounts for the digging-stick or cane of the Sarsi and for the image-stick of the Kiowa.⁵

The center pole is further decorated before it is erected. Encircling bands of black and red paint are drawn by Ute, Wind River, Blackfoot, Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, and Ponca.⁶ The Crow paint either a black or red band on their first tipi pole before it is felled. The Oglala, Gros Ventre, and Northern Cheyenne also paint the pole, but at least in the Oglala case in a different style. At the same time Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and both Cheyenne groups paint other lodge poles. Further, incised decoration is used by Gros Ventre and Assiniboin, and painting of a similar style by the Plains-Cree (p. 303).

¹Lowie, *Eastern Dakota Dances*, 126-128.

²Kroeber, *Gros Ventre Myths and Tales*, 123-124; Lowie, *Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians*, 240, 242. The same story is told by the Arapaho without reference to either a suspended captive or the sun dance, *vide* Dorsey and Kroeber, *Traditions of the Arapaho*, 261.

³This custom of suspending a captive does not bear much resemblance to the Pawnee sacrifice of a captive girl to the Morningstar.

⁴Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music*, 118.

⁵Scott, 350; Moonney, *Kiowa Calendar History*, 241.

⁶Compare the painting of the Omaha *hédewatci* pole (Fletcher and La Flesche, 254).

When these preliminaries are completed the center pole is raised. Ponca and Kiowa effect this result without further ado. Customarily the pole is lifted into place with the aid of coupled tipi poles, often with ritualistic procedure (Wind River, Crow, Blackfoot, Sarsi, Gros Ventre, Plains-Cree, Assiniboin, Hidatsa, Arapaho, and Northern and Southern Cheyenne). Three feints are made to lift the pole prior to a successful fourth trial by Ute, Wind River, Crow, Gros Ventre, Oglala, Arapaho,¹ and Southern Cheyenne. This is a more widespread procedure than its supposed erection by magic: the Southern Cheyenne, Gros Ventre, and Arapaho participants motion the pole to rise with sacred pole and wheel, and the Blackfoot sacred women "steer" the rising pole with their robes. To the same category belongs the recital of prayer by Plains-Cree and Hidatsa: perhaps this is more general than noted. Presumably the mounting of the rising pole by an eagle imitator has the same notions always at bottom, that of the Crow bird man who flaps his arms like wings and so "raises" the poles. The Plains-Cree have a close parallel to the Crow practice, while Blackfoot² and Arikara also stand on the pole and flap their arms. The Southern Cheyenne crier and lodge-maker merely step on the pole.

When the pole is in place the dance lodge can be completed: this is done with speed—a specific procedure—by Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, and Southern Cheyenne, to which there is a Crow equivalent.

There are three types of dance lodge: the roofed type of the Arapaho, the semi-roofed structure of the Oglala, and the tipi of the Crow. The roofed structure is used by Kiowa, Ute, Wind River, Blackfoot, Sarsi, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, both Cheyenne groups, Hidatsa, and Plains-Cree. The semi-roofed type is used by Oglala and Ponca, although the Ponca structure is little more than an encircling wall of boughs. The Assiniboin build a structure of poles and brush, but there is no information as to which of these two styles is used. The Crow alone use a tipi structure of poles, partly covered with brush or hides for protection. The Canadian Dakota do not build a dance lodge, the nearest approach being two concentric circles of leaves and feathers which mark out a dance enclosure on the ground.

The entrance to the dance lodge is usually on the east side, but that of the Plains-Cree, Plains-Ojibway, and Hidatsa opens to the south.³ While the Plains-Cree have two entrances, it is clear that the northern

¹Seven trials among the northern Arapaho (Kroeber, 289).

²Cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Bundles*, 247.

³Walker (p. 103 above) states that the Oglala entrance faces south, but J. O. Dorsey (*Siouan Cults*, Pl. XLV), Fletcher (*Ogallala Sun Dance*, 583) and Wissler (ms., 177) give east as its direction.

door is for the use of dancers alone since it leads directly to the dance booths.¹

Auxiliary parts of the dance lodge include altars, screens, and dancing booths. Most tribes (Ute, Wind River, Arikara, and Sisseton may be exceptions) have an altar, that is, a formally arranged group of sacred objects, on the side of the dance lodge opposite its entrance (corresponding to the place of honor in the tipi). It consists of one or more prepared buffalo skulls (the Blackfoot providing the only exception), usually placed near an excavated or cleared area decorated with a formal arrangement of brush, etc.

An excavated or cleared area forms the center of the altar among Blackfoot, Sarsi, Arapaho, Northern and Southern Cheyenne, Oglala, Ponca, Assiniboin, and Plains-Cree. That of the Assiniboin is the simplest, a rectangular area with a buffalo skull.² The Ponca have a round area bordered with an arc of sage on which the skull rests.³ That of the Oglala is similar: an oval area, according to Fletcher, before which the skull is laid on the cut-out sod, or a half-moon area on which the skulls stand according to Dorsey.⁴ The altars of Arapaho and both Cheyenne groups are the most elaborate and are nearly identical. The Blackfoot and Sarsi altars are probably related to this type, particularly that of Southern Cheyenne, since the screen of boughs forms a booth in all three. Further evidence lies in the fact that the principal dancer dances in the altar only in these four tribes.⁵

The altars of other tribes are simpler. The Plains-Ojibway, like the Plains-Cree, plant hooked sticks before the skull. Kiowa and Hidatsa build two crater-like pits or mounds to contain the incense-smudges:⁶ those of the Hidatsa suggest the brush decorated sods of the Arapaho altar.

The central object of Crow and Kiowa altars is the medicine doll supported on a staff and set against a tree or screen. Minor dolls and other medicine objects may be grouped about the Kiowa image. In addition, there is evidence of their common origin in their similar appearance, their duplication in similar dolls in the same tribe, and their uses outside of the sun dance; for they are essentially war medicines to which supplication is made for aid and they might even be carried on the

¹Paget, *People of the Plains*, 34.

²Lowie, *The Assiniboin*, 61.

³Dorsey, 77.

⁴Fletcher, *Ogalalla Sun Dance*, 583; Dorsey, *Siouan Cults*, 460. The area is square according to Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music*, 122.

⁵Blackfoot sun dance songs reminded Mr. James Murie of certain Cheyenne songs (Wissler, *Blackfoot Bundles*, 272).

⁶Cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Bundles*, 127, 128.

warpath. Beside this internal evidence, the Kiowa state that two of their images were obtained from the Crow and a third from the Blackfoot.¹ The doll in the Blackfoot natoas headdress was probably copied from the Crow. The two specimens in the Museum (50-6166a, 50-5718) resemble the Crow and Kiowa: for example, like the Crow, the stuffing is tobacco seed (p. 245), while the ancient Kiowa image had a tobacco stalk for a headdress. Further, the doll has no logical connection with the rest of the natoas bundle. The Sarsi hat is the equivalent of that of the Blackfoot medicine woman.

Pipes are a formal element in the altars only of Southern Cheyenne, Oglala,² Ponca, Plains-Ojibway, Canadian Sioux and possibly Plains-Cree, but the ceremonial use of a pipe is so general that this may not be a specific trait. Screens behind which the dancers may retire form a background to the altar in Kiowa, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Assiniboin, and Plains-Cree lodges, and occupy a similar position in those of Sarsi, Wind River, and Arikara. It is reasonable to assume that the bower built over the altar by Southern Cheyenne, Blackfoot, and Sarsi is simply this screen extending around three sides of the altar.

The preliminary tipi is abandoned and the participants proceed ceremoniously to the dance lodge before the altar is constructed. The procession is an occasion for blessing spectators, particularly children, among Blackfoot,³ Cheyenne, and Oglala. Since this is really one of the preliminary tipi activities, a similar Arapaho custom occurring at the tipi is probably an equivalent.

Before the votaries occupy the dance lodge, a preliminary dance with war mimicry is held in it by Kiowa, Crow, Arapaho, both Cheyenne groups, Oglala, and Hidatsa. Possibly this dance had its inception in the Oglala practice of dancing until all uneven spots in the dance ground are leveled (p. 110). At the beginning of the dance proper the Southern Cheyenne designate chiefs,—there is a somewhat similar ceremony among the Kiowa, while the Arapaho do so at a later stage.

The sun dance dance step is invariable among all the tribes: the line of dancers remains in one place while they rise on their toes with a springing motion, all the while piping on whistles held in the mouth. Among Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, Blackfoot, and Sarsi the leader dances in or over the altar excavation. The Crow pledger's dance on a bed of white clay (pp. 42, 45) is somewhat comparable to that of the

¹Mooney, *Kiowa Calendar History*, 239-242; Scott, 348.

²Fletcher, *Opalalla Sun Dance*, 583; Bourke, in Dorsey, *Siouan Cults*, 464.

³McClintock, 305.

	Kiowa	Ute	Wind River	Crow	Blackfoot	Sarsi	Gros Ventre	Arapaho	Northern Cheyenne	Southern Cheyenne	Oglala	Ponca	Arikara	Hidatsa	Assiniboin	Plains-Cree	Plains-Ojibway	Sisseton	Canadian Dakota
Procession																			
Blessing					X			X	X	X	X								
Dance																			
Preliminary dance	X			X				X	X		X			X					
Chiefs designated	X							X	X	X									
Dance in altar				?	X	X		X		X									
Sun gazing											X	X						X	X
Sunrise dance			?	X				X	X	X	X	X						X	X
Sustained by pole		X	X				X	X							X	X	X	X	
Dancing out								X											
Circling									X	X				X	X				
Fanning	X								X	X			X						
Torture				X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pledger tortured											X	X							X
Tethering to posts				X			X				X								
Objects suspended				X	X		X			X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	
Animals led							X				X	X	X	X					
Flesh sacrifices				X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
Drumming on hide	X				X		X	X		X	X			X					
Sham battle				X	X					X	X								
Warrior's fire			X	X	X		X	X		X						X			
Ears pierced								X	X	X	X								
Wife surrender								X	X					?					
License								X			X								
Food offerings								X	X	X		X							
Children's clothing	X		?			?	X	X	X	X		X							
Blessing spectators					X										?	X			
Prayer for principals		X	X															?	
Prepared drink	X		?					X		X		?							
Vomiting induced			?					X		X									
Regalia																			
Feather	X	X		X			X	X		X	X	X		X					
Wreath	X				X	X	X	X		X	X								
Jackrabbit headdress	X													X					
Sage bands	X				X	X	X	X		X									
Finger plume		X		X	X														
Sage in belt	X							X		X									
White paint	X		X	X		X		X	X	X				X					
Successive paints			X					X	X	X		X							

Blackfoot and Sarsi principal dancer. The dancers fix their gaze on some object of veneration on the altar or the center pole, or, as among the Oglala, Ponca, and Sisseton (?), on the sun: a practice which has given its popular name to the sun dance. Gazing at the sun is not prominent among other tribes, but a dance toward the rising sun is fairly common (Ute?, Wind River, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Oglala, Ponca, and Sisseton.)

During the dance some lean against the center pole and cry in supplication (Arapaho, Plains-Cree, Sisseton) and thereby alleviate their thirst (Ute, Wind River), while shamans even produce water from it for the dancers (Gros Ventre, Assiniboin of Montana,¹ and Plains-Ojibway).

The close of the dance presents some interesting parallels. The Arapaho dance out of the lodge after three feints. The Arikara dancers join hands and race around the center pole until exhausted, while the priest waves his fan about. The Southern Cheyenne perform first the Arapaho type of dance, then that of the Arikara. The Hidatsa leave the lodge and run in a circle until exhausted.² This culminating circling clearly finds its analogue in the Mandan *ōkɪ'pə*³ and the fanning in the Kiowa "killing".

The most widely known feature of the sun dance is the so-called "torture". It is, of course, not torture but one of a series of acts of self-mortification performed by the votaries: fasting, thirsting, continuous staring, dancing without cessation, scarification, severing flesh, fingers, etc. It is lacking entirely among Kiowa, Ute, and Wind River. Only the Oglala, Canadian Sioux, and Ponca torture the principal dancer. Among the Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Arikara, Hidatsa, Assiniboin, Plains-Cree, Plains-Ojibway, Sisseton, and possibly Sarsi, some of the other dancers may specially vow to torture themselves. Other individuals enter the dance only for this performance among Crow, Blackfoot, and Southern Cheyenne. The forms of torture vary somewhat, but I am not sure that this is significant of anything other than the extent to which some tribes carry the rite. The common mode is tethering or suspending the dancers from the center pole (not noted for Arikara); but in addition, Crow, Gros Ventre, and Oglala tie them to auxiliary posts. In most tribes skulls, shields, or other heavy objects are hung from incisions in the flesh, and horses and dogs are led about by Gros Ventre, Oglala, Ponca,⁴ Hidatsa, and Plains-Cree. Sacrifice of fingers and flesh is, like scarification, undoubtedly a common practice, but it is noted only for

¹Densmore, *Chippewa Music*, 205. A similar shamanistic trick is recorded for the Ojibway of Lac du Flambeau.

²Maximilian, II, 377.

³Ibid., 332; Catlin, 29; Curtis, V, 36-37.

⁴Dorsey, *Siouan Cults*, 378, 462.

Crow, Blackfoot, Sarsi, Southern Cheyenne, Oglala, Ponca,¹ Arikara, Hidatsa, Assiniboin,² and Plains-Cree. Oglala, Ponca, and Sarsi bury the bits of flesh at the foot of the center pole.

Other incidents in the dance have comparative interest. Such is drumming on a hide preliminary to the entrance of the votaries and later during the dance: a trait shared by Kiowa, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, Oglala, and Hidatsa. War mimicry is fairly common but only Crow and Blackfoot have a sham fight at this time.³ A fire being often built in the lodge, it becomes the function of warriors of certain tribes (Wind River, Blackfoot, Plains-Cree, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, and probably Crow) to feed it a stick for each coup they can recount: the most esteemed warrior among Blackfoot, and possibly Gros Ventre and Wind River, is he who builds the fire high enough to scorch a buffalo tail hanging from the center pole.⁴ Children's ears are pierced during the dance by Southern Cheyenne, Oglala, and Arapaho who learned the custom from the Cheyenne.⁵

The pledger's wife is surrendered to his ceremonial grandfather during the preliminary activities and the dance proper by the Arapaho, Southern and possibly Northern Cheyenne.⁶ There is probably a Hidatsa equivalent (p. 417). While the ordinary restraints may not be enforced during this period of festivity, a definite time when sexual license is permitted occurs among only two tribes: Oglala, at the preliminary dance, and Arapaho, on the night of torture.⁷

People and materials are blessed during the dance. Portions of food are offered to the powers represented by the dance lodge by Arapaho and Cheyenne, with a cognate custom among the Ponca.⁸ Children's clothing is hung on the lodge as a sacrifice at the conclusion of the ceremony by Kiowa, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, and possibly Sarsi and Wind River Shoshoni. The dance directors among Blackfoot, Plains-Cree, and possibly Assiniboin pray over such spectators as wish it; while at the conclusion of the dance Ute, Wind River, and probably Sisseton dancers call upon old men to pray for them.

At the close of the dance Kiowa, Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, and probably Ponca and Wind River, prepare a drink with which the dancers

¹Dorsey, 82; Skinner, *Ponca Societies*, 801.

²Curtis, III, 128, 129.

³Clark, 72.

⁴Compare the tails suspended by the Sarsi (p. 279).

⁵Dorsey, *Arapaho Sun Dance*, 180.

⁶Curtis, VI, 125, 128.

⁷There is a corresponding feature in the *wabano* ceremonies among the Ojibway (Tanner, 135).

⁸Dorsey, 82.

end their period of abstention; and some of the dancers (Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, and possibly Wind River) thereupon induce vomiting.¹

The regalia of the dancers are quite uniform in all tribes, and within each tribe there is little variation among them, although personal medicines bring about some differences. Where we have information it appears that the dancers wear kilts and dance barefoot,² holding eagle bone whistles in their mouths.³ The headdress is a feather for Crow, Ponca, Ute, Hidatsa and Kiowa principals; a sage wreath for the Blackfoot weather dancers, the Sarsi torture dancers, and perhaps the Kiowa associates while Gros Ventre, Plains-Cree, Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, and Oglala may wear either. The Kiowa principals and the Hidatsa pledger wear jackrabbit headdresses. Wrist and ankle bands are worn by all tribes: those of Kiowa, Blackfoot, Sarsi, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, and Southern Cheyenne are made of sage. A plume is hung from the little finger of each hand by Ute, Crow, and Blackfoot.⁴ Sage is worn in the belt by Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, and the Kiowa associates. Body paints show more individuality. White is generally the ground color, being used by all the dancers—except the pledgers in some cases—or as the first paint where there are a series, by the Kiowa, Wind River, Crow, Sarsi, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Hidatsa.⁵ Successive paints are used by Wind River, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Ponca. Yellow is the second paint in these cases as well as that of the Kiowa image keeper and sometimes the associates and shield owners and the Plains-Cree dancers. The pledger is usually painted differently from the common dancers. Arapaho and Southern Cheyenne details are alike; Ponca less so. The uniformity in each group of Ponca and Southern Cheyenne dancers is noteworthy.

In considering the significance of these analogies we must not lose sight of the fact that there is everywhere in the Plains a marked uniformity in the fundamental elements of the dance. Such features have been ignored above in favor of those which would provide evidence of direct historic contact. The more widely diffused features may well be summarized here.

¹This may be connected with a similar custom of Southeastern and Southwestern peoples (see Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi*, 131).

²Except the Blackfoot.

³Plains-Cree substitute goose bone; Plains-Ojibway the same or swan bone.

⁴Clark, 72.

⁵Oglala use red according to Curtis (III, 95) and Dorsey (*Siouan Cults*, 460), but Bushotter's drawings show white, yellow, and blue (green?) as well.

The ceremony is begun in response to a vow, or dream. There is usually a period of preparation and ceremonial purification for the pledge prior to the dance. At the dance camp, a preliminary lodge is set up for preparation and rehearsal. Scouts are sent out to locate a tree for the center pole; the men dispatched to fell it treat it as an enemy. Meanwhile the dance lodge is informally built facing east. A bundle of brush and other objects is fixed in the fork of the center pole and it is formally raised at the center of the dance lodge. In the lodge an altar, including a buffalo skull, is built opposite the entrance. The participants enter the lodge in formal procession. Here the dancers usually stand in line, dancing in place with a characteristic step, piping on their whistles, and gazing fixedly at some objects. During this time they fast and abstain from water. They are barefoot, are painted white, and wear kilts, wristlets and anklets, and whistles about the neck. Those who have specially vowed perform the self-torture dance, usually tethered to the center pole.

≡ A number of
vows are taken
undergo the

Most of these features occur among nearly all tribes. Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Oglala dances contain all of them, but a few are missing in the Wind River, Crow, Blackfoot, Sarsi, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin, Arikara, Hidatsa, and Ponca, more are lacking for Kiowa, Plains-Cree, and Sisseton, and the greatest number, but none of the essentials, among Ute, Plains-Ojibway, and Canadian Dakota. Thus there is a marked uniformity in the more obvious objective features throughout the area and at the same time a somewhat greater development of them among the central group, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Oglala.

If now we return to the less essential points brought out in the analogies detailed above, it is apparent that a similar condition exists. There are few features in any sun dance which are not shared by the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and to a lesser extent, by the Oglala.

For convenience in indicating this point I have tabulated the number of traits shared by each tribe with every other. This is based on the distribution tables given above; consequently, one must clearly recognize, in interpreting it, that complexes, such as the buffalo hunt, are given no more weight than such minor traits as the finger plume. Nevertheless, accepting the simple enumeration of traits, it is clear that in nearly every case traits are shared more often with Arapaho, Cheyenne, or Oglala than with any other tribe. The special correspondence of Assiniboin and Plains-Cree with Blackfoot and Gros Ventre presents only a slight deviation, since there is an equal number of traits shared with the Arapaho and Cheyenne. It can hardly be maintained that the

ranking of Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Oglala, in the table is due to the comparative completeness of their records, for the Blackfoot, Ponca, and Plains-Cree are at least as well known, and others do not fall far short. No more striking example of difference in reporting could be found than between the single inadequate account of the Gros Ventre and the half dozen representing the Blackfoot ceremony, yet both score

NUMBER OF COMMON TRAITS

	Kiowa	Ute	Wind River Shoshoni	Crow	Blackfoot	Sarsi	Gros Ventre	Arapaho	Northern Cheyenne	Southern Cheyenne	Oglala	Ponca	Arikara	Hidatsa	Assiniboin	Plains-Cree	Plains-Ojibway	Sisseton	Canadian-Dakota
Kiowa		6	12	11	10	10	14	23	6	19	13	8	12	11	7	7	2	3	3
Ute	6		10	7	5	2	8	11	3	7	8	5	4	3	3	2	2	4	0
Wind River Shoshoni	12	10		15	13	9	17	24	9	16	14	10	11	8	12	13	5	7	4
Crow	11	7	15		19	9	19	22	8	18	17	10	13	12	12	12	6	4	5
Blackfoot	10	5	13	19		18	26	27	8	25	18	11	11	9	17	18	3	3	4
Sarsi	10	2	9	9	18		13	15	6	16	10	7	7	5	9	9	3	1	2
Gros Ventre	14	8	17	19	26	13		32	8	23	18	13	12	11	15	18	7	5	5
Arapaho	23	11	24	22	27	15	32		16	39	27	17	15	14	17	16	6	6	5
Northern Cheyenne	6	3	9	8	8	6	8	16		17	9	11	4	8	6	7	1	3	2
Southern Cheyenne	19	7	16	18	25	16	23	39	17		23	19	15	16	12	16	6	6	5
Oglala	13	8	14	17	18	10	18	27	9	23		22	14	14	13	11	5	9	8
Ponca	8	5	10	10	11	7	13	17	11	19	22		11	9	10	12	6	7	7
Arikara	12	4	11	13	11	7	12	15	4	15	14	11		9	9	10	5	5	4
Hidatsa	11	3	8	12	9	5	11	14	8	16	14	9	9		9	11	5	5	5
Assiniboin	7	3	12	12	17	9	15	17	6	12	13	10	9	9		16	6	6	5
Plains-Cree	7	5	13	12	18	9	18	16	7	16	11	12	10	11	16		8	5	5
Plains-Ojibway	2	2	5	6	5	3	7	6	4	6	5	6	5	4	6	8		3	4
Sisseton	3	4	7	4	3	1	5	6	3	6	9	7	5	5	6	5	3		3
Canadian Dakota	3	0	4	5	4	2	5	5	2	5	8	7	4	5	5	5	1	3	

alike in coincidences with the three central tribes. Where information is inadequate, the point becomes obvious. Thus, Curtis's abbreviated Northern Cheyenne account furnishes only a fraction of the correspondences that might be expected if the account was as full as that for their southern congeners. The same is true of the Sarsi: their account is so nearly identical to that of the Blackfoot so far as it goes that, with a

complete record, one might expect as full a correspondence with other tribes. But the inadequacy of data accounts for the difference between Plains-Cree and Plains-Ojibway only in part, for, while the data for the former are more complete, there is a real difference in the richness of detail. The more significant answer to such an objection lies, of course, in the systematic character of the coincidences. The tribes have been arranged in the table in as near an approximation to geographic position as a rectilinear arrangement will permit. The scores agree in a highly suggestive manner, being more frequent for tribes in proximity to the central group and decreasing as we approach the borders of the Plains.

Inasmuch as the majority of traits are shared with the central group, their sun dances are given an appearance of complexity or elaborateness in contrast with other tribes. Why they should share a particular trait with one or another group of tribes becomes in each case a problem in local differentiation and diffusion. Among these minor activities, a typical alignment of tribes is shown in the actions at the fall of the tree: the northern and western tribes count coup, the Village and eastern tribes greet it with a shout, and of the central group, the Arapaho all in with the first, the Cheyenne and Oglala with the second. Similarly in the dance lodge proceedings, the central group participates with others in various unrelated activities, such as the blessings during the procession to the lodge with the Blackfoot, a preliminary dance with Crow, Hidatsa, and Kiowa, and successive paints with Ponca and Wind River. Other traits they share among themselves, as, the ceremonial wife surrender, offerings of food, and piercing children's ears.

The whole range of minor traits shows the same type of diffusion, widespread and yet somewhat random. But no matter what group of tribes shares a particular trait, we find almost invariably that some member of the central group, usually the Arapaho, shares it as well. It is significant that these minor traits are, for the most part, elaborations of the fundamental procedures which we found fairly uniform among all the tribes. Two equally plausible reasons might be advanced to account for these conditions: either these minor rites were diffused from different parts of the Plains or from the central group.

This does not imply that there is no tribal individuality nor that resemblances are always to the central group. Tribal individuality in the objective phases of the ceremony is considerable, but it lies principally in modification of the specific character of the regular procedure. To be sure, we do find a fundamental divergence from type in the two sets of principal actors in the Blackfoot dance. Further differences

come from the incorporation of unrelated complexes, such as the Kiowa buffalo imitators, and the Cheyenne Crazy Medicine dance¹ and Sacred Hat ceremony.² Nevertheless the uniformity in the objective features—which are the only features we are concerned with here—is impressive. Resemblances in detail that occur more or less systematically are noteworthy: Plains-Ojibway with Plains-Cree, Wind River with Southern Ute, and both pairs with Gros Ventre; Wind River and Ponca with Arapaho; Arapaho with Cheyenne; Oglala with Cheyenne and Ponca; Blackfoot with Arapaho and Cheyenne; Arikara and Hidatsa with Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Blackfoot; Kiowa with Crow, Hidatsa, and Arapaho; Eastern Dakota with Oglala; Assiniboin with Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and Plains-Cree. On the whole this would imply that these cultural relations were of the usual type found in the Plains: closest with the nearest present day neighbors. The single exception is the Kiowa who have many unexpected connections with the northern Plains tribes, particularly the Crow. A somewhat closer connection of Arapaho and Cheyenne with the Village tribes than existed in historic times is also suggested.

¹Curtis, VI, 130-131.

²Mooney, *Handbook American Indians*, I, 254; *Cheyenne Indians*, 369-370; cf. Grinnell, *Cheyenne Mysteries*, 563.

ORGANIZATION.

The principle underlying the organization of the sun dance is varied. For a few tribes, this subject has been adequately treated, but as no attempt has been made to systematize the data for most, I have brought together all the relevant facts.

The Cheyenne sun dance may be initiated by any individual in fulfilment of a vow made when supernatural aid is invoked in time of distress. It is therefore not necessarily annual. It may be pledged more than once by the same individual. (Whether vowed by man or woman, the procedure is the same; a husband and wife are the principal actors.) Former sun dance pledgers, called like the pledger of the moment or lodge-maker "reanimators," seem to form a fraternity, with rights of ownership in a medicine bundle. This right may be exercised when the bundle ritual is demonstrated, i. e., at the sun dance. The lodge-maker's military society chooses one of this fraternity, that is, a pledger of the dance on a former occasion, to serve as director and ceremonial grandfather¹ of the lodge-maker. The lodge-maker purchases participatory rights in the bundle (which is in the hands of a permanent keeper) from the director and his associates, surrendering his wife as part of the purchase price.² The bundle is opened and demonstrated in both preliminary tipi and dance lodge. The members of the military society are obliged to aid the pledger make the ceremony, to fast and dance with him, and assist him in purchasing the rites, under penalty of loss of horses and destruction of their tipis.³ They fast and dance only during the ceremony in the dance lodge, where the "reanimators" participate as their ceremonial grandfathers in return for payment.⁴ Others, not members of this military society, may fast, dance, and torture themselves to fulfil vows.⁵ The organization of the Northern Cheyenne is identical with that of the southern group.

The Arapaho class the sun dance with their military societies, yet it differs inasmuch as men of any age or ceremonial affiliation may participate; more than once if they desire.⁶ (Here also either a man or woman pledges the dance for aid in sickness, danger, or because of a vision, but again the central figures are man and wife. The lodge-maker invites the

¹The terms for the ceremonial sponsor, transferer, or seller have a suggestive distribution. The Cheyenne, Arapaho, Gros Ventre, Oglala, and Ponca call him "grandfather"; the Blackfoot, Crow, and by implication, the Hidatsa, call him "father". This has no special significance in connection with the sun dance, however, since these terms are in general use in other ceremonies.

²Dorsey, *Cheyenne Sun Dance*, 69, 76 footnote, 130, 131 footnote, 150, 165.

³*Ibid.*, 58, 63; Grinnell, *Cheyenne Medicine Lodge*, 255.

⁴Dorsey, *loc. cit.*, 124, 147, 149.

⁵*Ibid.*, 128, 178.

⁶Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, 151, 152, 292.

coöperation of the military society to which he belongs; they, in turn, petition the director.¹ This individual, as keeper of the sacred tribal pipe bundle, directs all important ceremonies; associated with him as directors are the members of the highest men's society, i. e., the owners of the seven sacred bundles.² The southern branch of the Arapaho lack the sacred pipe, but seem to have substituted the sacred wheel and use a lesser straight pipe. Here members of this society supervise the ceremonial grandfather of the dancers, and here also the office of director has become purchasable like many others.³ The lodge-maker purchases participating rights in the ceremony and in a sense, in the sacred bundle from his ceremonial grandfather, called the "transferer",⁴ (to whom he surrenders his wife) and from all the priests, including the members of the highest men's society, the director, and other owners of specific rites.⁵ Others may also vow to fast and dance in the lodge, some of them may perform the torture, but none can dance without the pledger. These dancers, like the pledger, select and pay grandfathers having rights to the ceremony.⁶

The Hidatsa sun dance is connected with a type of bundle owned by a number of men. One of them has the right to direct the dance (this function may be purchased only by members of this group). The ceremony is undertaken by a man, in response to a vision, in order to purchase the rights of ownership from his own father. Payment is made to the director and other owners, including his father. A father's clansman, who provides the articles necessary for the construction of a duplicate of the father's bundle, and others who assist in erecting the lodge are also paid by the son. The director and his fellow bundle owners officiate. Dancers other than the pledger, torture themselves in order to secure visions with the aid of their personal bundles. They are pierced by their father's clansmen.

The Ponca dance presents the only clear-cut case of a society, or better fraternity, conducting the ceremony, for it is in no way dependent on the vows of the individual. It is given annually at the call of the tribal chief by the "Thunder men" (all of them medicinemen?) who have the right to dance.⁷ The "thunder men" choose the dancers, among

¹Dorsey, *Arapaho Sun Dance*, 10-12.

²Kroeber, *loc. cit.*, 207, 309; Dorsey, *loc. cit.*, 33.

³Dorsey, *loc. cit.*, 26, 33, 53, 58, 108, 126, 129, 141, 158.

⁴The statement (Dorsey, 27) that the grandfather is normally the pledger of the preceding sun dance is not borne out by Dorsey's data: he seems rather to be any one who owns participatory rights.

⁵Dorsey, *loc. cit.*, 51, 76, 101, 125-127, 172-178.

⁶Dorsey, *loc. cit.*, 10, 98, 100, 116, 132, 179; Kroeber, 285, 292, 301.

⁷Dorsey, *Ponca Sun Dance*, 69, 77.

whom women may be included.¹ Each dancer purchases the right to dance from one of this group, his "grandfather"; repeating this purchase later at three additional performances.² The director of the ceremony is "the oldest and most learned of the priests and more especially . . . the war-priest of the tribe."³

The Oglala organization has the looseness of the Arapaho and Cheyenne in contrast to the Ponca. This sun dance is set in motion by an individual to fulfil a vow, to secure good fortune, or to acquire shamanistic power.⁴ Shamans alone have the right to conduct the dance; they may even be said to be loosely associated for the purpose. Others, who are former self-torturers, have the right to participate in the buffalo dance again and to pierce the dancers.⁵ Each pledger chooses a ceremonial grandfather from among them, from whom he purchases this privilege: for the shamanistic candidate this grandfather is a shaman.⁶ The director is a shaman, normally the grandfather of the pledger who takes the initiative in the ceremony, or in default one chosen by the shamans. The leader of the dancers would therefore normally be the director's "grandchild", but another may be chosen by the dancers.⁷ Other individuals, including women, may enter the lodge simply to dance, but all the pledgers must perform the self-torture.⁸ The dancers may expect visions as the result.

The Arikara sun dance is initiated by a man who goes to the priest-director. The director appoints old men to paint the dancers, one for each of the three dancers.⁹ The director and his "assistants" dress like the performers and dance. Others join with them only in dancing in the lodge. Some of the participants, with the assistance of old men they have chosen, practise the self-torture. The ceremony culminates in visions for the dancers.

The Blackfoot ceremony is unique in that it is organized in two unrelated parts, a bundle transfer ceremony and a dance. The first is considered the vital part by the natives. The dance, which is usually annual, may be pledged by either a man or woman in time of sickness or

¹*Ibid.*, 70.

²*Ibid.*, 69, 70, 73.

³*Ibid.*, 69. But White Eagle, the director of the dance witnessed by G. A. Dorsey, was "chief of the Poncas" and he may be the individual called "head chief" in 1873 by J. O. Dorsey (*Siouan Cults*, 378) or a "band chief" by Fletcher and La Flesche (*Omaha Tribe*, 51).

⁴Dorsey, *Siouan Cults*, 451; Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music*, 101.

⁵Pp. 114, 116, 118, 119; Curtis, III, 96; Wissler, ms., 180.

⁶Pp. 62-64. It is not altogether clear whether he pays all participating shamans in addition to his grandfather.

⁷Pp. 66, 102. Cf. Fletcher, *Sun Dance of the Ogalalla Sioux*, 581.

⁸Dorsey, *loc. cit.*, 460, 465.

⁹Curtis, V, 77, 79, mentions three, but the number may vary.

danger,¹ but the procedure is always the same, a woman always being the principal actor. In the preliminary tipi this woman and her husband purchase the right to a natoas bundle, including the right to direct the sun dance, from another couple who own such rights.² Should this couple not have a bundle, they act as "transferrers," borrowing the bundle from a third couple.³ If already an owner, the woman may either perform the ritual or purchase another bundle. But a bundle may also be transferred at a time other than at the sun dance.⁴ On occasion several women vow to purchase bundles, each proceeding independently.⁵ The activities of the purchasers cease with the erection of the dance lodge.

The second part of the ceremony, held in the dance lodge, is directed by a medicineman having control of the weather. The right to direct can be purchased at the time of the dance.⁶ Former owners of the right may vow to dance with him: to this extent there may be said to be a loose fraternity based on the right to dance. Other individuals vow to perform the self-torture and to purchase the right to pierce others from those chosen to serve as piercers.⁷ The woman who "go forward to the tongues" specially vow to do so. Other rights to participate, such as cutting thongs⁸ and boiling tongue skins,⁹ are purchasable.

The objective similarity of the Sarsi dance with that of the Blackfoot is so very great, that a corresponding identity of organization is not surprising. This dance is pledged by a woman for the recovery of a near relative from sickness. The same woman might undertake the dance a number of times. She is assisted by her husband in a rite connected with a bundle, which is apparently an exact equivalent of the Blackfoot natoas. Their activities cease when a solitary (?) man begins his dance in the main lodge. His functions, objectively at least, are identical with those of the Blackfoot weather dancer. Unlike the Blackfoot others also danced. Those who had vowed in a crisis are tortured; although this performance does not seem to be obligatory. Former self-torturers are chosen to pierce them. Of other participants, the thong cutters purchase the rite of those who last performed this operation, while the tongue preparers are volunteers. So close is the objective parallelism that we must conclude that the Blackfoot dual organization is duplicated here.

¹Clark, 71; Curtis, VI, 31.

²According to McClintock, 179, those who gave the ceremony the preceding year.

³P. 247; Wissler, *Blackfoot Bundles*, 215.

⁴Pp. 233-234, 247: *Blackfoot Bundles*, 219.

⁵P. 251; Curtis, VI, 42.

⁶P. 260; Curtis, VI, 53.

⁷P. 263; McClintock, 319.

⁸P. 255, but cf. Curtis, VI, 50, and Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, 265.

⁹Curtis, VI, 39.

The Kiowa dance is held annually, the initiative for its performance coming either from the hereditary owner of the medicine doll, or from an individual who applies to him in response to a dream. The dance is the sole prerogative of this shaman. Four associates dance with him to four successive ceremonies, when they choose their own successors, in whom they sell their rights. The hereditary medicine shield owners are also obliged to dance. Other men may vow to dance in time of danger or to cure sickness. These do not pay the medicine owner for the privilege of dancing, and they have no future rights in the ceremony after their performance. Other ancillary functionaries have either hereditary rights, or they are appointed by the medicine owner.

The Crow sun dance is pledged by a man who desires a vision promising him revenge. He selects as director one of a number of doll owners; he obtains the vision through the doll. Sometimes this doll bundle is transferred to the pledger, but this is not essential. Others, who desire to torture themselves in order to obtain war visions, are pierced by the medicinemen or warriors¹ they select.

The Assiniboin ceremony is given annually by a man who has inherited the right.² He directs the dance. Vows to dance are made by other men and sometimes by women.³ Some of these men undergo the torture, their acts culminating in visions.⁴

The Plains-Cree ceremony is given locally every year by one or more of a number of men who have dreamed of the Thunder. He initiates it as the result of a vow or in order to obtain spiritual aid. The right to give the dance is evidently transferable. A bundle appears in the ceremony, but it is not known whether this is more than a personal medicine (p. 302). Others, including women, dance in fulfilment of vows or to obtain aid for sickness; they receive visions. These dancers paint themselves. A few others perform the self-torture for similar reasons or to show their bravery, etc.; some of them are said to have "qualified" on previous occasions.⁵ They are pierced by medicinemen designated by the director.

Like that of the Plains-Cree, the Plains-Ojibway sun dance is a locally annual ceremony. It is initiated by one of those who have the right by reason of having dreamed of the Thunder. This director does not dance but others do so. Ten or more men, generally *okitcita* (recog-

¹Pp. 44, 45, 50; Curtis, IV, 77. These are kinsmen according to Clark, 136.

²Lowie, *The Assiniboine*, 58, cf. 34. The one who first dreamed of the dance during the year initiated it according to Curtis, (III, 128).

³De Smet, 937, 939; Curtis, III, 129.

⁴Curtis, III, 131-132.

⁵Pagel, 35, 36.

nized warrior-police) torture themselves, some of them having dreamed of the particular form of torture.

The Wind River ceremony is not necessarily an annual performance. It is initiated in response to a dream by one of those who have (inherited?) the right to conduct it. He is joined in dancing by others who wish to cure sickness or to obtain luck and long life; they receive visions. These individuals paint each other.

There is little information on the Ute dance, but it suggests that here too the dance is controlled by a single individual. This leader is a medicineman. The dancers desire supernatural power, but only a few receive sufficient to qualify as medicinemen.

Among the Canadian Dakota the dance may be performed by any man or woman in response to a dream, the purpose being to obtain supernatural power (it is the initial step to becoming a shaman), to secure success in war, or to cure sickness. Others may dance and assist.

The Sisseton ceremony was performed by a man, aided by members of his war party, to fulfil their vows, or it was performed by a group all of whom had received visions ordering them to dance.¹ The dancers paint themselves. Many of them undergo the torture because they have specially vowed to do so.

The information on the Gros Ventre organization is so meager that there is reason to doubt the correctness of the scheme presented here, and this is emphasized by the striking difference between this scheme and that of the Arapaho. Here too the pledger gives the dance to fulfil a vow made for deliverance from sickness or danger. But unlike the Arapaho, this appears to be largely a personal performance, since the pledger is seemingly the director and uses his own medicine bundle to obtain a war vision.² It is not clear what priestly function is performed by the old men mentioned. One of them, the keeper of the sacred flat-pipe, gives magical aid in raising the center pole; another obtains water from this pole by magic. These are both personal medicines; sick men pledge themselves to smoke the pipe and it is carried to war.³ Others also dance for visions; some of them (who specially vow?) are torture dancers attended by ceremonial grandfathers.⁴

In all these accounts the significant feature appears to be the manner in which those who lead or conduct the ceremony are organized. This organization is essential for the pledger's participation. Thus,

¹Lowie, *Eastern Dakota Dances*, 141.

²Kroeber, *Ethnology of the Gros Ventre*, 265.

³*Ibid.*, 263, 266, 272-274.

⁴*Ibid.*, 265.

where a group of men own the dance the pledger buys a place among them. Here the association of the group is clearly the essential, because for the rest the pledger behaves like the common run of dancers, and their mode of entry into the dance is everywhere the same.

From this standpoint, the ceremonies fall into two groups between which there is a fundamental difference. In one type of organization any individual may undertake the dance of his own accord. The entire performance revolves about him; he is director and principal dancer in one. But he enjoys no prerogatives in any future dance by reason of his performance. This type is confined to the Canadian Dakota and Sisseton, and if we take the data at their face value, to the Gros Ventre also.

In the second type of organization the dance can be given only by individuals who possess special qualifications. Notwithstanding this fact the initiative in beginning the ceremony usually remains with any person who desires it, as in the first case. The qualification is of course always the same type of socio-religious sanction, but we can distinguish two forms based on the possession or lack of a medicine bundle. Where there is no bundle, leadership is a definite personal right, which can nevertheless be transmitted to another by inheritance or by sale in most cases. Where a bundle is involved, leadership depends on some sort of ownership. This is either ownership of a particular bundle or of one of a certain type, but it may be only participatory ownership in such bundles. Here again the right may be acquired by inheritance or purchase. This connection of leadership with ownership of a bundle does not mean that the bundle is always associated with the sun dance as among the Arapaho, but that the dance is dependent in the particular case on the bundle.

Among those tribes in which leadership is based on special qualifications, whether bundle ownership or not, a cross-classification may be recognized. In some cases a single individual is leader as among the Crow; in others, as the Hidatsa, a number are associated in a sort of fraternity. In the first group the single leader is of course the director of the ceremony. He may not be the only person in the tribe possessing the essential qualifications, but none of the others are associated with him in this capacity. In the second a number of owners of the privilege conduct the ceremony; one of them may be director, but the others may participate in some capacity. A third cross-classification might be made on the basis of the transfer of rights to the ceremony during the progress of the dance, or the lack of such procedure.

Assiniboin, Plains-Cree, Plains-Ojibway, Wind River Shoshoni, and perhaps Ute, form a group in that one of a number of qualified men, without a bundle, conducts the ceremony alone. He does not transfer his right to any of the dancers during the dance.

The Crow and Kiowa directors are bundle owners. Several Crow own the proper bundles, but they are not associated in the dance. The Crow sometimes transfer a bundle at the dance (p. 12). There is only one Kiowa bundle for the sun dance; the keeper of this is leader. As stated above, the Blackfoot dance is organized on two unrelated principles. If it is permissible to separate them, the first, the performance of the natoas bundle ritual, should be classed here, since the director is a bundle owner who acts alone.¹ If there is a real identity of the Sarsi and Blackfoot dances, the Sarsi woman's rites must also be included here.

Among the Ponca we find the clearest case of an association of sun dance owners. As Dorsey remarks, it is a "close corporation with self-perpetuating power," since the dancers do not elect to join but are chosen by the fraternity. The Oglala have a dual organization: the shamans with the right to lead, and the buffalo men with the right to dance. A pledger may purchase his way into either group. Like Ponca and Oglala, the Arikara apparently have a number of associated leaders who exercise their right to dance: still this is not certain. That part of the Blackfoot ceremony taking place in the dance lodge is organized in the same way; that is, all the weather dancers have a common bond in their right to lead and dance, although normally only one performs this function. There may be an organic connection between the bundle transfer and the dance, but as the data stand the Blackfoot sun dance appears to be organized on two unrelated principles, and so is highly anomalous. The same is presumably true of the Sarsi ceremony. In all these tribes the leaders are associated on the basis of a common right to conduct the ceremony and to dance; a right which they have acquired by purchase.

The Cheyenne and Hidatsa leaders are joint owners of a bundle with which the dance is connected, and collectively they form a fraternity to conduct it. The Arapaho leaders also sell their dance rights, but it is not clear that they have any title to the medicine bundle. Among the Cheyenne one of these owners is chosen as director by the pledger: the remainder perform an ancillary function. The part played by the

¹The Gros Ventre leader also has a bundle, but it is his personal medicine like those carried, for example, by the common Hidatsa dancers and so is not essential to the performance.

	Leadership		
	Individual Initiative	Qualified Leader	
		Leader Without Bundle	Bundle Owner
Individual	Sisseton Canadian Dakota Gros Ventre ?	Assiniboin Plains-Cree Plains-Ojibway Wind River Ute ?	Crow Kiowa Blackfoot I Sarsi I ?
Fraternity		Ponca Oglala Arikara Blackfoot II Sarsi II ?	Hidatsa Cheyenne Arapaho

pledger's military society is not essential: it is rather a novel mode of securing the common dancers. The Arapaho have the same idea at bottom, but the director is the keeper of the sacred pipe bundle. This introduced a confusing element, for, as the keeper of this bundle is director of all important ceremonies, it is not certain that this bundle is essential to the sun dance. I think that it is, since the Oklahoma group seem to have found it necessary to substitute another sacred bundle. A further disturbing element is the supervision exercised by the highest men's society, but as they supervise all ceremonies their interest is not fundamental. Among the Hidatsa there is no single bundle, but all the owners of a certain type of bundle have the right to participate when one of them sells his bundle to his son, the pledger, at the sun dance. In all three tribes, the central idea is the same: the pledger acquires membership in the sun dance fraternity by purchasing participatory rights in the bundle.

The historical implications of these observations are fairly clear, turning on the question of the priority of the two types of organization, individual leadership, and the fraternity of owners. I think we can be certain that the former is the older, because of their respective distributions and because the individual organization appears again as the basic element in the fraternity. In the first place the fraternity occurs among Arapaho, Cheyenne, Oglala, Ponca, Hidatsa, Arikara, and Blackfoot (and

possibly Sarsi); in other words, among the central group and their neighbors, who, as we have already seen, have the most highly elaborate procedures. It seems reasonable to suppose then that this smaller centrally located group of tribes, have also elaborated their organization for leadership. This must be the case since the sole point of distinction between the two organizations is an additional qualification for fraternity membership. In every tribe all the dancers, pledger and common dancers alike, enter the ceremony in the same way; that is, each must individually vow to participate. In addition, in every case where the fraternity system prevails it imposes on the pledger the additional qualification of purchase. That is, it affects only pledgers, a smaller, selected group among a host of dancers not differentiated by virtue of any other qualification for participation. Both the facts of distribution and the internal evidence imply, to my mind, that the fraternity qualification is of more recent origin. These considerations do not involve the question whether purchase or the fraternity idea originated first in the sun dance: we find them an inseparable pair.

In detail, this is an interesting confirmation of the results obtained from a comparison of procedures. Not only is the fraternity type found among the central tribes, but Arapaho and Cheyenne are again coupled, Oglala with Ponca, the two phases of the Blackfoot ceremony resemble the Hidatsa and Arikara respectively, Arapaho and Cheyenne are coupled with the same pair, and again Kiowa is like Crow, and at least in part, like Blackfoot. It is unfortunate that the meager information leaves the position of the Arikara and particularly of the Gros Ventre uncertain.

HISTORICAL RELATIONS.

These inferences, with some direct evidence, suggest the history of the dance.

The ceremonies of the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Oglala are the most highly elaborated: this is not only true of the procedure and its material counterpart but of the organization as well. But their rites, as I have pointed out, take no new form; they are simply from the common stock shared with neighboring tribes, embellished and elaborated into a fuller performance. What is significant, however, is not so much that they share such traits with others, as that there is a measure of logical coherence in their own performances. Their elaborating rites seem so much ceremonial embroidery on the web of essential features. In this I am assuming that the essential performance is simply erecting a pole within an encircling structure, before which the votaries dance. If this is so, the implication is clearly that this group is the center from which at least many of the ritualistic embellishments spread, if not the original nucleus as well.

The torture feature has, in my estimation, no place among these essentials. In the first place torture is of secondary importance in every ceremony except that of the Dakota; that is, none of the principal dancers are tortured, only a minority of their associates perform it, and these must specially vow to do so. Such data as we have on the extent of the torture bear out this view. The sun dance is inconceivable without torture only from the Dakota standpoint. All accounts agree that the few Oglala who dance without torture play an unimportant role, in fact that they could not dance at all unless others tortured themselves (p. 61). But conditions were different among other tribes. While Dorsey says that it was "practiced by no tribe to a greater extent . . . than by the Cheyenne," Grinnell's information is flatly contradictory. Curtis too received the impression that it was "far less in evidence than with many other tribes" and notes that only one man at a time was tortured. It is also significant that there was no fixed time for torture, and that those who performed it were not connected with the organized dancers.¹ Crow tortures were extensive: at one dance forty or fifty were tied to posts, six to the apex of the lodge, while many more dragged skulls. But here too these were not primary participants.² The Hidatsa tortures resemble those of the Mandan *ōkīpə* in severity, and so may the

¹Dorsey, *Cheyenne Sun Dance*, 175, 181; Grinnell, *Cheyenne Medicine Lodge*; Curtis, VI, 124; Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 150.

²Curtis, VI, 77, 79.

Arikara, although Maximilian observed that in general "they torture themselves. . . not so cruelly as their neighbors," i. e., the Mandan.¹ For the rest torture was not so extensively practised. The Arapaho and Gros Ventre custom is moderate, although Clark remarks of the latter that they "hold the torture in high esteem."² The same is true of the Blackfoot, who say they obtained the custom from the Arapaho: one Piegan saw the torture only four times in his life (before 1870), with only one man on each occasion.³ McLean says that there are only two to five men;⁴ while Grinnell, Clark, and McClintock speak of several men.⁵ Wissler's impression was that the torture was not thoroughly adjusted when the government put an end to it (p. 262), but this does not argue a late introduction. The Sarsi tortures were equally restricted. It seems not to have been obligatory in the dance; not more than two men a day were so treated, and tethering is noted as the only form. The Assiniboin and Plains-Cree tortures were also moderate; for the latter Paget notes a few self-torturers, Browning four, but Jefferson gives the impression that it was somewhat greater.⁶ Skinner's informants stated that this is a modern custom (p. 291). The Plains-Ojibway men number ten or more, with others dragging skulls, etc., but the torture is of short duration (p. 314). For the Ponca there is recorded only the sacrifices of bits of flesh. The remaining tribes, Wind River Shoshoni, Ute, and Kiowa,⁷ do not torture in the sun dance at all. In short, torture centers among the Dakota and the Village tribes and is found in decreasing extent as we proceed from that center. Since this does not coincide with the ascertained center for other traits, torture must be considered of secondary origin in the sun dance of the majority.⁸

Self-torture is undeniably an old and common custom of the Plains tribes.⁹ But the instances in which it appears in a specialized form yield evidence confirmatory to this discussion of distribution. Such are the Mandan *ōkīpə*, and the self-torture which characterizes the quest of

¹Maximilian, II, 390.

²Kroeber, *Ethnology of Gros Ventre*, 264-265; Clark, 198.

³Curtis, VI, 55.

⁴McLean, 236.

⁵Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, 267; Clark, 72; McClintock, 318-319.

⁶Paget, 35; Browning, 40.

⁷Although the Kiowa profess aversion to shedding blood at the sun dance, the killing of a man and stabbing of a woman on two separate occasions did not interfere with the performance (Mooney, *Kiowa Calendar History*, 272, 280.)

⁸The Skidi Pawnee took over the torture features from the Arikara (about the end of the eighteenth century ?) incorporating them in their Young Dog society. This was practised three times but was dropped, for, like the Kiowa, the Pawnee are antagonistic to the torture idea (Murie, *Pawnee Societies*, 587, 641; Grinnell, *Young Dog's Dance*).

⁹For example, Blackfoot (this volume, 265), Arapaho, but suspension occurs only in the sun dance (Dorsey, 182-187), Hidatsa, Mandan, and Saulteaux (Henry and Thompson, 263-265), Assiniboin (De Smet, 936), Plains-Ojibway Weeping society, where these practices are said to be older than, but related to the sun dance (Skinner, *Plains-Ojibway Ceremonies*, 507-508), and Kiowa (Methvin, 86; Scott, 352). Compare in this connection the Kwakiutl and the Nootka war dances (Boas, 495, 635)

a vision by an individual. The latter commonly involves only scarification or cutting off pieces of flesh and fingers; greater tortures such as dragging skulls and leading horses secured to the flesh are sometimes practised; but suspension from a post, like that which characterizes the sun dance, is the regular form of vision-seeking only for the Dakota.¹ To be sure it occurs under similar circumstances among the Cheyenne² and Crow but in the latter tribe at least it is not the normal mode for achieving that end.

While the evidence of specialization and extent might argue the incorporation of torture into the sun dance by either the Village tribes or the Dakota, the coincidence of the conventional sun dance form with the vision-torture would rather favor the latter. Considering the analogy between the two dance forms, to wit, dancing before a pole, such an assimilation could have been readily effected.

In fact the simplest form of their sun dance, that of the Canadian Sioux, is little more than the common custom of vision-seeking. It is an open question however whether these people, who are chiefly Wahpeton, did not also have the fuller ceremony performed by a group of dancers, as incidental statements by a Wahpeton would indicate.³ To be sure, these statements may apply only to the sun dance as performed by the combined Eastern Dakota since reservation days. On the other hand, about 1840 Riggs⁴ observed among the Mdewakantonwan⁵ a dance closely resembling the Canadian Sioux form and called by the regular name for the sun dance, *wiwanag-wacipi*. Catlin saw the same simplified dance among the Ting-ta-to-ah (Mdewakantonwan) at the mouth of the Teton River.⁶ Again, while Curtis⁷ notes the sun dance among Yanktonai without comment, the dance performed by a Yanktonai chief in 1822, as given by Keating,⁸ conforms exactly to the Canadian Sioux usage. In 1811, however, Brackenridge saw a short distance above the mouth of the Cheyenne River, "a space, about twenty feet in diameter, enclosed with poles, with a post in the middle, painted red, and at some distance, a buffalo head raised upon a little mound of earth," and intended for "rendering the buffaloe plenty."⁹ Maximilian saw an identical structure near Fort Pierre in 1833 used in order "to entice the herds of

¹Lynd, 164-166.

²Dorsey, 176-177; Grinnell, *Cheyenne Medicine Lodge*, 249-255; Petter, *English-Cheyenne Dictionary*, 1062; Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 154; *Plains of the Great West*, 258-260.

³Lowie, *Eastern Dakota Dances*, 115, 141.

⁴Pond, *Dakota Superstitions*, 234-237.

⁵Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts and Ethnography*, xii.

⁶Catlin, *North American Indians*, 232, Plate 97.

⁷*North American Indian*, III, 122.

⁸*Narrative*, I, 499.

⁹Brackenridge, 132.

buffaloes."¹ Both of these lay within the territory of the Yanktonai and may be taken to mean that they had the fuller form of the dance as well. On the other hand the account of General Curtis of a dance at Fort Sully, S. D., in 1866,² probably referring to a mixed group chiefly of Teton with some Yanktonai and Santee,³ describes the torture features but omits mention of a dance lodge. Finally Beckwith describes a dance for the Dakota in general called by the usual name but of the Canadian Sioux type and taking place within a circle of upright boughs.⁴ The sum of these data is simply this: the Dakota have both forms of the dance, which are known by the same name, are equally serious, and are indiscriminatingly used. This is probably more nearly true of the Eastern Dakota than of the Teton, but it would seem that in general the Dakota insist only on what is to them the significant feature, the torture dance, probably because it is identical with their preferred type of vision-seeking.⁵

If then torture is an historically secondary element, the original nucleus of the dance is that indicated above, viz., erecting a pole in an enclosure about which to dance. Other ceremonies having a form analogous to this simplified sun dance are undoubtedly related; such are the Eastern Dakota round dance,⁶ the Osage mourning ceremony,⁷ the Omaha *hedewatei* terminating the tribal hunt,⁸ and the Pawnee four-pole ceremony. The capture of the poles in the two last named duplicates the sun dance procedure exactly, as the Hidatsa pole-offering to Above-woman also does. It seems rather unlikely that the procedure would have been copied if the sun dance center pole had been essentially a torture post. Such evidence would rather indicate that the dance before a pole is an old Plains ceremonial concept.

But so much for the original form. While the Oglala are probably eliminated from the group of originators of the dance, they may still be said to constitute, with the Arapaho and Cheyenne, the center of diffusion. But inasmuch as the Oglala place their emphasis on torture while

¹Maximilian, I, 318.

²Pond, *Dakota Superstitions*, 237-238.

³Report Commissioner Indian Affairs for 1866, 164-175.

⁴Beckwith, 250.

⁵There are no certain indications that the vision-seeking had been elaborated into a ceremony of the sun dance type before fusion took place, although the existence of a dance lodge peculiar to the Dakota and Ponca suggests it. It is more probable, however, that the circular enclosure has been transformed into a roof shade supported on inner posts in the Dakota form and on the center pole in that of the Arapaho and others. (Cf. Dorsey, *Ponca Sun Dance*: Humfreville, 323-333).

⁶Lowie, *Eastern Dakota Dances*, 126-128. Illustrated in Schoolcraft, *History, and Condition*, VI, 352.

⁷Speck, *Notes on the Ethnology of the Osage Indians*, 168-170. The fasting of the mourner and the roofed structure curiously resemble the sun dance of other tribes.

⁸Dorsey, *Omaha Sociology*, 297-299; Fletcher and La Flesche, *Omaha Tribe*, 251-260. These Dakota, Osage, and Omaha ceremonies are closely related, particularly the first two.

the majority of tribes do not, the ceremonies of the latter would seem rather to have had common origin with those of Arapaho and Cheyenne.¹ The evidence for the historical relations between these two tribes is not illuminating. The Cheyenne claim to have received their ceremony from the subsequently incorporated Sutaio (before 1832), who lived west of the Black Hills early in the last century and presumably were in close contact with the Arapaho.² But whether the Cheyenne obtained their dance from the Sutaio or the Arapaho cannot be proven: it is nearly identical with that of the latter tribe, with divergencies chiefly by way of incorporating Oglala features. At best we can only consider the Cheyenne and Arapaho an inseparable couple with priority slightly in favor of the latter.

The historical fate of the dance among other tribes can best be ascertained by reversing our procedure and eliminating those tribes whose acquisition is demonstrably recent. While that of the peripheral tribes can be given with some precision, only a general outline can be suggested for those more centrally located because of the great uniformity of the dance among them.

The Wind River Shoshoni dance resembles the Arapaho and Gros Ventre equally, but inasmuch as it lacks both bundle and fraternity organization it was probably derived from the latter. According to native statement the Wind River transmitted it to the Fort Hall Shoshoni. These events must be relatively recent and subsequent to the removal of the Comanche into the Plains, since the dance is found neither among the last mentioned tribe nor the Lemhi Shoshoni, both of whom are closely related linguistically to the other eastern Shoshoni.³ The Fort Hall people in turn passed it on to the Uintah and Southern Ute about 1890 (p. 405, cf. p. 393), and to the Bannock.⁴ Specific resemblances between these western dances and those of Plains-Cree and Plains-Ojibway must be laid at the door of wandering Cree who in recent years have spread throughout the western Plains.

The Assiniboin do not emphasize the self-torture like their Dakota relatives. This may mean either that they obtained the dance from another source since separating from the Dakota, or that the latter have fused the sun dance with the vision-torture since the day when they had identical dances.⁵ Certain indirect evidence makes the former alter-

¹This coincides with Sapir's earlier inference (*Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture*, 26).

²Murray, *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 252, 254; Dorsey, *Cheyenne Sun Dance*, 186.

³Lowie, *Northern Shoshone*, 216; Kroeber, *Shoshonean Dialects*, 111-114.

⁴Communication from Dr. Edward Sapir; information from Charles Mack, a Northern Ute, 1909.

⁵This separation is probably not so recent as is usually assumed (Lowie, *The Assiniboine*, 7-10).

native more probable. The Plains-Cree probably derived their dance from the Assiniboin. Now the Plains-Cree dance lodge is the roofed (Arapaho) type: if we assume this to be the Assiniboin form as well, it would argue a non-Dakotan source for the dance of the latter. The Gros Ventre and the Village tribes naturally suggest themselves as possible sources. But the Assiniboin lack many specific features of the Gros Ventre dance; this in spite of their contact on Fort Belknap Reservation in recent years, which resulted in the exchange of only a few trivial traits. On the other hand the objective part of their dance resembles the Hidatsa rather than Arikara, perhaps only because we know little about either, but like the Arikara theirs is not a bundle ceremony. The Plains-Cree, whose intrusion into the Plains may antedate the historic period considerably, were intimately associated with the Assiniboin. Their sun dance is considered an equivalent by the latter¹ and was probably obtained from them quite recently, but before 1851.² That of the Plains-Ojibway was undoubtedly obtained from the Plains-Cree as were many other features of Plains life.

The Eastern Dakota took over the later developments of the dance from their western relatives, but, as I pointed out above, they are prone to omit the elaborate procedure in favor of the simple torture features which were already customary among them. The Ponca dance may have been derived from the same source as J. O. Dorsey states.³ In that case the fraternity organization, somewhat more rigid than that of the Oglala, is an association of individuals having similar supernatural experience; a type of association common among the Southern Siouan and Central Algonkian tribes. Some of the dance details however have been borrowed directly from Arapaho or Cheyenne.

The Kiowa organization shares a specific characteristic of the Ponca, i. e., both the Kiowa associates and the Ponca dancers choose their successors, who appear in four successive annual ceremonies, making payments on each occasion, before they acquire full right to participate. If we are to assume that the resemblance proceeds from historic connection, then it is reasonable to hold that the Kiowa adopted the idea from the Ponca, since the Kiowa associates serve no necessary function. On the other hand, I am inclined to believe that the trait has been invented independently. All three concepts—purchase, participation at the time

¹Lowie, *The Assiniboine*, 58.

²Paget, 152.

³Dorsey, *Omaha Sociology*, 355. It is unfortunate that we do not know the former extent of torture among the Ponca. The intimate relations of the Ponca with the Oglala may be comparatively recent, for the introduction of the horse apparently led them to give up their sedentary existence in large part, and turn to the ways of the Sioux (Compare Maximilian, *Travels*, I, 284).

of purchase, and fourfold repetition—occur commonly enough in combination in the Plains for this to be the case here.¹

The most unusual feature of the Crow dance is the tipi-like structure which is identical with their Tobacco adoption lodge (p. 39). But it is doubtful whether the Crow would cut down only their first tree as though for a center pole unless they had originally had the usual type of dance lodge. It is more reasonable to assume that the lodge was later built to resemble the Tobacco lodge. In a way this is confirmed by the lack of the Tobacco ceremony among the Hidatsa. The Crow may have obtained the dance either from the central group or the Village tribes, with the evidence in favor of the latter.

If the foregoing is correct the Kiowa obtained their dance structure as well as the medicine doll from the Crow. This transpired after the separation of the latter from the Hidatsa but before 1833.² Their buffalo imitators are clearly the counterpart of the Blackfoot, Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and Wind River Shoshoni women buffalo dancers. The Kiowa stom was probably patterned on that of the Blackfoot women which it resembles in particulars, and which also occurs at the sun dance, although in the sun dance lodge.³

The Sarsi have taken over the Blackfoot dance in its entirety, adding only the general dancers. Considering their known cultural affiliations, it is probable that the Kutenai dance—of which we know nothing—is derived from the same source, or from the Crow. The Blackfoot sun dance is made up of two unrelated parts: a bundle transfer and a dance by associated shamans. But the procedure as a whole (preparing for the dance, building the lodge, dancing the torture features) centers about the dancers, while the bundle transferrers figure only in the preliminaries. It is inconceivable that the Blackfoot should go through the regular dance form if their dance had originally been a transfer ceremony only, because the transfer is actually completed before any dancing begins. Nor is the situation comparable to that of Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Hidatsa since the bundle owners do not dance at all. It seems rather that the bundle transfer has been added to a ceremony of more common

¹The four Arikara assistants (Curtis, V, 77, 79) may have some connection with those of the Kiowa, but we know nothing of their functions.

²Cf. Mooney, *Calendar History of Kiowa*, 155, 239-242; Scott, 345, 348, 368. Wissler suggests that the question of the migration of the Kiowa from a northern habitat, postulated by Mooney and denied by Scott, may not be involved. It is possible that the northern cultural contacts were made when on their periodical or seasonal wanderings (*Influence of the Horse on Development of Plains Culture*, p. 14, footnote).

³The analogy between the dance structure and the buffalo pound with a center pole may have favored the incorporation of this complex. The Kiowa use a pound but its exact form is unknown to me. This buffalo imitators dance occurs in connection with a pound of this type among the Assiniboin and Plains-Cree (McDougall, 272-283; De Smet, 1028-1032; Franklin, 101.)

type.¹ The organization of dancers resembles that of Arikara more than any other, yet the objective procedure is about equally similar to that of the Gros Ventre, and the Arapaho-Cheyenne couple. The event can be dated relatively. If the Blackfoot took over the sun dance and camp circle as associated traits, as Wissler suggests,² it must have been subsequent to their division into three independent groups, for there is no trace of a parent camp circle.

Objectively the Gros Ventre dance resembles the Arapaho more than it does another. If we could be certain that the prime mover of the Gros Ventre ceremony was really any individual who acts on his own initiative, then we could trace its origin to the Arapaho dance prior to a time when the latter became associated with the tribal pipe bundle.

The Hidatsa dance may have been adopted from the Arikara as the Pawnee state;³ certainly the process could not have been the reverse since the former have an added bundle transfer. Otherwise the procedures are similar and suggest a common origin. They resemble, among the central group, the Arapaho dance—devoid of the bundle fraternization which I believe is a secondary growth—more than Oglala, since they lack torture for the pledger. Certainly, the severity of tortures among the latter does not argue a Dakota origin for the dance as a whole, since that is a development common to all three Village tribes, who even transmitted it to the Crow. The suggested relation with the Arapaho is impressive as Lowie has previously proved an intimate connection between them in prehistoric times on the basis of identities in their mythologies, social usages, and age-societies.⁴

As the data stand it is possible to assign a source of borrowing for most ceremonies with some degree of probability. The exceptions are the Hidatsa and Arikara who thus fall into a group with the Arapaho and Cheyenne. These, we may assume, at one time shared an undifferentiated dance. In fact, as they stand today, the four dances are, at least objectively fundamentally alike, although the similarity in details may be put down to the subsequent leveling that has produced uniformity throughout the area. But even among these four an Arapaho-Cheyenne origin may be favored, for the fact that the Village tribes build a special structure for the sun dance, whereas their important ceremonies are

¹Compare the suggestion on pp. 500-501.

²Wissler, *Blackfoot Social Life*, 22.

³Murie, 641. The name Gros Ventre (of the Missouri) instead of Hidatsa occurs in this place by an oversight.

⁴Lowie, *Crow Myths*, 11-13; *Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow Social Organization*, 94; *Plains Indian Age-Societies*, 946-954.

almost invariably held in the permanent medicine lodges, may be taken as presumptive evidence of its origin among a nomadic people.

The historical position of one detail of prime importance, the fraternity organization is fairly clear. In the discussion in the preceding section I pointed out that it had spread among most of the centrally located tribes (Ponca, Oglala, Blackfoot, Arikara, Hidatsa, Arapaho, and Cheyenne) subsequent to the general diffusion of the dance. Such an organization is, of course, no great step beyond the individualistic ceremony, since it consists essentially in the privilege of those who dance to repeat their participation on subsequent occasions. Possibly the idea had more than one point of origin, since the fraternity is based on bundle ownership in some cases and not in others, but this is not likely. At any rate considering only the tribes with bundles, its invention may be laid to the Hidatsa, since this is their typical ceremonial organization (pp. 415-421), while it is not that of the Arapaho and Cheyenne.

DIFFUSION AND ASSIMILATION.

This historical sketch prompts a series of questions relating to the character and conditions of trait development, to the borrowing processes, and to tribal reactions to a diffused complex. I have repeatedly referred to the extended similarity of most of the sun dances; as it were, an effect of leveling produced by long continued cross transmission. It will be of value to enquire whether this, which is true of the ceremonies as a whole, is equally true in respect to all phases of the complex, regalia, procedure, organization, and etiological myths. In spite of this extended similarity, however, each dance has at least some individual stamp which gives it a unique character. We may well expect to find, by analogy with what has been observed in similar instances, that the source of this individuality is the tribal pattern for ceremonies. But it is also pertinent to enquire in this connection whether or not this assimilation, i. e., reduction to the tribal pattern, operates without regard to the character of the traits. It is possible to show that both in borrowing at large and in assimilation to prevailing concepts there is discrimination between objective features, organizing ideas, and the mythological motivation. But there is no indication contained in the character of the traits why a particular object is copied and another rejected, or why certain rites are adapted to existing standards while others are left in foreign guise. (Clearly the implication is that the determinants of selection must be sought in the conditions which surround transmission and assimilation) We are dealing with analogous situations whether borrowing or invention is concerned. The opportunities for modifications and the incorporation of novelties afforded individuals must be examined from this point of view. Inasmuch as it can be shown that inventions are rarely true innovations, but rather familiar rites or objects projected into new situations, we have an explanation for their ready acceptance. The real distinction between such invention and the appropriation of foreign traits must be looked for in the specific conditions governing contact with the foreign ideas. So far as the data will permit the effectiveness as determinants of acquaintance with the foreign culture, receptive or antagonistic attitudes, and particular interests, will be examined.

The influence of the individual in effecting cultural change is a subject that has been broached repeatedly, receiving perhaps its most systematic treatment at the hands of Vierkandt in "Die Stetigkeit im Kulturwandel" and Tarde in "Les Lois de l'Imitation". The interest of both authors so far as they deal with cultural development centers in the

er of the innovating individual and those conditions of his milieu which permit cultural change. Their approach is general: possible motives, capacities, influences, and contacts are cited—rather systematically to be sure—as illustrative of the circumstances actuating modifications, rather than reaching this desired end by careful analyses of particular cases. The deficiency of all such treatments lies in this fact: the inferences are vague, extended, and general to such extent that they cannot serve as interpretative principles for any particular historic sequence; they fail to explain how any given cultural trait acquires its peculiar, specific character. For instance, one of Tarde's fundamental theses is that imitation—including the process of intertribal borrowing under this rubric—proceeds by the acquisition of the ideas, wants, and sentiments before the means of objectifying and satisfying them are duplicated. However plausible this generalization may appear from the illustrations he cites, it is at variance with the facts in the case of the sun dance. Nor does such a principle explain why particular traits are borrowed, how they are inserted in particular complexes, nor how they acquire a new complexion in the new situation. In other words, it fails as a principle for interpretations in general because it neglects to take into account the great diversity of cultural situations.

DIFFERENTIAL BORROWING.

The first question is that of the character of the borrowed material. In the first place, there is a significant difference in the distribution of those traits enumerated under the head of procedure and those of organization. All of the more essential rites and regalia, and even a host of details, occur with little variation throughout the Plains; not so, the organization. Contrast for example the widespread buffalo hunt, the center pole complex, and the torture features with the distribution of the fraternity. Evidently the selection exercised by the recipient culture operates everywhere more strongly against organizing ideas than against behavior and paraphernalia.

It would be interesting to compare the distribution of the series of mythical references explaining various features of the dance, but there is not sufficient information. However, a test can be made at the hand of the Arapaho and Cheyenne data.

First, by way of control, their procedures must be compared. Members of one tribe find no difficulty in participating in the dance of the other, for even the larger differences relate only to details.¹ The sequence of some of the preliminary rites is not the same. A number of Arapaho

¹See Dorsey, *Cheyenne Sun Dance*, 182-185.

rites do not occur among the Cheyenne, viz., a charge on the fire, the buffalo hunt complex, the begging procession, the ceremonious climbing of the tree (at least in part), the first sunrise dance, and the sacrifice of children's clothing. On the other hand, while the preliminary secret rites of both tribes are largely for the preparation of the dance regalia, those of the Cheyenne are so overshadowed by demonstrations of the sacred pipe bundle as to transform their character completely. The Cheyenne also count coup on the lodge site, tie rawhide images to the center pole, and combine in a way the Arapaho final sunset and sunrise dances in their own final sunset performance—not a long list of unique features. Certainly these differences are not impressive when contrasted with the detailed similarity of these elaborate dances.

Their organizations differ in the Cheyenne stress on the purchase of rights in the medicine bundle. As a corollary former Cheyenne pledgers form a more definite group: to be sure, those of the Arapaho are rendered less important by the presence of the supervising sacred bundle owners. In both tribes the pledger is aided by his military society, but the Cheyenne have developed more definite functions for them: not only are they obliged to dance and assist him, but they choose the man who is at once dance director and pledger's grandfather. Contrast the Arapaho: the society is merely invited to participate, the pledger buys from the grandfather of his choice with such vicarious aid as he is able to summon, and the director is a fixed official.

Finally the mythologic notions may be compared. Many of them have been drawn from the fund of such ideas common to most Plains tribes, but they present no characteristic differences here because they have not been organized. The systematically arranged concepts, such as the etiological myths, do show essential differences.

The Cheyenne account of the origin of the sun dance conforms to their regular pattern, applied for example to their age-society ceremonies. A culture hero enters a mountain, the interior of which resembles the sun dance lodge; there he is instructed in the medicine or ceremony. On his return to his people, the performance of the dance rescues them from famine, and its performance since that mythical period wards off any repetition of the danger.¹ The Arapaho account for their sun dance, as well as their other lodges, quite casually in their general origin myth. The association seems usually to be made through the sacred flat-pipe which figures largely both in the several versions of the origin myth and

¹Dorsey, *Cheyenne Ceremonial Organizations*, 46-49.

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in Arapaho + Cheyenne

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in the sun dance. For example, in one version given by Dorsey, the origin myth combines an earth-diver incident for the purpose of providing a world to preserve the flat-pipe, with the allocation of characteristics to those animals and plants associated with the flat-pipe, the sacred wheel, and the regalia, then the invention of death by the trickster, the creation of people, and the incident of the trickster and the mice's sun dance.¹

Cheyenne theory is set off sharply from that of the Arapaho by a general interpretative principle. Their official² theory is that the performance is to re-animate the earth and its life. The pledger is called the "reproducer" or "multiplier"—those who have formerly played this role are "re-animators," too—for the tribe is reborn and increases through him, and nature reproduces her kind by his acts. During the dance, a series of magical³ rites for the growth of the earth, the regeneration of its life, and the calling of the buffalo, mark the stages of this process from inception to fruition. The Arapaho lack these ideas save in the vaguest form.

The results in this test case are at least well marked. The procedures are nearly alike in spite of a wealth of detailed elaboration; the organizations show more fundamental differences, but the mythologic notions are the divergent phase. That is, selection has favored objects, behavior, and organizing concepts as adaptive material as against religious sanctions. We must reckon at this point with the fact that assimilated traits cannot be conceived as perpetuating their first form. On the contrary, the native ceremony being anything but static, there is no reason why we should assume that assimilated material forms an exception. We know further that, in general, explanatory mythical elements are more subject to change than the things with which they are associated. How then can we be certain that the greater divergence of the explanatory elements has not been produced by the more frequent transformations they have undergone? While a rigorous demonstration cannot be given without historic data, my conviction is that this is not the case. It would be necessary to assume, for instance, that the Cheyenne had so completely transformed a borrowed origin myth as to render it identical at every point with their myths relating to other ceremonies.

¹Dorsey, *Arapaho Sun Dance*, 191-212; Dorsey and Kroeber, *Arapaho Traditions*, 19.

²Dorsey's record is that of the interpretation of shamans: whether the same ideas are current among the laity is not stated.

³"Magical" is hardly the proper adjective, since the Cheyenne do not stress the coercion of nature by their acts, but rather merely associate the concept of revivification with some of their activities. If the causal relation were uppermost in their minds we would expect something more than the vague correlation between such disparate behavior complexes as "forming the earth" (making a circle on the ground) and the modeling of pairs of animals by children.

At most the point is a methodological caution against accepting the differences in any phase at their face value: nevertheless, the differences between the Arapaho and Cheyenne dances seem a valid demonstration that the several phases were not transmitted with equal facility. I think we may assume that this contrast would hold for the whole area, for if here, in spite of a particularly intimate contact, there is this divergence in the religious notions, we cannot expect to find even as much similarity elsewhere where contacts have been less intimate. The phenomenon is familiar enough, for the common experience is that the same object receives different interpretations in different tribes. Vierkandt's conclusion is similar, for in a related field:—

“ . . . Bei der Religion ist ähnlich die Lehre vor dem Ritus in der Wandelbarkeit bevorzugt. Als z. B. die Religion des Mitra sich im römischen Reiche heimisch machte, blieb ihr Ritus unverändert, während ihre Lehre durch die herrschende Philosophie geläutert wurde.¹

The mental content corresponding to each of these three differentially-borrowed phases must be varied. Nevertheless, without elaborating the point, we are surely justified in asserting that the discrimination is due in large part to their mental content. A copy of an object is complete in itself, without regard to the use to which it is put, or the explanation adopted for its existence. Imitation of behavior is similarly psychologically objective, since the essential is duplication of the objective relations of the prototype. The case is otherwise where abstract notions are concerned: the imitation of an organizing idea involves the assumption of a non-objectified relation which must wait for expression on some objective manifestation, a medicine bundle to be owned, a purchase price to be paid, a dance in which to participate, and so on. Imitation of mythological motivation and sanctions cannot be a simple application of the new idea to the native complex, for it must displace an integrated system of pre-existing notions which presumably already provide adequate explanations. The reason for the more ready transmission of objectified traits must lie in the condition “that the culture element in question be capable of detachment from its contact and comprehensible as such.”² It is exactly from this point of view that we would expect a less wide diffusion of the organizing idea. Detached from its context it has no meaning. The etiological myth, on the other hand, forms a unit in spite of its complex structure and is transmitted as such. Only the fact that an organizing idea must be disseminated as an adjunct of some object or action can account then for its great diffusion.

¹*Die Stetigkeit im Kulturwandel*, 119.

²Sapir, *Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture*, 31.

COMPARISON WITH THE TRIBAL CEREMONIAL SYSTEM.

The material selected in this long-continued borrowing has everywhere this common character. But the sun dances are not merely aggregates of diffused elements: the ideas locally injected to integrate the whole and the rituals originated have transformed them into something unique. How each tribe has made the ceremony peculiarly its own cannot be determined for want of precise historical data. But an approach is possible by recasting the question: in how far does the sun dance conform to pre-existing ceremonial patterns?

The fundamental Blackfoot concept is based on the medicine bundle; in this the rituals for personal medicines, the organized bundles (otter, etc.), and even the societies, whose regalia correspond to the more orthodox form of bundles, conform to type. None of these ceremonies involve the whole tribe. Bundles are individual property and, except for doctor's medicines, can be transferred or sold with their rituals. Such a transfer is directed by a former owner, with the principals' wives offering ancillary aid. Sometimes the ceremonies are held within a roughly constructed dance enclosure, but they are never elaborate. Invariably the ritual is sung and the participants dance with the articles comprising the bundle. In the group ceremonies, the transfer within a tipi is often immediately followed by a public dance.

By way of contrast the sun dance is a tribal ceremony, that is, the entire group acts in concert on this occasion, with functionaries drawn from the public at large. Objectively it is quite at variance with other ceremonies: the dance structure, the elaborate altar, and the torture dance have no parallels. On the other hand it is emphatically a bundle ceremony, and Wissler has clearly shown that both the natoas bundle and the weather dancer's functions conform closely to type. The only important difference is that the natoas is a woman's bundle. Together with the woman's society, it forms the sole exception to an otherwise solid array of man-owned rites. Like other group ceremonies (compare for example, the account of the Piegan Front-Tails), the rites of the preliminary tipi precede the dance. But here is an important difference: in the sun dance the same set of individuals does not take part in the two performances, the bundle transfer and the dance of the weather shamans.

A suggestion may be offered to account for this dual organization. It will be noted in the Blackfoot statement of origin that the medicine woman is credited with having incorporated the natoas bundle, then part of the beaver bundle, in the sun dance.¹ That is, it is held that originally

¹Wissler, *Blackfoot Bundles*, 214. Sapir has pointed out that the beaver bundle, at least in its present form, may be looked on as relatively a more recent construct than the sun dance, because of its loose superimposition on the latter complex (*Time Perspective*, 18).

the dance was given by a woman and a man, whose functions and relations were of the same tenor as today, but that the natoas then had no essential relation to the ceremony. This has an authentic ring, since the natoas, like some similar bundles, seems to be patterned on the beaver bundle. At any rate with the natoas eliminated the question remains why two actors participate independently. Objectively the Blackfoot dance most closely resembles those of the Arapaho and Cheyenne. It is possible that a Blackfoot couple acquiring the dance from either of these tribes would assume the relations necessary to establish the dual organization. In these ceremonies the consummation of the transfer comes during the preliminary tipi rites when the seller has intercourse in secret with the buyer's wife. From the Blackfoot standpoint this could not mean that the purchaser receives the ceremony by his wife's act, since an indirect transfer is inconceivable to them: one who receives the secret of a bundle is thereupon owner of the ritual. Even the surrender of a wife as part of the purchase price is foreign to their thought. In fact Lowie has shown that in the two instances where it does occur, namely, the equivalent Blood Horns and the Piegan Kit-fox societies, the Horns is a reflection of Hidatsa ceremonies.¹ In other words, in this hypothetical Arapaho or Cheyenne transfer, the women would emerge owner of the preliminary rites, while her husband, whose payments were made in the dance lodge, would be owner of the dance proper. Then if, conforming to Blackfoot custom, these rights were sold independently, the dissociation of the two procedures would be maintained. While all this is somewhat tenuous, the present discussion does not hinge on it, and it is simply sufficient to note that this is the only Blackfoot ceremony with such a twofold organization.

The general aspect of the relation of the sun dance to their other rites is quite clear. Objectively it is quite unlike any other ceremony: structure, dance, and dual organization have no equivalents. Where it is a question of who shall participate, however, the condition is otherwise: only the owner of the natoas bundle and the owner of the right to dance (the weather dancer) can perform the ritual—in other words, it is orthodox Blackfoot in being an individually owned ceremony. Its mythological background is far from coherent, since several distinct myths have been drawn on to provide an etiologial setting, but as Wissler points out (p. 268) such growth of native theory by accretion of

¹Lowie, *Plains Indian Age-Societies*, 941.

folkloristic elements is a characteristic Blackfoot trait. As a result, the particular combination they have concocted is unique.

The Crow sun dance differs from all others in having a specific motive, namely, the desire of a mourner to obtain a vision which guarantees revenge on the enemy for the death of a relative.) He obtains this vision through the agency of a sacred doll under the tutelage of its owner. While the motive and the mode of acquiring this vision conform to the characteristic Crow practice, as Lowie has pointed out (pp. 7-9, 13), it occupies an anomalous position in Crow life by reason of a ritual far more elaborate than that connected with any other war medicine. This appears more forcibly when we consider the general tenor of their other ceremonies.¹

The personal medicines, among which the war medicines are to be numbered, are characteristically devoid of ceremonial: in particular, by contrast to the Blackfoot, they lack the systematic uniformity of the transfer and manipulation dances. As a personal medicine, then, the sun dance is noteworthy for its exuberance of objective detail.

Its position among other elaborate ceremonies is equally clear. It occupies first rank with the sacred Tobacco performance as a tribal ceremony. In passing it may be noted that while the Tobacco planting is conducted by a small group, it is for the tribal good, but the sun dance, in which the tribe as a whole functions, is for distinctly individual ends. It has been noted that the religious factor in the military societies is weak,² and it may be said that, in contrast to equivalent societies of other tribes, there is little ceremonialism. On the whole, the lengthy public performance of the sun dance is not only unusual in association with a personal medicine but is also somewhat more elaborate than the usual Crow ceremony.

Specifically, the vow is not the normal mode of inaugurating ceremonies, although it is sometimes the cause for the performance of the Cooked Meat Singing, adoption into the Tobacco Society, and acquisition of the Medicine Pipe. Preparation in a preliminary tipi with a formal procession to the dance ground also occurs in the Tobacco adoption and the Bear Song dance. Special dance structures, other than a temporarily enlarged tipi, are uncommon: the Hot dance and Tobacco adoption lodges being the only other examples noted. The sun dance lodge is identical, except in size, with the Tobacco lodge on which it must have been patterned. Tongues are also distributed to qualified

¹I have drawn at length on Dr. Lowie's unpublished data on Crow religion.

²Lowie, *Crow Military Societies*, 149-151.

warriors in a peculiar manner in the Tobacco ceremony. Its literature is practised by would-be visionaries acting individually, but not in any other ceremony. For the rest, while many generalized elements re-occur commonly on ceremonious occasions, there is no single ceremony that parallels the particular combination of them which the sun dance embodies.

The situation essentially duplicates that of the Blackfoot, but it is somewhat more clear cut. The motivation of the dance is characteristically Crow, but the organization does not conform so strictly to current practice, as it is the applicant for assistance who seeks the vision, not the medicine owner. The ritual, however, is again the divergent phase, not only because it is far in excess of any other personal medicine manipulation, but because it has no specific parallel among their other ceremonies.

There is less information on the Arapaho. Nevertheless, the place of the sun dance is fairly clear. From a behavioristic viewpoint it stands apart from their more sacred performance, i. e., those connected with the tribal flat-pipe, the sacred wheels, the woman's bags, and the seven sacred bundles, for with these there is no singing and, except for the last, no dancing. Yet it occupies an equally high position in tribal esteem since the pipe and wheels are incorporated in it.

The Arapaho equate the sun dance to their age-societies, although participation in it bears no relation to progressive membership in that series. The native estimate is correct, for the parallelism between the two is far more systematic than that in any other tribe. The typical age-society ceremony is divided into a three-day preliminary period, followed by one of four days. The secret preliminaries are for preparation: on the first two evenings a practice dance without regalia is held in the dance lodge. The third evening a public dance is given there: it is repeated on the three following nights. They dance each day before sunrise, concluding with a race to a pole outside the lodge. The first night there is a begging procession. The dance lodge is a low circular enclosure, with a screen blocking its wide entrance. The dance is performed or new grades are acquired in fulfilment of one man's vow. Instruction and regalia are bought from ceremonial grandfathers, selected from among those who once held the grade. These in turn are under the direction of the seven sacred bundle owners. The initiates are assisted in their purchase by members of the second higher age-grade (elder brothers), who in turn select the leaders of the society. The grandfathers dance with the members. The latter may provide substitutes

if they are unable to participate. The initiate surrenders his wife to the grandfather in two of the dances, Crazy-lodge and Dog-lodge.¹

Now all these essential characteristics are repeated in the sun dance: in fact the close coordination which exists can only be due to a continued interchange of features from one to the other. For example, the vow to acquire a new grade is peculiar to the Arapaho alone among all the tribes with military societies, but the vow has an identical function in the sun dance. Hence it is probable that the Arapaho have carried this idea from their sun dance over to their societies. As Lowie has pointed out, this is one indication of the unusual sacred character the Arapaho societies have acquired.² On the other hand, it seems that the three day preliminary period and the four day dance period of the sun dance has been patterned on their society procedure. To be sure, other tribes have a somewhat similar division of preparation and performance, but this is not characteristic of their society dances. Since this division recurs systematically in the Arapaho age-grades, it would seem that the transfer has proceeded from societies to sun dance and not in the reverse direction. If then the corresponding division of other sun dances is really comparable—which I am not sure is the case—we must regard this feature as one of the original components of the complex diffused from the Arapaho. There is also a begging procession in the sun dance: this seems to be copied from the society ceremonies. Whereas the societies beg for presents for a service already performed, i. e., the dance proper and special performances for the donors, the pledger of the sun dance simply begs for aid in meeting the expense of the ceremony. The fact that he makes his unusual request just before the evening dance is not contrary evidence to my mind, for he is unable to leave the lodge after this dance, that is, at the time corresponding to the society petitions.

The practice dances do not occur in the sun dance, but the sunrise dance does. Inasmuch as it does not take place systematically in other dances where it occurs at all, we may assume that the Arapaho transferred this rite from societies to sun dance, and that other tribes then copied it. The race to a pole, closing each morning dance, has no sun dance analogues. Both sun dance and society dances are held in circular enclosures, but there is no specific resemblance.

Lowie has pointed out the Arapaho anomaly of buying a new grade in a regularly ordered series from a heterogeneous group of grandfathers,

¹ *Ibid.*, loc. cit., 982.

² *Ibid.*, *The Arapaho*, 151-168, 182, 193, 200, 211; Lowie, *Plains Indian Age-Societies*, 931-932.

instead of from members of the next higher grade as is customary in other tribes.¹ The sun dance grandfathers are similarly those who once bought the right to dance. Like them too, they dance with the initiates. The "elder brother" group does not occur in the sun dance. As the evidence stands it might be assumed that a relation which was rational in the sun dance was duplicated in the age grades. Still the relation is so essential in the latter that it is difficult to believe that it displaced an equally fundamental idea. Perhaps we are only justified in assuming that the Arapaho norm is always the purchase of ceremonial prerogatives from anyone who has ever held them.

The sun dance, like the society ceremonies, is under the direction of the custodians of the tribal flat-pipe and the seven men's bundles, but with more reason, since the flat-pipe is directly involved in the dance. If the flat-pipe rites were not an original part of the Arapaho sun dance complex, as I have suggested, then we may assume that the society pattern, direction by a bundle owner, has been applied to the sun dance. There is also a minor similarity in the substitute dancers who are permitted in the sun dance as well as the society series.

Wife surrender, occurring in the sun dance and in two of the age-societies, has only a scanty representation in Arapaho ceremonials, whereas it is more common among the Gros Ventre.² Both tribes share a specific trait, the transfer of a medicine root through the wife. The trait has undoubtedly been derived from the Village tribes, where it is a customary adjunct of purchase; but it does not follow, as Lowie intimates, that it has partly disappeared among the Arapaho.³ At any rate, there is no evidence that these people transferred the custom from societies to sun dance or vice versa.

The one woman's dance (buffalo imitators) has points of resemblance to the sun dance: a lodge with a center pole crossed by a digging-stick painted ridge poles, and the pledger's dance station. The Gros Ventre and Wind River Shoshoni women's dances lack these traits: in that of the Blackfoot and in the Kiowa sun dance the association is palpably secondary. But it does not follow that the Arapaho women adopted these features from their own sun dance.

Such a close coördination of sun dance and age-societies implies a long period of common growth: a view that lends justification to the

¹Lowie, *Plains Indian Age-Societies*, 932.

²Kroeber, *Ethnology of the Gros Ventre*, 228, 244-245.

³In fact his conception of the Blackfoot-Village tribe relations might be adjusted in this way too (loc. cit., 934, 948-949).

position taken on the basis of distribution, that the Arapaho were largely responsible for the development of the sun dance.

The question was asked how the sun dance agrees with other ceremonies. It seems that in all three cases the agreement is greatest in organization and motivation, less in behavior, and least in material objects, regalia, etc. That is, the peculiar element injected into the mass of borrowed traits appears to have been largely determined by the ceremonial pattern. In the complexes under discussion the pattern takes its familiar form, that is, standards of organization and mythologic sanctions have most effectively operated. But there is not a priori reason for expecting individuality in regalia and behavior, for it will be recalled that Boas found that the Kwakiutl pattern applied to these as well.¹ The operation of patterns is certainly not a mechanical process; borrowed traits are not forced in a mould. The new is explained in terms of the familiar, and, as I believe the Arapaho data in particular show, the currently approved mode changes as the chances of history dictate.

CONDITIONS FOR MODIFICATION.

Granted that the pattern operates differentially, is there any essential difference between the material that is adapted and that which is not? I cannot find that there is: for example, I cannot find any other characterization for those Blackfoot sun dance rites that resemble their other ceremonies and those that do not. Really the point is a broader one and not confined to pattern adaptations. The Arapaho and Cheyenne sun dances compared above have a majority of paraphernalia and rites in common, but there are a number peculiar to each tribe. Now I do not find any significant difference in kind between the common elements and the others. The Blackfoot, Crow, and Arapaho comparisons just detailed indicate a reciprocal influence of the sun dance and their other ceremonies. Yet there does not seem to be a distinction between the elements that were transferred and those that were rejected. Since selection does take place, and there is evidently nothing in the available material that determines it, the alternative lies in looking for determinants in the specific conditions under which traits were transmitted, elaborated, and assimilated.

Two stages are involved in these processes; first, the appropriation or invention of the novel trait by the individual, and then its socialization, its acceptance by the group. It is not my intention to consider

¹Boas, *Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, 43, et seq.

theoretically all the possibilities involved, but only to point some of them at the hand of sun dance data.

Such ceremonies as the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Wind River Shoshoni, or Ute are under the domination of a single individual or a small group whose powers do not coincide exactly. Such individuals can modify the performances to some extent if they see fit. For example, the two Oklahoma Arapaho ceremonies seen by Dorsey were not precisely the same because the emphasis was not placed on the same rites by those in control. Still better, on these two occasions the director did not follow the same routine in teaching his duties. What he taught and what he slurred were determined, at least in part, by what he, a systematizing adept, conceived to be significant. Given a domineering or psychopathic leader and the modifications might prove extensive. Such changes are not necessarily trivial, particularly if they represent a well defined drift of interest. (The extensive influence of individuals in causing modifications of this type is well documented: for instance, we may cite Sitting Bull, the Arapaho Ghost Dance leader, who was all but successful in dominating that movement by sheer force of character.) The Tobacco society of the Crow was augmented through the instrumentality of Medicine-crow, who derived authority for modifications from his visions. Through his influence the chapter of the society he founded became one of the most important, coming to supersede locally the Otter chapter from which it sprang.¹ Evidently much depends on success attending the introduction of a novelty: the disasters that overtook the Arapaho pledger who substituted a steer hide for that of a buffalo effectively blocked that substitution.² Minor changes noted by Dorsey seem to have been received with equanimity by the Southern Arapaho; even without rebuke by the supervising sacred bundle owners. Under these conditions men with the tendency to hazard the novel are encouraged to renewed efforts. Considerable latitude appears in even so simple a dance as that of the Canadian Dakota, although variations are probably limited by what is customary. A definite contribution need not come from the one in control: witness Komoudy's innovation among the Kiowa sacred properties, forced upon the ceremony without the sanction of the leading priest and accepted without a real comprehension by many others, and again the sacred stick carried by a Kiowa as his personal medicine.³ I do not mean to imply that novelties are not sharply

¹Lowie, *The Tobacco Society of the Crow Indians*, 114, 117, 142, 150, 164.

²Dorsey, *Arapaho Sun Dance*, 115-118.

³Scott, 350; Mooney, 301-302.

limited by their acceptance or rejection at the hands of the group, but that modifications are demonstrably the product of individual activity.

Such seeming novelties receive a readier acceptance than would at first seem possible. Appraising one of these ceremonies, say the Arapaho, as a whole, we find an essentially simple framework with a series of elaborating rites for incident after incident. For instance, procuring a tree for a center pole is a simple enough affair, but actually we find a series of scouting; skirmishings, ceremonious processions, prayers, and counting coup marking every stage of the process. What is true for the tree incident is true throughout: it is not difficult to mark what is essential to the complex and the rest appears as so much ceremonial embroidery. Now it does not matter that a number of tribes share the particular elaborating element; what we are interested in here is its invention and injection into the ceremony in the first instance. It is significant that these elaborations are not particularly novel: they are type procedures for situations which crop up on all ceremonious occasions. The whole process of elaboration then may be envisaged in this way: each time there is an action to be performed there is a tendency to act upon it in the commonly accepted mode. Thus, if at one point a pipe is to be smoked, it will be handled in the stereotyped manner for smoking on ceremonious occasions, or if a minor function is to be delegated to a prominent layman he makes it an opportunity for gaining social recognition by the recital of a coup. As Lowie has expressed it,

a ceremony may bring about conditions normally associated with certain activities in no way connected with the ceremony itself; and, when these conditions arise in the ceremony, they act as a cue to the performance of the normally associated activities.¹

It is true that the tendency does not become operative at every opportunity, say whenever a pipe is smoked, but it is nevertheless manifest. In fact the vast majority of elaborating rites can be explained in this way. To select a few at random: for some reason a buffalo hide was needed to hang on the center pole; forthwith there was a special hunt for the buffalo; the hunters were extra-ceremonial laymen; it is an honor to assist in the dance, so prominent men were recipients of the right to function; prominent men characteristically draw attention to their social standing by recounting coups, hence the recital, and so on. A fire is built in the dance lodge; it must be fed, and since prominence attends even the performance of minor functions it is an opportunity for warriors to participate, feeding it a stick for each coup they can recite (Wind

¹Lowie, *Ceremonialism in North America*, 626-627.

River, Blackfoot, Plains-Cree, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, and probably Crow); a standard can then be set for warriors, for the most esteemed is he who can feed the fire until it licks a pendent buffalo tail (Blackfoot, and possibly Gros Ventre and Wind River). Manifestly what happens in general is that an individual desirous of elaborating the dance draws freely on the tribal stock of procedures and beliefs.

Obviously here is a clue why the modification is not particularly novel and why it receives a reasonably ready acceptance by the group. For even in the extreme case where an individual sets out consciously to introduce an innovation, he is not likely to invent anew. The ideas and materials he has to work with are those provided by his culture; his imagination is not free from its fetters; he is certain only to recombine the familiar. At the time he is by no means conscious that his invention is culture limited or culture determined.¹ This being so, a comparatively ready acceptance of his contribution by his fellows is intelligible, for the familiar in a new setting fails to arouse the antagonism accorded the foreign.

These inferences do not rest wholly on cases of elaboration, for a test of another sort comes to hand. Both branches of the Arapaho have the sun dance. The two performances are not the same, and it is clear that immediately after their separation the Oklahoma group, which lacked certain essential sacred articles and functionaries, were forced to draw on other features of their ceremonial life for substitutes. As the two divisions existed as early as 1823, and the southern band was definitely on its reservation in 1869,² there is no reason why we should consider the differences in their ceremonies as disintegrations due to civilization.

The differences to be interpreted may be briefly enumerated. There are differences in the minutiae of the dance lodge and sweat-house construction, in the cedar tree at the secret tipi, in the procession to the dance lodge, and in the sacrifice of children's clothing. In the northern ceremony, but not in the southern, there are parades on the first two

¹How far the willfully unconventional are limited by their knowledge—that is, their culture—is painfully obvious in the current art exhibitions. Even philosophers, whose ratiocination necessarily presupposes the elimination of the culturally determined idea, fall victims to it. For example, William James in his *Principles of Psychology* stresses in part the importance of the sensations aroused by activities in the brain during thought for the immediate perception of the Self. Would he have rested the case so largely on this point, if he had not already known—a fact provided by his culture—that the brain was the major mechanism of thought? I think not, since the naive response of two Havasupai, when asked to locate the seat of their thought, had no reference at all to the brain. One explained that he knew nothing about it, since he had never been told: the other, that his whole body was the unit of personality in thought, although it might be that his eyes and head were more intimately related to thinking than any other parts of his body. In this connection it should be noted that these people designate the heart as the seat of the soul, the life.

²Curtis, VI, 139.

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days, singing on the first night, a preliminary shelter used by old men, the buffalo hide and an offering of cloth are touched by children, a sham battle when the timbers are brought to the dance ground, a parade in the camp circle before the center tree is felled, the center pole is lifted with coupled tipi poles, and the use of the sacred pipe bundle. Peculiar to the Oklahoma ceremony are the shooting and counting coup on the center tree before it is felled and the stripping of its magic-laden twigs, lifting the center pole into place with the magical aid of a sacred pipe, dancing at sunrise on the fifth day, constructing wreaths and bandoliers in the dance lodge, and the imitation of geese while drinking the prepared water. The Wyoming dancers are painted more frequently than the Oklahoma: each group has some peculiar styles. In the north the center pole is raised on the seventh trail, in the south on the fourth. The preliminary dance includes shooting and shouting in the north, dancing to the painted rafters and drumming on a rawhide in the south. Finally a number of incidents common to both ceremonies do not occur in the same sequence.¹

On the whole these differences are trivial, and considering the complexity of the dance, surprisingly few. For the most part they arise from the absence of traits in Oklahoma: as Kroeber suggests, it would seem that these features were originally common to both groups, but were lost or abridged in the south.

But more fundamental differences do exist as well. The principal medicine used in the Wyoming dance is the tribal palladium, the flat-pipe, by far the most highly venerated object in their possession. Naturally the keeper of the pipe is the director of the dance. But he might have acquired this function simply as one of the seven sacred bundle owners, as presumably he is: their function is to oversee all the sacred dances, his is the "chief direction of important ceremonies."² One of several sacred wheels is also used in the dance, where it is held in moderate esteem. Now if we turn to the Oklahoma dance we find significant differences. The tribal pipe is lacking, and with it, of course, the keeper as director. A sacred wheel is the principal medicine object here, while a lesser sacred pipe is introduced for actual use. Members of the highest men's society, i. e., the seven bundle owners, oversee the dance: its active director owns his function.

What has happened is fairly obvious: the tribal pipe was lacking in the southern group, therefore their sacred wheel, as the medicine next in

¹Compare Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, 301-308.

²Kroeber, *loc. cit.*, 207, 309.

prominence, acquired an enhanced value, until it is today, *in the eyes of the southern Arapaho*, next to the tribal pipe the most sacred possession of the tribe.¹ All ceremonies, according to Arapaho thought, must proceed under the superintendence of the sacred bundle owners: hence with no tribal keeper at hand, these men assumed a position in the southern dance. However, the specific functions of a director were dissociated from the pipe in their minds: they now appear as the prerogatives of one who has them, not because he owns a sacred object, but because he has purchased the office.² The concept of the purchase of an official position is common enough among the Arapaho: at bottom, that is what the payments of the sun dancers and military society members amount to, and certain transfers of sun dance functions, noted by Dorsey, are purchased in an identical manner.³

CONDITIONS FOR TRANSMISSION.

The distinguishing traits of the southern Arapaho have arisen in exactly the same way as the elaborating rites. Whenever the requisite objects and principles for action were lacking, they drew on their fund of ceremonials, not on their imaginations, for substitutes.⁴

The reapplication of the familiar trait and the incorporation of one that is borrowed must proceed under somewhat similar mental conditions: the real distinction would lie rather in the conditions under which the individual acquires the foreign idea.⁵ The contacts permitting borrowing are notoriously variable, ranging from the capture of the Kiowa medicine doll by the Ute to the intimate relations of the Arapaho and Cheyenne.

The two instances in which ceremonial objects were captured appear barren of results. In 1833 the Kiowa *tai'me* (the principal sun dance medicine) was taken by the Osage, who returned it in 1835: in 1868 the Ute captured the minor medicine dolls, one of which they sold to a white trader.⁶ So far as the testimony goes neither Osage nor Ute made use of their booty, although the Osage had a ceremony resembling the sun dance in some respects.⁷ In fact, the sun dance did not take root among the Ute until 1890. It is not obvious that this should have been so, since Boas found that the sacred regalia secured in war by the Kwakiutl were

¹Dorsey, *Arapaho Sun Dance*, 12; Kroeber, 309-310.

²Dorsey, 26, 33, 126.

³Dorsey, 26, 53, 108, 129, 158.

⁴A similar substitution has become necessary in connection with the snake dance at Oraibi. The schism of a decade ago deprived the village of the Antelope priests necessary to the ceremony: their place has been taken perforce by members of the sole remaining kiva, the Snake men (Dr. Lowie's field notes, 1916).

⁵Similar views have been expressed by Goldenweiser (*Principle of Limited Possibilities*, 268, 287; *Social Organization of Indians of North America*, 422).

⁶Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa*, 324.

⁷Speck, *Ethnology of the Osage*, 168-170.

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at once put to their proper use.¹ What we must infer is that neither the Ute nor the Osage were previously well acquainted with the sun dance. If they had been sufficiently informed, as in the case of the Kwakiutl, the acquisition of these objects might have precipitated the performances. On the other hand, we might infer that they had no desire to use medicine objects, the precise significance of which they did not know.

The commonest condition for transmission must have been the casual observation of travelers, or even marauders, the opportunity afforded by intertribal marriages, and the gratuitous information of foreign visitors. The diffusion of many of their minor traits by the renegade Cree of Montana among the Shoshoni and Ute in recent years is typical; although of course the modern freedom of intercourse is unusual. The long continued intimacy of the southern Arapaho and Cheyenne provided conditions in which transmission must have been at a maximum. Each tribe always invites the other as a unit to attend their ceremony, whereas only individuals extend their hospitality to friends in other tribes.² Dorsey observed Arapaho dancers taking part in the Cheyenne ceremony, "as provision had not been made for the sun dance in their own tribe."³ Although they were painted in their own peculiar style by Arapaho "grandfathers," used their own regalia, and retired at their pleasure, they must have felt not only that the rituals were so similar that they could safely enter without a breach of ceremonial etiquette, but also a community of interest. Cheyenne were also called upon to fill certain positions in the Arapaho dance,⁴ which afforded them ample opportunity to perform their duties in their own characteristic fashion. These tribal relations afforded unusual opportunities for observation of the foreign traits and for learning their meaning; furthermore, it actually provided illustrations of how the traits would fit into the recipient ceremony. It cannot be denied that the familiarity of the whole group with the novel trait given by such relations made its adoption easier.

It would seem that we can account for the wider distribution of rites and regalia over features of organization and mythologic notions right here. Normally the observer does not have an opportunity to learn the esoteric connections of things he sees, granted that he has an interest in discovering them. Shamans are in the habit of imparting

¹Boas, *Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, 424-431.

²Dorsey, *Arapaho Sun Dance*, 23.

³Dorsey, *Cheyenne Sun Dance*, 128, 148, 167.

⁴*Arapaho Sun Dance*, 78.

their knowledge, even among their own people, to shamanistic candidates alone. Ordinarily the chance of dissemination to a foreigner may be slight. Furthermore, it may be assumed that the casual visitor is readily satisfied with an explanation for a ceremonial object which his own beliefs furnish. It may also be assumed that his people would be even less receptive to a novel idea that he might transmit than to a novel object or activity, for they have not the same contact with the vigorous and real setting to overcome their antagonism. On the other hand, there is traditional data which suggest that visits of some duration were occasionally made by individuals with the definite purpose of acquiring esoteric knowledge. Such an interchange of ceremonies as that of sun dance and Young Dog dance by an Arikara and a Skidi presumably offered adequate opportunity for the transmission of the esoteric point of view.¹ There is at least one situation noted when esoteric information may have been directly transmitted; on the occasion when a Wind River Shoshoni shaman officiated for the Ute (p. 393).

An excellent example of the transformation undergone by a trait due to its reception is in the dissemination of the self-torture idea. The practice centers among the Dakota and the Village tribes, where the number of individuals, variety of forms, severity, interest, and seriousness are at a maximum. As we proceed from this center the extent of these practices uniformly decreases until we reach the Wind River Shoshoni, Ute, and Kiowa, who do not torture. I have shown (p. 491) that the torture features were incorporated secondarily in every sun dance with the possible exception of the Dakota; that is, that the torture complex must have been disseminated more or less in isolation. One factor in its spread must have been contact with a tribe who held the torture essential in a large degree, in order to have evoked sufficient interest in the performance to overcome a natural repugnance to it. The severity of the Crow tortures, an exception to the uniform decrease from the Missouri center, may be looked on then as resulting from their intimacy with the Hidatsa. At the same time a second factor must have been the receptive or antagonistic attitude of the recipient group. For example, vision seekers among both Crow and Cheyenne practised the

¹Murie, *Pawnee Indian Societies*, 587, 641; To select an instance from another Plains ceremony a visiting Hidatsa introduced the Medicine Pipe ceremony among the Crow by adopting one of their number. All the essential knowledge was imparted on this occasion, so that the recipient was enabled by subsequent adoptions to transmit the ritual to his tribesmen. The River Crow have borrowed the Horse dance from the Assiniboin. Among the latter people this is essentially a secret, shamanistic performance, hence it is inconceivable that the Crow would have obtained the essential performance and particularly the sacred medicine, without the most intimate contact. In fact one of their number induced an Assiniboin shaman to impart his knowledge, and, in turn passed it on to other River Crow (Lowie, *Religion of the Crow Indians*).

very type of tethering used in the sun dance. Self-torture of varying degrees of severity has been noted as a common thing, among others for the Arapaho, Plains-Ojibway, Hidatsa, Mandan, Saukteaux, Assiniboin, Blackfoot, and even the Kiowa. That is, there was a certain body of accepted ideas which lent an air of familiarity to torture in a new setting. On the other hand the Kiowa were definitely antagonistic to the idea. This may be in some measure a rationalization of their lack of interest, for in spite of professing an extreme aversion to shedding blood at the sun dance, they have continued the performance even when this happened.

A third factor must have lain in the differing interests expressed by the emphasis placed here on one phase of the dance, there on another. The Dakota were the only people who regarded torture as the essential element: their ceremony was inconceivable without it. The Kiowa were interested in the efforts of their principal dancers to obtain visions for the common dancers through their medicine doll: there was no place for the torture idea in their ceremony. They may have argued that if torture was introduced to assist in obtaining visions, the principals would lose their prominence. Then, too, torture seems to be associated with the quest of visions from non-objectified powers, not from earthly medicines. Even the Crow, who have adopted torture under somewhat similar conditions, have incorporated it artificially, so that neither the medicine doll owner nor the whistler suffer from the side issue. Doubtless in some cases a more intense interest in the whole sun dance, whether in its spectacular or religious aspects—for the torture might have been used to reinforce either—might have brought an approximation to the Dakota situation.

Obviously the interest of the people in their ceremony must have had a prime influence in its development. Here we approach a series of problems which so far have not been touched on in this study, viz., those relating to the position of the sun dance among tribal ceremonies and its meaning in the life of the participants. Lowie, in his "Ceremonialism in North America," has indicated in a general way the various mental attitudes of those involved in a ceremonial performance. Unfortunately adequate data of this type do not exist for the sun dance. Some general conditions come to light, however. The Plains-Ojibway, Plains-Cree, Eastern Dakota, and Ponca have the Medicine dance, and the Assiniboin and the River Crow, the Horse dance, as well as the sun dance. We know definitely that the Plains-Ojibway and the Assiniboin consider the two dances of equal importance.¹ Now the Medicine Lodge

¹Skinner, *Cultural Position of the Plains-Ojibway*, 317; Lowie, *The Assiniboin*, 57, 58.

at least is distinctly a ceremony in which the desire of the individuals for religious saturation and for an equal share in the performance may obtain a maximum satisfaction, whereas the sun dance, with its emphasis on the distinction between the leader and all others, is deficient in opportunities for absorbing the interests of the greatest number. Even where the sun dance has been reduced to the Woodland type of personal ownership it does not provide equivalent opportunities, although something of the sort results from the Ponca fraternity organization. Only if the clash resulted in a shift to the spectacular, could we expect to find the sun dance making headway under such conditions. In short these must be looked on as cases in which the sun dance, failing to displace a strong preëxisting complex, aroused only a moderate interest in its performance, and consequently failed to be elaborated.

On the other hand the centering of interest in the sun dance among those typical Plains tribes where it is the principal ceremony, has undoubtedly been one of the potent factors in its growth. The whole tribe, reunited for the summer buffalo hunt (the dance usually occurs during this period), is concerned for days in this elaborate series of rites. Advantage is taken of the period for a host of unrelated ceremonies, with the inevitable consequence that some of these recurring associates are incorporated, while others remain regular, but informal, accompaniments. For example, the Blackfoot consider the sun dance week as preëminently fitted for the performance of all other rites; certain rites not directly related to the sun dance have acquired so close an association with it that they are regarded as loosely connected: the woman's dance, reflecting sun dance features and taking place only at the sun dance, might well have been incorporated in that complex just as an equivalent rite was taken in by the Kiowa, and so on. But none of these incidental rites are permitted to interfere with the performance of the sun dance, so that it stands alone at the focus of heightened ceremonial interest. Under such conditions the variations leading to elaboration may well develop.

SUMMARY.

It has been possible to review some of the conditions which determined the development of this ceremonial complex. Borrowing of minor traits has been one of the major mechanisms in this process, but borrowing has not meant the acquisition of any and all material nor its adoption without change. On the contrary, a strong systematic selection has been exercised; material objects and procedures, being imitated in advance of the ideas originally associated with them, are organized on the native

model and given the motivation of the (familiar) religious sanctions.) This is consonant with the pattern phenomena observed in general in ceremonies. But further, (in the process of their assimilation foreign ideas are reduced more completely to the native standards than any of the material or behavioristic manifestations of the ceremony. This would account for one specific characteristic of the sun dances, namely, their marked similarity in objective features and unlikeness in others.)

The particular collocation of culture elements found in each sun dance is the product of a long series of historic events. Just what results on each of these occasions, when a novelty is acquired by an individual and subsequently socialized by his fellows, is dependent in each case on the circumstances. In certain ceremonies, as the Arapaho and Cheyenne, minor modifications are made by the officiating individuals, with the probability strong that they will henceforth constitute the standard ritual. Apparently such changes and even outright innovations depend for their adoption on the character of the innovator, their initial success, the interest of the community, and their familiarity with the novelty. In fact it would seem that most innovations which have gone to expand the sun dances were not particularly novel. The framework of the ceremony is simple: most of its elaborating rites are type procedures for ceremonious occasions which were associated with it whenever the conditions occurred that normally called them forth. Their utilization on such occasions would probably not excite unfavorable comment, hence the probability of their inclusion in subsequent performances. Innovations which are really substitutions, such as those in the Arapaho ceremonies, have the same character; the whole field of ceremonies and religious paraphernalia provided the substitutes for the required needs.

Presumably the inclusion of a foreign element takes place under much the same mental conditions as when a native rite is reapplied to the complex. The distinction would rather lie in the difference in range of the material that is available for inclusion. Here we meet the great diversity of conditions surrounding the acquisition of the foreign trait, only a few of which are illuminated by the sun dance data. (That the mere capture of the Kiowa medicines failed to bring about the adoption of the sun dance by the Osage and Ute is chiefly intelligible on the assumption that they were not acquainted with notions of their use. Under the diametrically opposite condition of extreme intimacy between the Arapaho and Cheyenne, the transmission of even the most esoteric traits was possible. In fact, the frequent participation of members of one tribe in the dance of the other gave an opportunity to the latter to

see the effect of incorporation of the novelty in their dance before they adopted it for themselves. There are all manner of possible conditions of transmission between these extremes. As a rule, however, we may expect that they would provide more readily for acquaintance with objects and behavior than with esoteric notions. Nevertheless, we must assume that complete instruction in these matters was given on such occasions as adoption, purchase of ceremonial prerogatives, etc.

The socialization of the borrowed trait is equally a determinant in producing its ultimate specific character. The dissemination of the torture features, for example, was not only contingent on their form in the transmitting tribe, but also on the comparative receptivity or antagonism to such practices, and on the interests of the borrowing group. Evidently the interest shown in the ceremony as a whole operated as an important factor for or against its elaboration. Where, as among the eastern and northeastern Plains tribes respectively, the Medicine Lodge and the Horse dance were important ceremonial rivals of the sun dance, it is only reasonable to expect the lack of interest in its development which we observe. On the other hand, in the central Plains, the sun dance stands at the head of the ceremonial hierarchy. Consequently the interest in its rituals has there produced the most elaborate forms of the dance to be found in the area.

The actual cultural forms may be explained, at least in part, by these particular circumstances. It would not have been sufficient to state that the peripheral tribes have borrowed the dance from Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Oglala. A history in this form would give no insight into the processes that shape a particular cultural form. The same criticism could be leveled against Vierkandt's and Tarde's general studies. So long as we present only a series of stages statically conceived we fail to make clear in what way a particular trait acquires its peculiar character. The data on the sun dance are far from adequate to permit the full delineation of these developmental processes. The desideratum is a more precise knowledge of the function of the innovating individual, of his cultural equipment, the character of his milieu, and the extent of his contribution; that is, information of the type presented by Radin in his "Sketch of the Peyote Cult of the Winnebago." It is doubtful that data of this nature can now be obtained for the sun dance, but it is equally a requisite for any other study of cultural development. In fact, the consciousness of this is evidenced by the transformation of ethnographic works in recent years from presentations of culture as static, standardized products to their description as fluctuating, variable forms.

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VITA.

Born New York, December 13, 1893. Education at College of City of New York (Evening Session), Bachelor of Science, 1915; Columbia University, 1915-1920. Studied at the latter institution under Boas, Goldenweiser, Robinson, and Goddard, and at the American Museum of Natural History in association with Kroeber, Lowie, Nelson, and Wissler. Positions held: in archaeological survey, Geological Survey of New Jersey, 1913; engineering assistant, Public Service Commission, State of New York, 1912-1914; assistant in anthropology, American Museum, 1916-1920. William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellow, Columbia University, 1919-1920. Scientific expeditions: archaeology of New Jersey, 1912-1915; archaeology and ethnology of the Zuñi Indians, New Mexico, 1916; archaeology of central Arizona, 1917-1918; ethnology of the Havasupai Indians, Arizona, 1918-1919. Principal earlier publications are: "An Outline for a Chronology of Zuñi Ruins" (1917), "The Growth of Boys: Dentition and Stature" (1918), "The Trenton Argillite Culture" (1918), and "Notes on the Kiowa Sun Dance" (1921).

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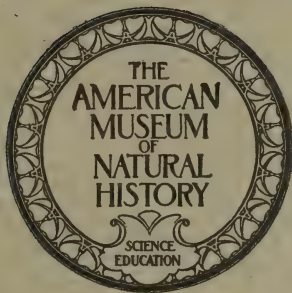
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BY
LESLIE SPIER



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